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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

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By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

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THE

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CHAP. XXXVIII.

History of the Othmân Empire.

SECT. IX.

The Reign of Bâ-yezîd II.

AT Mohammed's death, his elder son Bâ-yezîd, then sanjâk or governor, of Amasia was thinking of the hâj, or pilgrimage to Mekka, when a message came from the wazîr, signifying that his father was dead, and had appointed him his successor. At the same time he received a letter also, signed by the wazîr and other great officers, exhorting him to come and take possession of the throne, and leave his intended pilgrimage to men of lower birth and more leisure; adding, that it would be much more for the advantage of the Mahommedan religion, to prevent, by his valour and counsels, his enemies from recovering their courage and strength. *Bâ-yezîd II.*

Bâ-yezîd, surprised at this message, was for a while in doubt what course to take. Piety called upon him to perform his vow, and it seemed dangerous to leave the throne so long vacant. At last religion surmounted the care of the commonwealth, and fortune afforded an opportunity *Goes to Mekka.*

to give attention to both. He answered the wazîr, that it was not in his power to lay aside his more than blessed pilgrimage; and had rather forfeit the empire of the whole world than leave his vows unperformed: but, lest the Othmân state might suffer any detriment, it was his advice, that they should reverence as sovereign his son Korkûd till his return. This Korkûd was a prince of a sweet and amiable disposition: he had, on account of his good qualities, been kept by Soltân Mohammed about his person for two years; and at his death was in the army.

Korkûd enthroned.

Bâ-yezîd, without staying for an answer, set out for Mekka: and the great man, according to his directions, conferred the government on Korkûd; who caused his name to be mentioned in the prayers, and stamped on the coin. At the end of nine months Bâ-yezîd returned from his pilgrimage, and sent letters to his son, and chief officers of state, desiring him to keep the empire, and them to obey him, while he lived privately at Nicea. It is doubtful whether Bâ-yezîd was led to this contempt of the crown by a zeal for divine worship kindled at Mekka; or that, fearing his son's power, ambition, and popularity, he thought it better to undermine him at Nicea by subtil arts, than hazard both his life and empire by an unseasonable demand of the supreme authority. The prime wazîr Ali Pâshâ, having read the letter, assembled a council; and after some debate decreed, with their consent, that Mohammed's appointment should be strictly adhered to, and Bâ-yezîd alone acknowleged emperor.

His filial piety.

However, they resolved first to sound Korkûd; and the prime wazîr, having obtained an audience, "Your majesty's resplendent father, said he, by the divine aid, is returned in safety from Mekka to Hâlep; which we deemed it our duty to tell your majesty, in order to know your pleasure concerning him and his arrival." Korkûd replied, "The services you have done the empire, ought to pass for so many proofs of your fidelity: but whilst by so artful a speech, you endeavour to shake mine, I can scarce refrain from taxing you with treachery. For you know my father did not absolutely and for ever resign the crown to me; but only commanded me to rule in his stead, till his return from a pilgrimage, undertaken for his own and the public advantage. This I have done, because I would not disobey a father's commands. Let him, now he is returned, receive his own empire; and I, resigning the sceptre, will for ever profess myself both his son and vassal.

A few

A few days after Korkûd, hearing of his father's approach, paſſed the Boſphorus, attended by all his wazîrs and other officers, and met him not far from Nicea; where he paid him obeiſance, and commanded the reſt to follow his example. Then ordering the mimbar (A) to be raiſed, he took his father by the hand, led him to the throne, and turning to the ſpectators, "This is indeed my father and lord, ſaid he, but he is alſo the governor and emperor of the Othmâns. I have hitherto been his ſhadow: now the light is come, the ſhadow vaniſhes: to him alone therefore pay obedience and reverence." After this ceremony he waited on his father to Conſtantinople; where, arriving the 29th of Jomazio'l Akhîa, in the year 1581, Bâ-yezîd was inveſted with the imperial crown; and next day Korkûd, with an allowance fit for an emperor, departed for Magneſia [a]. *Reſigns to Bâ-yezîd.*

This unexpected change of affairs ſeemed very unfavourable to Bâ-yezîd's brother Jem, ſanjâk of Ikonium; who from Korkûd's youth had entertained great hopes of ſeizing the empire: but on Bâ-yezîd mounting the throne, he reckoned his expectation entirely fruſtrated. He pretended the crown belonged to him, becauſe Bâ-yezîd was born before Mohammed was ſoltân; and alleged, it was a diſhonour that the empire ſhould be given to the ſon of a private man, in prejudice to the imperial iſſue. He aſſerted that his father's will was fictitious, or forged, as not being written, but only coming from the mouth of a treacherous wazîr. By ſuch inſinuations he perſuaded not only ſeveral cities, but alſo moſt of the Aſiatic forces, that he was the right heir; and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at Pruſa. The inhabitants of this city and other places aſſiſting him with money, he ſoon raiſed a conſiderable army: but his dominion was neither firm nor laſting: for Bâ-yezîd, being informed of his brother's proceedings, paſſed haſtily into Aſia, with numerous forces; and meeting him near Pruſa, after a bloody battle, put him to flight. Jem, eſcaping with a few attendants, fled firſt to Hâlep, and then to *Jem rebels.*

[a] Cant. Oth. Hiſt. p. 116, & ſeqq.

(A) Mimbar or member is a chair like a biſhop's throne; on which, raiſed with three ſteps, both the imperial throne, and, in great churches, the vaidz, or preacher's pulpit, is erected. Cant.

Kayté Bay, king of Mesr (B), whose assistance he implored against his brother; who had not only seized the empire in his wrong, but had put his children to death.

His troops defeated. Kayté Bay advised him to lay aside the thoughts of war, and go in pilgrimage to Mekka, for that Bâ-yezîd had then great armies on foot; promising, at his return, in case the face of affairs should be altered, to assist him to the utmost of his power. Jem, not liking dilatory measures, wrote to some of the great men of Varsak and Turgad, with whom he had contracted a strict friendship, intreating their aid. This being readily granted, he feigned himself desirous to undertake the pilgrimage, and applied to Kayté Bay, who furnished him with every thing, and attendants suitable to his quality. However, Jem, instead of going to Mekka, took the first opportunity to give his attendants the slip, and fled with a few followers to his friends; who assembled the forces of those countries: but, being undisciplined troops, they were easily routed by the army of Bâ-yezîd.

Flies to Italy for shelter. Jem, after his defeat, for some time wandered alone in disguise about the maritime places, and at length found a ship bound for Italy, but first for Rhodes; from whence sailing, with some of the natives, he visited the pope; who recommended him to the king of Naples (C). Here, in an elegant speech, he set forth the cause of his flight, and implored the assistance of the Christian princes: promising, with an oath, that in case he obtained their help, the Othmâns should never set foot in any Christian dominions. The Christian princes, who had been terrified by the success of the Othmân arms, bid him take courage; assuring him, that they would do their utmost to restore him with the first opportunity. One day, as Bâ-yezîd was talking on this subject, there happened to be present an Italian captive, turned Mohammedan, who, for his address in shaving, was made berber bâshî (D). This man, whose name was Mostafa, fell at his feet, saying,

(B) Mesr is the Arab and Turkish name for either Egypt or Kayro.

(C) Here the Turkish historians are mistaken: for he was delivered not to the king of Naples, but to Charles VIII. king of France, then preparing for the Neapolitan expedition. Cant.

(D) Or chief barber, the sixth great domestic officer at the Turkish court. Cant.

" If

" If your majeſty will vouchſafe to commit ſo weighty an affair to my management, I will free your mind from all care; and diſpatch your brother, although he lurked in the moſt ſecret corner of Italy."

Moſtafa's ſtratagem.

The ſoltân not only gave him power to commit the deed; but ſwore by the holy ſouls of his anceſtors to advance him to the dignity of prime wazîr, provided he accompliſhed an undertaking ſo divine and advantageous to the Othmân empire. Moſtafa, encouraged by theſe promiſes, flew to the Franks dwelling at Pera, and conjured them to aſſiſt him to make his eſcape to his own country. Being arrived at Naples by their means, Jem, who happened to be there, hearing that an excellent barber was come from Turkey, and curious perhaps to know what paſſed at Conſtantinople, ordered the man to be ſent for. When he came, being aſked about the preſent ſtate of the Turkiſh affairs, he replied, that, as he had followed the buſineſs of a barber for ſome years in that capital, he never minded any thing but the improvement of his art, and how to procure his liberty; which, after long waiting, he had, he ſaid, obtained by the help of ſome good men; ſo that now he could freely enjoy his country, and profeſs the Chriſtian religion.

Becomes Jem's barber.

Jem told him, that he had nothing to do with his religious affairs, for God had given to every man a free will: but, as he lived in a land where barbers ſeemed to be very unſkilful, he only wiſhed that he would become his ſhaver: " for, added he, ſince you have ſojourned for ſome time among my countrymen, who you know ſhave with ſo light and pleaſant a hand, that a man can ſcarce forbear ſleeping under the operation, I hope you have acquired ſome ſhare of their art." Moſtafa, the better to deceive Jem, at firſt declined the office; but at laſt conſented: pretending, that he could not in conſcience refuſe the honour of ſerving ſo great a prince, and ſhaving the head of one whoſe face all good men deſired to ſee at Conſtantinople.

Cuts his throat.

He was received among his chamberlains, to ſhave him on the uſual days; and for ſome time diſcharged his office well: but Jem happening to fall aſleep one day under his hands, when none of the other ſervants were in the room, Moſtafa cut the prince's wind-pipe with a ſharp razor, then binding the wound very hard with a handkerchief to prevent its bleeding, left the chamber, telling thoſe in waiting, that their lord was aſleep; and

bidding them not to make a noise to disturb him (E). Having thus perpetrated the deed, he embarked in a ship, which lay ready to recieve him, and escaped to Constantinople. At his arrival he repaired to Bâ-yezîd, and acquainted him with what he had done. The soltân, who could not believe the story, was soon after convinced by a report that Jem had been murdered by the treachery of some Christians.

Made prime wazîr.

Bâ-yezîd mindful of his promise, promoted Mostâfa to the dignity of prime wazîr. Then sending ambassadors to Naples for the body, it was delivered to them, and buried at Prusa, near the tomb of Morâd.

Nothing was wanting in Jem which could be called virtue, prudence, magnanimity, fortitude, and wisdom. He had no equal of his age. He is chiefly praised for rhetoric and eloquence. When among the Christians, he was strictly observant of the Mohammedan rites, said his daily prayers, and finished Telaveti Korân, or reading of the whole Korân every week.

Hejra 887. A.D. 1482.

The rival of his empire being thus removed, Bâ-yezîd, in 887, made a progress into the Morea, and fortified the isthmus with two strong castles, towards the Corinthian bay. These he provided with good garrisons, in order to restrain the Christians, who frequently invaded the Othmân dominions on that side. Next spring, he ordered a jâmi, madresch, daro'lshâya, imaret, and public bath, to be built at Adrianople, on the river Tunjeh. Then, marching with all his forces towards Moldavia, governed now by Stephen, he took the bulwarks of the whole country, the strong cities of Kili, on the Danube, and Akkiermân, near it, on the Euxine sea. By these acquisitions he not only prevented the Moldavians from exercising piracy on that sea, but opened himself a way to annoy by incursions a province often attempted in vain.

Moldavia bridled.

Karamania conquered.

In the course of the same year, the beglerbeg of Asia took the famous cities of Tarsus, Kurshunli, and Kosunli,

(E) The Turks here acquit pope Alexander VI. from the execrable crime charged on him by Christian and even catholic writers, and believed for so many ages: namely, that the pope, fearing Charles might give him up, to ingratiate himself with Bâ-yezîd, had him poisoned at Taracina, in his march to Naples with that king. The reader is left to embrace which report he pleases. Cant. They place this event in the year 1495; whereas the Turks mention no date.

while

while the great general Ghiedîk Pâshâ was put to death [b]. This is all the Turkish historians afford us concerning these two events, while the Christian writers, who place the latter first, and both before the Moldavian expedition, are more explicit. With regard to the first, they tell us, that Bâ-yezîd being at leisure to call Pîr Ahmed, king of Karamânia, to an account for assisting his brother Zemes, marched into the country, and took Tarsus. In the mean time the king, having obtained aid of the Soltân of Egypt, met Bâ-yezîd, and fought a fierce battle; but, towards sun-set, rushing boldly into the midst of the Turks, he was slain. The consequence of which accident, was the defeat of his army, and entire conquest of his country. In the same expedition the prince of Trakhea was induced to submit to the Othmân yoke, and receive in exchange some other territories of Asia Minor.

As to the death of Ahmed Pâshâ, the Turkish historians ascribe this great man's fall to his being falsely accused of an attempt to dethrone the soltân, in favour of his eldest son; but the Christian writers assign another cause and manner of his death. According to them, while Ahmed bâshâ was absent from court, Ishâk, an ancient bâshâ, bearing a grude to him, for having divorced his daughter on suspicion of incontinency, represented him such a very dangerous man, on account of his great interest with the janizaries, that Bâ-yezîd resolved to destroy him. With that view the soltân, at his return to court, invited him to supper; and, having drank plentifully, ordered vests to be given to his guests; but that for Ahmed was of black velvet. The Bâshâ, enraged at this token of death, is said to have cried out, "Thou son of a whore, since thou intendest so much cruelty, why didst thou not inflict it before thou hadst forced us to drink this impure and forbidden wine? Then, sitting on the ground, and being ordered to stay after the rest, as the executioners were going to do their office, the soltân was prevailed on by a favourite eunuch to defer his death, for fear of the soldiery. In effect, being informed by his son of the danger Ahmed was in, the janizaries ran in shoals to the court.

A.D. 1489. *Ahmed Pasha traduced and slain.*

Bâ-yezîd, then appearing at a window, demanded the reason of their tumult. They insolently answered, that they would teach him, as a drunkard, beast, and rascal, to discharge his high office with more discretion and sobriety: calling him, by way of contempt, bachelor or

[b] Cant. Oth. Hist. p. 119, & seqq.

ſcholar. Being obliged to releaſe the bâſhâ, they carried him with them on their ſhoulders; often aſking him, how he did, and how he felt himſelf. Ahmed not only thus eſcaped death for this time, but was alſo reſtored to his places, and ſeemingly to the ſoltân's favour; yet, ſome time after, he was ſlain by his order as he ſat at ſupper in his court. Bâ-yezîd, being likewiſe incenſed at the janizaries, for what they had done in Ahmed's favour already, and having reaſon to believe they might attempt ſomething farther in revenge of his death, formed a deſign to cut them all off: but from this bloody act, as very dangerous, he was diſſuaded by ſome bâſhâs, whom he conſulted; and the janizaries having at length penetrated his deſign, he, to divert their reſentment, marched into Moldavia, where he took the cities [c], above mentioned.

War with Egypt. And now commenced between the Othmâns and Mamlûks of Egypt that war, which, after numberleſs battles, ended in the ruin of the latter. Bâ-yezîd and Kaité Bay had long beheld each other with jealous eyes; but neither dared to attack the other; believing both empires ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as ſcarcely to be ſubverted by human ſtrength. The Othmân was ſuperior in extent of dominion and number of armies: the Egyptian was ſtrengthened by the annual acceſſion of Cherkaſſian troops, the moſt warlike of all nations. Kaité Bay gave Bâ-yezîd a plauſible pretence for a war, by protecting his brother Jem, and ſupplying him privately with money; but the latter thought proper to ſtifle his reſentment till a more favourable opportunity, which ſhortly after preſented itſelf.

Alaidulet tributary. Alaidulet, a petty prince of ſome provinces in Aſia, in order to enlarge his dominion, attempted to take ſome cities belonging to the kingdom of Miſr, or Egypt; but being defeated, and unable to withſtand the Cherkaſſians (F), he ſued to Bâ-yezîd for aſſiſtance; offering, on that con-

[c] Leuncl. Hiſt. Muſulm. and Knowles edit. Ricaut, in Bajazet.

(F) They are the moſt noble of all the Scythian people, inhabiting a mountainous country between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas. The Ruſſians call them Czerkieſſi Pætigoriki, to diſtinguiſh them from the Kozak Cherkaſſians; for all the Ukrain Kozaks are in the Ruſſian tongue called Cherkaſſians. Prince Cantemir gives a farther curious account of the former, and in another note, p. 156, ſays, none of them are ignoble.

dition

dition, to ſubject his territories to him as a fief, by having his name ſtamped on his coin, and mentioned in the public prayers. Some Turkiſh auxiliaries being thus obtained, he re-attacked the Cherkaſſians; and, after ſeveral battles, fought with various fortune, wreſted from them Gyullek, Sues (G), Adana, Kayſaria, and Antâb.

Kaité Bay, perceiving Bâ-yezîd's policy to weaken his forces by the ſword of another, followed his example, and oppoſed Kior Shâh, his neighbour, to Alaidulet. Theſe little princes, thus ſupported by the two ſoltâns, contended for ſome time with ſuch various ſucceſs, that their reſpective countries were ſometimes ſubject to the Cherkaſſian and ſometimes to the Othmân dominion[e].

The Chriſtian writers, who make the Turks principals in this war, tell us, that Ahmed Pâſhâ, being ſent into Syria, was by the Egyptians and Arabs, at Tzukur Ova, overthrown, and taken priſoner. The ſoltân, next year, ſent a great fleet, as well as army, againſt the ſoltân of Egypt, who met the Turks near Mount Taurus, in Cilicia; and, though much inferior in force, attacked them. The battle having laſted all the day, both parties retired to their reſpective camps. The Egyptians, finding their carriages and proviſions taken away without knowing by whom, renewed the battle next day with double fury, and fought again till night parted them. But the Turks, having loſt ſixty-ſeven thouſand men out of one hundred thouſand, fled in the night, leaving their tents and proviſions behind them. The Egyptians likewiſe, having loſt half their number, retired to Mount Taurus; till, being informed by their ſpies of the flight of the enemy, they came down and ſeized their camp. Hence thoſe in the battle itſelf ſcarce knew which ſide got the victory. The Turkiſh fleet had no better fortune, having been deſtroyed by a tempeſt at the mouth of the river Orontes. Hereupon Bâ-yezîd made a peace with the Egyptian ſoltân, reſtoring to him all the places he had taken from him. Nor is this account inconſiſtent either with what is before related, or follows after, from the Turkiſh authors; who indeed may be ſuppoſed better acquainted with the ſprings of action than the Chriſtian writers[f].

A.D. 1489.

Syria invaded by the Turks.

[e] Leunel. & Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

[f] Cant. ubi ſupra, p. 115, & ſeqq.

(G) It ſhould, perhaps, be Sis; which was the capital of Leſſer Armenia; whereas Suez or Sâiz, is in Egypt.

Hejra 889. A.D.1484. Bâ-yezîd at length, by experience, found that the power of the Cherkaſſians in Egypt could never be ſubverted, or weakened, unleſs their native country was deſtroyed, and the way ſhut up by which ſo many forces were every year conveyed to Egypt. Therefore, pretending to make peace with the ſoltân of Egypt, he recalled his troops; and, in 889, unexpectedly invaded Cherkaſſia, over-ran the country, and, carrying off a great number of captives, ſhut up the entrances of the mountains, by which it is ſurrounded, with caſtles. The ſupply of ſoldiers being thus cut off, Kaité Bay, who daily ſaw his own forces diminiſh, and thoſe of his enemies increaſe, is ſaid to have fallen ſick and died of vexation.

Cherkaſſia over-run.

Hejra 890. A.D 1485. In 890, the ſoltân ſent an army into Moldavia; where a great ſlaughter was made of the inhabitants; and next year again reduced the rebellious country of Varſak [g].

Moldavia harraſſed.

Mohammedans expelled Spain.

Whilſt the Othmân affairs thus flouriſhed in the Eaſt, the Mohammedan religion received a grievous blow in the kingdom of Endelos (H). After ſeveral defeats, the Muſulmans were every where expelled, put to the torture, or compelled to abjure their religion. In this diſtreſs, they explained to Bâ-yezîd, by their ambaſſadors, the cruelty of the Spaniards, and implored his aſſiſtance, as head of the Mohammedân commonwealth. Accordingly, next ſummer he ſent a great fleet into the Mediterranean, under Kiemal ali Pâſhâ; who defeated the Chriſtian naval force, laid waſte the iſland of Mâlta, and plundered the coaſts of Spain and Italy.

Hejra 894. A.D.1489. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, he, in the year 894, ſent general Yakûb, with an army, into Kroatia and Boſnia, to make a thorough conqueſt of theſe countries. After he had taken ſeveral caſtles, and marched over the whole region, he met the Chriſtian forces; and, having made a great ſlaughter of them, took many priſoners of quality, with their leader, general Yami (I). The ſame year, Bâyezîd married his daughter to Ahmed Mîrza Oghîr Ogli.

Kroatia reduced.

[g] Cant. p. 129.

(H) Or Andalos, that is, Andaluſia; which name the Orientals formerly gave to Spain in general; but at preſent the Turks diſtinguiſh Spain from Portugal.

(I) This is the famous count John Torquatus; who, according to the Chriſtian writers, died in this engagement, not vanquiſhed but tired with victory. Which of the two accounts ſhall be believe? Cant.

In

In the year 895, Soltân Yakub (K), king of Azerbejân, dying, the great diſtractions, which enſued, gave Bâ-yezîd, as well as the king of Egypt, an opportunity of ſeizing the provinces deſtitute of governors. The armies engaging, the Turks became victors; and, after ſix years roaming over the Eaſt, at length, in 901, all thoſe countries, for which Bâ-yezîd and the Cherkaſſians had contended, were annexed to the Othmân empire. Hejra 895. A.D.1490. *Conqueſts in Aſia.* A.D.1496.

In 902, the Rhodians were defeated, with great ſlaughter, by the Turkiſh general, Naſu Beg. At the ſame time, Ahmed Mîrza, married ſeven years before to Bâ-yezîd's daughter, on pretence of hunting, fled from Conſtantinople to Tibris, or Tauris; where he was choſen king. *The Rhodians defeated.*

Next year, Bâ-yezîd laid the foundations of a jâmi, an hoſpital, a taalim khara, and ſchool; which were finiſhed in eight years. In 905, the ſoltân, marching with numerous forces into Greece, took Anibakht (L) at the firſt aſſault; and next ſummer, on the 1ſt day of Moharram, became maſter of Mothone, or Modon, by ſtorm; and of Koroni, by ſurrender [h]. Hejra 905. A.D.1499.

The Chriſtian hiſtorians join together this invaſion of Greece and that of Italy, hinted before by the Turkiſh, but without mentioning either the circumſtances or cauſe of it. According to the former, Bâ-yezîd, having been ſolicited by Sforția, duke of Milan, to engage in a war againſt the Venetians, who had confederated with Lewis XII. king of France to conquer his territories; the ſoltân, mindful of former injuries done him by the republic, made great preparations both by ſea and land againſt them; and, on a ſudden, ordered Skânder Pâſhâ, with twelve thouſand horſe, to break into Friuli, in Italy; from whence he returned with the ſpoils of the country. *Friuli invaded by the Turks.*

At the ſame time, the ſoltân put to ſea a very numerous fleet, and marched in perſon with a great army along the coaſt of the Morea to keep a communication with it. Grimani, the Venetian admiral, delayed attacking the enemy's ſhips for ſeveral days; expecting that they would put from the ſhore, and advance to fight him. At length, Andreo Lauredano and Albani Armerio, newly arrived from Korcyra to be preſent at the action, impatient of delay, began the engagement; and quickly boarded a great veſſel, commanded

[h] Cant. ubi ſupra.

(K) He was ſon of Uzûn Haſſân, or Haſſân Beg; and third ſoltân of the White Sheep dynaſty of Turkmâns.

(L) Or Lepanto.

manded by Baruk, of Smyrna, a famous pirate; who blowing up his ship, the other two perished with her. Some others fought also; but the greater number of Venetian gallies lay looking on at a distance, and did nothing: for which inaction the admiral was greatly blamed, and afterwards banished by a decree of the senate. Mean while, the Turks, in great fear, with some difficulty, got into the gulf of Lepanto; where they besieged the city closely by sea and land, and at length it surrendered on capitulation.

They take Lepanto and Modon.

In the year following, which was 1500, Bâ-yezid fitted out a yet greater fleet for the Morea; and at the same time, entering the Isthmus of Corinth, sat down before Modon. His batteries having made four breaches in the walls, the Turks gave two fierce attacks; but were repulsed both times. In the interim, the Venetian admiral, Trevisano, coming from the isle of Zant, where he had lain with three great gallies, laden with necessaries, under three resolute commanders, they broke through the Turkish fleet, and ran themselves aground under the walls of the town. But while the soldiers, as well as citizens, overjoyed at their arrival, ran in crouds to welcome them, leaving several places towards the land unguarded, the janizaries, seizing the opportunity, entered the city without much opposition, and put most of the people to the sword; among whom were the governor and bishop; besides one thousand who were slain before the soltân's tent.

A D. 1501. However, to make some reparation for this loss, next year admiral Pisaurio pursuing the enemy's fleet to the mouth of the isle of Hellespont, took above twenty of their gallies, and the isle of Egina in his return. Then joining with Gonsalvo the Great, sent by king Ferdinand of Spain to aid them, he at length, by that general's conduct, wrested the city of Cefalonia from the Turks, which was followed by the reduction of the whole island. Not long after, being informed, that part of the Turkish fleet lay in the bay of Ambracia, he sailed thither from Korfu; and sending the greater part of his fleet to the isle of Neritos, with eight gallies only entered the bay, burned one great galley of the Turks, and carried away eleven, laden with ammunition and provision. He afterwards took the castle of Pylos, but it was quickly recovered by Kamalia, a notorious Turkish pirate. Pisaurio had not the like success in his attempt to burn the enemy's gallies in the river Eante, on the coast of Macedonia; for the two hundred soldiers sent in their vessels up the river to set them on fire, being hindered

The Venetians take Cefalonia.

hindered from returning by a contrary wind, were beſet by the enemy, and all ſlain.

About this time Bâ-yezîd took the city of Durazzo from the Venetians, who were now much preſſed with the long war; but receiving ſome aid of ſhipping from the French, the admiral ſailed to the iſle of Leſbos, and laid ſiege to the ſtrong city of Mitylene. While a breach was making in the wall, he ſteered with part of his fleet to Tenedos, in queſt of the enemy. Mean while the French, contrary to the advice of his vice-admiral, having attacked the breach, were repulſed, as they were on a ſecond attempt at their return. Diſcouraged by this ill ſucceſs they ſailed homewards, and in their paſſage many were caſt away. Of which proceedings the Venetian admiral highly complained to the grand maſter of Rhodes, whom he found at Paros coming to their aſſiſtance. However, next ſpring, being joined by ſome of the pope's gallies, he ſuddenly beſieged and took Neritos, or St. Maura, with the whole iſland: but this they held not long; for, the year following, a peace was concluded between Bâ-yezîd and the republic, whereby Neritos and Leukadia were reſtored to the Turks. On the other hand, the ſoltân obliged himſelf to reſtore all the merchant goods taken in the late war, to allow the ſubjects of the republic ſafe traffick to the Euxine ſea and Conſtantinople, with the privilege of having a conſul in that city; and, laſtly, to ſettle the limits between the two powers.

Hejra 907. A.D. 1503.

The Turks take Durazzo.

Peace concluded.

In the courſe of the ſame year Bâ-yezîd, having ravaged Albania, in his return was met by a derwîſh, or Turkiſh monk; who advancing, as if to receive alms, ſtruck him with a ſhort ſcymiter; but the ſoltân's horſe ſtarting, he miſſed his blow; and being knocked down by Iſfandiar Bâſhâ, was torn in pieces by the ſoldiers. Bâ-yezîd having made peace with all his neighbours, diſbanded his army to take their pleaſure after ſo many toils [1].

Bâ-yezîd in danger.

In 916, Sheytân Kuli began at Beg Bazâr (M) to broach his hereſy in the Korân, which he ſupported by miracles, and thereby ſo bewitched the credulous vulgar, that in a ſhort time he had an army of followers. Bâ-yezîd in-

Hejra A.D.

Shâh i an imſ ſtor, ra in Aſia.

[1] Leunc. & Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

(M) Beg, or Bek, Bazâr is a town of Anatolia, in the road from Iſnik, or Nicea, to Enguri, or Ancyra, not far from the latter.

ſtantly

ſtantly ſent forces to diſperſe thoſe riotous aſſemblies, under Ali Baſhâ; who defeating the impoſtor in battle, compelled him to fly into the dominions of Shâh Iſmael, where being indulged with more liberty to ſpread his poiſon, he infected the king and the whole Perſian nation [k].

The annals of the ſoltâns afford a better, and, in our opinion, more impartial, account of this tranſaction. According to them, Shâh Kûli was the ſon of Haſſan Khâlif, one of the principal men of the province of Tekin, or Teke-ili, and having retired for ſix or ſeven years to a ſecret cave, was looked upon as a holy man. Bâ-yezîd, not knowing that he was a kezîl baſh (N), and of a different ſect in religion, ſent him yearly ſeven thouſand aſpers. At length, leaving his cavern, and being joined by many of his followers, he, on a fair day, entered Antâlia, and plundered it, ſlaying the judge, and hanging up his quarters. By the artifices of his emiſſaries, having in a little time aſſembled ten thouſand men, he marched againſt Karagoſa, beglerbeg of Anatolia; whom he defeated and took priſoner. Then, advancing to Kutahia, the capital of that country, he ſummoned the inhabitants to deliver it up to him; and, on their refuſal, impaled the bâſhâ in their ſight. Korkûd ſet out from Maniſſa, or Magneſia, with forces to oppoſe Shâh Kûli, but being put to flight, wrote to acquaint his father with this rebellion. Bâ-yezîd, enraged at Ali Bâſhâ and the other wazîrs, for not informing him of this affair, ſent him with troops into Aſia, and ordered his ſon Ahmed to join him from Amaſia. Mean while Shâh Kûli breaking into Karamania, defeated and ſlew Hayder, its bâſhâ, with Zindis Kemal Beg. Then marching to the plain of Zibukkia, was met by Ali Bâſhâ, who attacked him. Haſſan Khalfa, father of Shâh Kûli, having been ſlain with an arrow, a tumult aroſe in the rebel camp; on which the bâſhâ ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy, and was killed by them: whereupon his army fled. After this victory Shâh Kûli bent his courſe towards Tabrîz in Perſia, and in the way meeting with a karawân with goods belonging to Shâh Iſmael, though he did not know ſo much, plundered it, and ſlew all the men; for which depredation, on his arrival at Tabriz, he, and his chief officers, were put to death by Iſmael's orders [l].

Defeats the Turks.

Retires to Perſia.

[k] Cant. p. 134, & ſeqq. [l] Annales Soltân, in Bajazet II.

(N) This is ... Red Head ... diers of Shâh Iſmael ...

The same year, 1509, there happened a dreadful earthquake at Constantinople on the 14th of September, which lasted eighteen days, and destroyed thirteen thousand people, besides a great many buildings. It was followed also by a mortality, which carried off numbers of people [m]. *Great earthquake.*

About the same time the soltân, being much afflicted with the gout, contracted by luxury, and old age drawing on, he resolved to resign the empire to his eldest son Ahmed: with this view, sending for him from Konîyah, he declared him heir of the empire, and proposed to retire to Mâgnesia; but as he had discovered his intention before he had gained the great men to Ahmed's interest, it did not succeed to his wish; for Selîm, who was governor of Trapezond, crossed the Euxine Sea with the forces of his province, and marched to Adrianople. From thence, under pretence of paying his duty to his father, he advanced with twenty thousand men to Constântinople, hoping the janizaries, who were in his interest, would join him. Bâ-yezîd, perceiving his son's design, with what forces happened to be in the city bravely met him at the village Ogrîs, near Chorlo; where, after a long and doubtful battle, Selîm was put to flight. The soltân forbad all pursuit, in hopes he said, his son would lay aside his fierceness, and be convinced by his fatherly correction, that God approves not the rebellion of children against their parents. Thus Selîm, escaping by the goodness of a parent, got safe to Varna, and thence, by sea, to Kâffa, in the Krîm. *Selim rebels.* A.D. 1511. *Is defeated.*

Ba-yezîd sent again to hasten Ahmed; who, instead of coming, made answer, that his father in vain attempted to confer the crown on him, since he knew not only the janizaries but all the great men were inclined to Selîm, and wished him to be emperor. Bâ-yezîd, perceiving Ahmed's diffidence, and desirous to debar Selîm from the throne for his disobedience, thought to defer his purpose till a proper opportunity; but as it seemed difficult to revoke his declared resolution of resigning, because whatever is said or done by the soltâns is believed unretractable, he privately endeavoured to induce the great men to petition him to alter his mind. But these, on the contrary, encouraged the janizaries to favour Selîm, and acquainted that prince by letters, that they had unanimously resolved to salute him emperor, and not suffer Bâ-yezîd to depart from his declaration of resigning. *Invited by the janizaries.*

[m] Ricaut, ubi supra.

Selîm

Selîm at first refused his consent, and told the conspirators, that he was far from despising the throne, but was unwilling to do any thing contrary to his father's pleasure, especially as he had been taught, by late experience, that the hand of God was against him. The janizaries, notwithstanding this answer, repeated their instances by the zemberekchi pâshi, or *chief of the military engines*; affirming that they would all swear not to desist till they saw him raised to the throne, even against his father's will. Persuaded at length by these promises, Selîm departed from Kâffa, with a few attendants; and, under the former pretence of saluting his father, repaired to Constantinople. On the news of his arrival, the janizaries flocked together in the streets, and, joyfully meeting him at the Top Kâpu, accompanied him to the Eni Bâghche, where they had prepared tents for his reception [n].

Repairs to Constantinople.

Bâ-yezîd, troubled at this unexpected incident, and perceiving nothing could be done by force, on the eighth day sent Koja Mostâfa Pâshâ, his prime wazîr, to tell his son, if he desired to visit him, why did he delay; but if, under those proceedings he only concealed his impiety, why did he vainly spend the time? Selîm, who perceived Bâ-yezîd's policy, returned a no less ambiguous and acute answer; saying, he would not in the least disobey his father's orders, but was ready to go wherever he thought fit to send him, provided he pleased to satisfy some doubts he had entertained concerning the present administration of affairs. "Sofi Ogli (says he), a man of no account, has risen in the East, and, with a swift progress, laid waste the Othmân empire, as far as Kayserîya, whilst you, instead of defending the provinces, are an idle spectator of his victories. On the other hand, a Cherkassian of obscure birth and name, who ought to be prostrate under the sword of the Othmâns, has made himself master not only of Egypt, but also of many countries in Syria, formerly subject to our dominion; and holds them to this day as if they were his lawful inheritance. To such contempt the majesty of the empire, revered under our ancestors, is fallen, that they who formerly, under the reign of Bâ-yezîd, were feared by the neighbouring nations as invincible heroes, are now, under the same reign, as men inactive and effeminate, scorned and affronted. Where is now the honour of the Ali Othmân sceptre? Where the military discipline? Where the zeal of propa-

His artful speech.

[n] Cant. p. 136, & seqq.

gating

gating the law? Where the art of government? Is it thus the empire is enlarged? Is it thus the order of our hitherto invincible ſoldiery is preſerved?—Theſe things duly weighed, let my father himſelf judge, whether they who, by their own conſent, permiſſion, or negligence, have been the cauſe of theſe miſmanagements, can eſcape puniſhment; for unleſs a timely remedy be applied to theſe corruptions, we ſhall be obliged to aſcribe the approaching, and almoſt unavoidable ruin of the empire to our ſloth, and not to the bravery of our enemies."

The wazîr having reported to the ſoltân his ſon's anſwer, Bâ-yezîd is ſaid to have replied, "I too plainly ſee my ſon's buſineſs is not to viſit his father; but, right or wrong, to ſeize the empire. However, I am convinced it is deſigned for him by heaven, from my dreaming laſt night, that my crown was, by the ſoldiers, placed on his head. Since therefore I deem it impious either to act or attempt any thing againſt the will of God, with a humble reſignation to divine Providence, I lay down the enſigns of government, and will and command that Selîm be by all ſaluted emperor." With this his reſolution he inſtantly acquainted Selim, and deſired his permiſſion to live privately at Dymotika. Selîm intreated his father to remain in the new palace; for that he would be contented to reign in the other. But Bâ-yezîd ſtill urged his requeſt, alleging, that one ſcabbard could never hold two ſwords. At length, having prevailed, he took with him the moſt precious things out of the treaſury, and departed from Conſtantinople, accompanied by Yunus Bâſhâ, and a few friends, the 18th of Sefr, in the year 918. *Bâ-yezîd reſigns.*

Selîm, with the great men, attended his father to the Kuchuk Chekneje, or *Little Bridge*, two hours diſtant from the city. In the way he talked to him about ſettling the ſtate, and deſired his bleſſing. After he had received it, taking leave of his father, he returned to the palace; where he aſſumed the imperial diadem with the uſual ſolemnities.

In the mean time, Bâ-yezîd purſued his journey ſo ſlowly, halting, on pretence of indiſpoſition, in almoſt every village, that it bred a ſuſpicion in his ſon, that he hoped to be reſtored, by ſome popular commotion, to the government, which he had unwillingly reſigned. Perhaps this was the cauſe, that when he was ſcarce forty miles from Conſtantinople, he ended his days by an unexpected

martyrdom (O). The wazîr and great men being ordered to bring back the body, Selîm himself met them on foot in a mourning habit without the city, and in a pompous procession, ordered the corpse to be buried in the jami founded by Bâ-yezîd.

This soltân lived sixty-two years, and reigned thirty-two.

His character, and superstitious conceit.

He was, according to the Turkish historians, a valiant active prince, of an invincible mind, even in adversity, and had, by exercise, acquired such vigour, that few could equal, and none surpass him in strength of body. He was a punctual observer of the law, and a great patron of the learned. He was himself so well versed in all parts of literature, that he was esteemed by his people the prince of learning. By his conduct, or good fortune, the Othmân empire was enlarged. He repaired the walls of the city, demolished in many places by an earthquake; and, in the Brasier's Market, raised a stately jami, of admirable workmanship, with another at Amasia, no less beautiful, though not so large: not to mention the many madresch and imârets erected by him in several cities. He built, near Oznânjik, over the river Kizîl Irmâk, or *Red Stream*, a marble bridge of nineteen arches; and another of square stone, with the same number of arches, over the river Ghioz Sui, that is, *Water of the Eyes*, in the province of Sârikhân.

He is said to have carefully preserved the dust, which stuck to his cloaths in his expeditions, through the whole course of his life; and in his last hours conjured those present, with direful imprecations, to make a large brick of it, and place it in his monument, under his right arm, instead of a cushion, declaring, that he had always regarded the hadis, or saying (P), namely, "If any man's feet have been sprinkled with the dust in the path of the Lord, him will God preserve from hell-fire."

(O) From hence may be inferred, that what Philip Lonicerus(1), relates of his death out of Antony Mænevin, is not a fiction, namely, that he was murdered on his journey by the hands of a Jewish physician, though the Turks do not plainly confess the deed. Cant. What regard then is to be paid to their authority as historians?

(P) That is, *Saying of Mahammed*. There is a collection of these sayings, or prophesies, called Hadis an Nebevi, or *Sayings of the Prophet*, to distinguish it from the Hadisi Kudûs, or *Divine Sayings*, contained in the Korân, which was dictated by the angel Gabriel. Cant.

(1) Tom i. p. v. cap. 22.

He

He had five ſons, Ahmed, Selîm, Shehîn Shâh, Alem Shâh, and Korkûd [o]. The Chriſtian writers ſay, he had a numerous iſſue, although only four were remarkable; Ahmed, Mohammed, Korkûd, and Selîm. Of theſe they relate, that the ſecond ſeemed moſt worthy of the empire, as having a lively ſpirit, acute parts, and generous diſpoſition; however, the immoderate affection of the people to him haſtened his death. As Ahmed and he were by the ſame venter, they loved each other greatly: but Mohammed, having the curioſity on a time to ſee how his brother behaved, went from Magneſia, which was his government, with two friends, diſguiſed in religious habits, to Amaſia, where they received no more than five aſpers from Ahmed for their muſic and devotion. This want of liberality ſo offended Mohammed, that at his return, he wrote his brother a reprimanding letter, in which he ſo rallied him for his avarice, that Ahmed was never after pleaſed with him. Not long after, Mohammed, with ſome friends, diſguiſed in ſailor's cloaths, went to Conſtantinople; of which adventure Bâ-yezîd being afterwards informed, it raiſed ſo many ſuſpicious thoughts in his head, that at laſt he wrote to Aſmehedi, who was Mohammed's ſecret enemy, to poiſon him; an order which was executed accordingly: yet the ſoltân ſhewed great concern for his ſon's death, and condemned the murderer to perpetual impriſonment. This event happened a little before the rebellion of Selîm [p]. *His ſons fatal frolics.*

SECT. X.

The Reign of Selîm I.

Tranſactions to the War with Egypt.

SELIM, who was ſirnamed Yavûz (Q), aſcended the throne on the 19th of Sefr, 918, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, having been born in the year 872, whilſt his father was lord of Amaſia. His brothers, either on account of his intereſt with the ſoldiery, or elſe to avoid his ſallies of paſſion, did not dare to contradict his election. Only Ahmed, who knew he could no where be Hejra 91 A.D. 151

Soltân Selîm I. marches againſt Ahmed.

[o] Cant. ubi ſupra. [p] Ricaut. al ſupra.

(Q) Yavûz properly ſignifies *fierce*, or *ſavage*, and from thence *paſſionate*.

safe whilst Selîm was on the throne, resolved, through despair, to remove him if possible. Allured by a false expectation, that some great men, who favoured his brother only in appearance, would espouse his cause, he, with all the forces of Amasia, prepared to pass into Europe. Selîm, having had early notice by his spies of Amed's design, led his forces into Asia, in order to surprise him before his whole army was assembled, as in effect he did. However, Ahmed bravely met his brother with what troops he had at Enishâhr, and fought in the foremost ranks; so that he more than once rallied the broken wings, but at last, his army being overpowered by numbers, was entirely broken, and most of his men were slain, few endeavouring to escape by flight, among whom was Ahmed; but being taken, he was immediately strangled, and buried at Prusa [p].

Other writers say, that Ahmed, on Selîm's approach, fled to the mountains bordering on Armenia, and endeavoured to raise forces, while his brother, unable to winter in so cold a country, retired to Prusa. From thence he dispatched Ufeghi Bâshâ to surprise Morâd and Alao'ddîn, two of Ahmed's sons, in Amasia; but having notice of his design from Mostafa, the old bâshâ, who detested his cruelty to his other nephews, although he was the main promoter of his advancement to the throne, they laid an ambuscade for Ufeghi, who was taken and most of his men men were slain. The captive bâshâ, however, discovered the treachery of Mostafa, and gave advice of it to Selim, who immediately put him to death: a punishment which was retaliated by Ahmed upon Ufeghi.

His artifice. In the beginning of spring, that prince was solicited by his friends, to fall suddenly on Selîm, who for want of his European forces might easily, they said, be vanquished. Accordingly he set out for Prusa, with fifteen thousand horse, leaving his foot to follow by easy marches. Selîm having intercepted the letters of some friends of Ahmed, directed from his own camp, urging him to come before his brother's forces were joined; he first put the conspirators to death, and then sent letters in their names, renewing their instances to hasten his march, and not stay for his infantry; for that, as soon as the signal of battle was given, they would raise a tumult in the army, and slay Selîm.

[p] Cant. p. 143, & seq. Leuncl. in Bajazet II.

Ahmed,

Ahmed, on this encouragement, advanced as far as the river Parthenius, where Sinân Pâshâ, who was sent before with fifteen thousand Asiatic horse to try the enemy's strength, fell unexpectedly in their way, and was defeated, with the loss of one half of his men. Selîm, however, not discouraged, marched on to the river Elata: crossing to the other side, where his brother was encamped, he placed a thousand men in ambush in a wood, under the command of Khân Ogli, a young Tartar prince, his brother-in-law, with orders to fall on the enemy's rear, when the battle was begun. Next day, both armies being ready to engage, Ahmed sent to challenge Selîm to decide the quarrel by a single combat, and on his refusal, charged his right wing, sword in hand, with his Persian horse, who obliged the Turks to retire. Then going to the support of his other troops, who were worsted by Selîm's left wing, and main body, where the janizaries fought, he renewed the battle, bearing down all before him, with irresistible impetuosity. But while he was in great hopes of victory, Khân Ogli, issuing forth out of the wood, attacked his rear, so that his small army, being overpowered, fled as well as they could to save themselves. Ahmed got off among the rest, but falling with his horse into a ditch, he was taken, and put to death by his brother's order: but his two sons, before mentioned, escaped; the first into Persia, and the other into Egypt[r]. *Ahmed taken and put to death.*

A few days after this batttle, Selîm led his victorious troops against Korkûd, who had hitherto chosen to reverence his brother, and see what fortune would allot him, rather than imbrue his hands with fratricide: but finding his submission disregarded, and his blood thirsted after, he met Selîm with such troops as he could raise in haste, proposing rather to die not unrevenged than to conquer. Accordingly, being easily vanquished, and deserted by his people, he wandered alone in the night through desert ways, and by day concealed himself in obscure caves, intending, as it was thought, to fly, like his brother Jem, to the Christians. Selîm having ordered him to be more diligently sought after, he was at last discovered by a soldier, and brought to his brother; who, without giving him an opportunity to speak for himself, delivered him to the executioner to be strangled. *Korkûd strangled.*

Selîm, after having settled the affairs of Asia, returned to Europe, and went to reside at Adrianople; because his *Selim marches into Persia.*

[r] Leuncl. Hist. Musul. & Annal Soltân, Ricaut. in Bajazet II.

capital was afflicted with the plague, which swept away one hundred and sixty thousand persons [s].

The soltân having thus destroyed the rivals of his empire, as well as some domestic enemies, turned his thoughts to foreign conquests. The chief object of his resentment was soltân Gauri, king of Egypt, with whom Ba-yezîd had made a peace; but fearing lest Kîzilbâsh Shâhi should fall upon him in the interim, he resolved to humble the Persians first. With this view, in the year 920, leading a numerous army into Asia, he marched to the plain called Kaldirân, at Tauris; where, finding the enemy's troops not inferior to his own, he called a council of his wazirs and friends, who were for deferring the battle till next day, that his forces might have time to recover from their fatigue. Selîm did not think this reason good, because the enemy was equally fatigued, and therefore gave orders to prepare immediately for battle. Then sending for Pîri Pâshâ, his defterdâr, or *treasurer*, he bad him give his opinion in the case; which happened to be agreeable to his own, Selîm cried out, that assuredly, to his own and the empire's great loss, this man had been till then uninvested with the prime wazîrship [t].

Hejra 920. A.D. 1514.

A great battle.

He forthwith commanded the enemy, who had invested the city with their forces, to be attacked. The battle began with the artillery, which was worked by the European troops, stationed so unluckily, that an opposite hillock either received the balls, or sent them over the Persian camp. Sinân Pâshâ, advancing with the Asiatic forces, drawing their field-pieces after them, when he came within cannon-shot, ordered the foremost ranks to open, and give room for the artillery to play; which made such a slaughter, that the Persian troops were mowed down like grass. The enemy's ranks being thus broken, the signal was given to charge them sword in hand, by which means one half of their left wing being slain, the rest were forced to fly. The shah, perceiving the danger they were in, quitted the right wing; and, with the best regiments, coming to their relief, bravely repelled the Othmâns, now intent on the destruction of the rest. Selîm, on the other hand, perceiving his right wing oppressed with numbers, placed thirteen thousand janizaries on their flank, with orders first to charge the enemy at a distance with ball, then attack them sword in hand; and thus, by bearing the brunt of the battle, give the others time to rally.

[s] Cant. p. 144, & seq. [t] Ibid. p. 145, & seq.

These

These orders having been duly executed, the Persians were so fiercely attacked, that they began slowly to give ground, and at last to fly: the right wing, who still bravely maintained the combat, perceiving them faulter, and despairing of victory, fled likewise, to their eternal dishonour. The shâh himself could not have escaped by the swiftness of his horse, if the night coming on had not put an end to the pursuit. Besides many thousands slain and taken prisoners, the Persians lost the leaders of both wings, Mehemed Khân and Tekieli Khân, the bravest generals at that time in the shâh's dominions. Selîm found in the Persian camp the immense treasure and rich furniture of Ismael Shâh. After this action, he declared Pîri Pâshâ, the adviser of the battle, wazîr; and ordered all the Nisa and Sabian captives to be dismissed, saying, it was unjust to make slaves of men who were sunni, and forced into arms; and that the vanquished were rather to be treated with clemency than cruelty. *Shâh Ismael defeated.*

Next day, the inhabitants of Tibrîz, finding themselves deserted by their king, surrendered the city to Selîm, who entered and refreshed his soldiers: then, leaving a strong garrison, returned to Amasia, his farther progress being obstructed by the enemy laying waste the country. From hence he sent to Constantinople many captives famous for birth and learning [u]. This is the account given by the Turkish historians made use of by prince Cantemir; but other writers of the same nation, as well as Christian, relate this war in a different manner; and affirm, that Ismael began it first, on the following occasion. *Tauris surrenders.*

The shâh having sent an ambassador to compliment Selîm on his accession to the throne, and withal a lion by way of present, the soltân, thinking it was done to affront him, sent back two dogs by way of return. Ismael, more incensed at this contemptible usage, resolved to make Morâd, son of Ahmed, the instrument of his revenge. The shâh, taking compassion on this young prince, had given him his daughter in marriage, and early in the spring next year sent him with ten thousand horse into Kappadocia, as well as to make trial of the people's affection to him, as the enemy's strength. At the same time, he ordered Vasi Ogli, a famous commander, to follow with twenty thousand horse, keeping still a day's march behind, while he himself, with a much greater power, staid in Armenia, for fear he should want provisions. When Morâd enter- *Morâd invades Anatolia.*

[u] Cant. p. 148, & seqq.

ed Kappadocia, several places surrendered to him; others he took by force, and destroyed. His design was to have proceeded to Amasia; but he was prevented by Khemdem, beglerbeg of Anatolia, an old experienced commander, who, with a great army, met him at Siwâz, or Sebastia [w].

Selîm sets out.

By this time Selîm, being arrived at Prusa, quickly assembled an army of forty thousand men, and in thirty days marched to Arsingân. There understanding how the enemy had ravaged the country, and retired, he resolved to follow them close; but, when the affair came to be proposed in a council, a great many difficulties were started, as the length of the march, the cold of Mount Taurus, and heats of the Armenian plains, besides the danger from the petty kings of Armenia; especially Alaidulet, lord of the mountains, who, it was thought, ought not to be left behind. Khemden therefore advised the soltân to refresh his men, and wait for the enemy in Kappadocia: but Selîm, disliking his counsel, spoke contemptibly of his person, a circumstance which affording his enemies an occasion to ruin him with the soltân, they went so far, as to procure false witnesses to swear that he had recived a great sum of money from Morâd: whereupon Selim, without hesitation, ordered him to be put to death.

Enters Armenia.

After this execution, he marched to the borders of the Lesser Armenian kings, whom he desired to join him against the Persians, promising to bestow on them all the conquest; but their answer was, that they had taken up arms for no other end than to secure their territories, and without any design to offend either him or the shâh. At the same time, they offered him a free passage through their states, provided he would commit no hostilities; and promised, when he should have entered the Greater Armenia, to supply him with such provisions as their poor countries could afford. Hereupon Selîm, dissembling his resentment, passed the mountains, and in eight days reached the Euphrates; which he traced upwards to its source, in Mount Periardo (R), where he encamped. From thence

Encamps near Koy.

[w] Paul Jovius. Leuncl. Ricaut. in Selym.

(R) Minadoi says, it was in his time called Khielder; but Tavernier, Tournefort, and other later travellers, assure us, that the Euphrates rises about six hours journey from the city of Arzerûm, in the mountain called at present Minghiol, or *the Thousand Springs*.

he

he ſent ſcouts to get intelligence, who, after two days ſearch, returned without one priſoner, and told him, that all the country lay waſte, and was deſerted by the inhabitants. On this information he began to fear treachery, and called to mind the advice of Khemdem; yet he appeared chearful. Underſtanding by his guides, that to the right, beyond the mountain, was the moſt fruitful country of all Armenia, he bent his courſe that way; and having croſſed the Aras, above Koy, he marched to the Kalderân plains, which are in its neighbourhood.

Shâh Iſmael, who was near at hand, reſolved forthwith to give him battle: but firſt he ſent a herald, with ſome attendants, to expoſtulate with Selîm about invading his country, and bid him prepare for battle next day. The ſoltân, in anſwer, required Morâd might be given up; and, on that condition, promiſed to return home. Next day he advanced againſt Iſmael, in order of battle, though he could by no means learn what force he had; ſo faithful were the Perſians to their prince, that not one of them deſerted to the ſoltân, though many of the Turks went over to the ſhâh. *Prepares for battle.*

Selîm, who had eighty thouſand cavalry in his army, poſted Haſſan Pâſhâ, with the European horſe, in the right wing; and Sinân Pâſhâ, with the Aſiatic horſe, in the left, having the Akanji before them; the Aſapi were placed in the main battle; and behind moved the artillery, guarded by four thouſand horſe. Then followed Selîm himſelf and his janizaries, encompaſſed with ſmall field-pieces and carriages, beſides a double fortification of his chained camels. He alſo ordered his foot, who were in the van, on the approach of the enemy's horſe, immediately to open, that the cannon might play upon them. *His great forces.*

Theſe diſpoſitions being made known by deſerters to Iſmael, he divided his forces into two bodies likewiſe: one commanded by himſelf, and the other by Vaſti Ogli. Iſmael's force was very ſmall compared with that of the Turks, conſiſting of thirty thouſand horſe, without any infantry; but among them were ten thouſand men at arms, brave troops, armed with lances, ſcymeters, and maces; the reſt, who fought with arrows, or ſtaves, wore cuiraſſes and helmets. The Perſians, not regarding the number of their enemies, which amounted to three hundred thouſand, boldly advanced againſt them; and the ſhâh, obſerving that the Aſapi, on his approach, divided for the artillery to play, he did the like with his troops, and preſently charged the Turks right wing. After a terrible fight, *Thoſe of Iſmael.*

fight, he slew Hassan Pâshâ, and a great number of his men; forcing the rest to retreat to the place where Selîm was with his janizaries [x].

The battle doubtful.

On the other side, Vasti Ogli, having suffered greatly from the enemy's artillery, charged the Asian horse in the left wing, and made a horrid slaughter. But that general happening to be slain, the Othmâns renewed the battle with great fury, and with their harquebusiers drove the Persian horse headlong upon the Turkish foot: yet the Persians, valiantly breaking through those foot, penetrated to their cannon, which they took; and advanced to the right wing, where Ismael was vigorously charging the European horse, who, retreating, sent to Selîm for help. The soltân opened in two places the carriages, with which he had barricaded his horse, and detached part of them to succour the distressed Europeans; but could neither by fair or foul means prevail upon the janizaries to advance. So that the Persians, surrounding the cavalry, hewed them down like sheep, and were ready to attack Selîm in his greatest strength, when Sinân Pâshâ, though his wing had been in a manner overthrown, following the enemy over heaps of the slaughtered foot, came seasonably to the soltân's assistance, and restored the battle, now almost lost, with so much fury, that the Othmâns, among their dismal days, term this only the day of doom.

Persians overthrown.

The fortune of the day now began to change, chiefly through the invincible courage of Ali Beg, and his brother Mehemed, of the noble family of Mikail Kossi; and Ismael happening to be shot in the left shoulder, was persuaded by his officers to retreat. This step he the more readily took, on hearing of the death of Vasti Ogli, when he retired in such good order, as to have no resemblance of a flight. As he passed by Tauris, he required the citizens to open their gates to Selîm, rather than be utterly ruined. The wearied Turks did not pursue the Persians; but, entering their camp, took all their tents, and many noble ladies, who, after the Persian manner, had followed their lords to the wars. What is very remarkable, there were found among the slain the bodies of many women armed, who had fought beside their husbands in the battle. These Selîm ordered to be decently buried, and set at liberty all the rest, excepting one of Ismael's wives, whom he gave in marriage to a pâshâ. In this famous battle, fought the 7th of August, 1514, Selîm lost thirty thousand men of

[x] Paul Jovius, &c. ubi supra.

the

the flower of his army, with Haſſan Pâſhâ, and ſeven ſanjâks; amongſt whom were the two valiant brothers before mentioned.

From the Khaldirân plains Selîm marched to Taurus, and lodged his army in the ſuburbs. His deſign was to have ſpent the winter in thoſe parts; but the janizaries declaring they would deſert him if he ſtaid, and Selîm at the ſame time being informed, that the ſhâh was making great preparations againſt him, he, contrary to his promiſe, exacted a great ſum of the inhabitants of Tauris, and carrying along with him three thouſand workmen, beſt ſkilled in making armour and weapons, marched back with all ſpeed to the Euphrates. Before his whole army had croſſed that river, the Georgian horſe, the vanguard of Iſmael's army's came in ſight, a circumſtance which ſtruck the Turks with ſuch terror, that two thouſand of them were drowned, ſeveral field-pieces were left ſticking in the mud, and great part of their baggage was carried away with the ſtream. *The Turks harraſſed.*

Their paſſage over the Antitaurus was yet more dangerous than that of the Euphrates; for they were continually alarmed and attacked by the mountaineers, who did them much harm. This was all done by the orders of Alaideulet, though he pretended it was not in his power to reſtrain thoſe people. However, Selîm, who knew to the contrary, put off revenging the ill offices of that prince to a more favourable opportunity, and at laſt, with much difficulty, got ſafe to Trapezond. From thence he proceeded to Amaſia, where he ſpent the winter in recruiting his army; deſigning, in the ſpring, to go and call Alaideulet to account for the damage done him in his laſt march [y].

As he had learned by this year's experience, that nothing could be effected in thoſe cold and mountainous regions, which bounded Perſia, unleſs by early expeditions; in the year 921, ſoon in ſpring, he marched from Amaſia, and ſuddenly took Ghiumah and Bayburud from the Perſians; who little expected ſo early a viſit. Then ſending part of his army, under Ferhâd Pâſhâ, againſt Alaideulet, who was believed to have favoured the Perſians, the pâſhâ came on him unawares; and, having routed his forces, cut off his head. Selim gave his dominions to Ali Beg, ſon of Shâh Suvar, who had faithfully ſerved him at court, on condition the ſoltân's name ſhould be mentioned in the Hejra 921. A.D. 1515. *Alaideulet conquered.*

y Paul. Jovius, ubi ſupr.

public

public prayers; and, towards the end of the year, returned to Conſtantinople [z].

Boſnia recovered.

In his abſence, this year, Yonus Bâſhâ, ſanjak of Boſnia, recovered that country which king Mathias of Hungary had wreſted from Mohammed II. He likewiſe took ſeveral frontier places, and even cities in Hungary itſelf. The Hungarians hereupon raiſed great forces, and beſieged Semendria; of which enterprize notice being given to Selîm, who then beſieged Kamakh, on the Euphrates, before mentioned, he ordered the European forces to aſſemble; who, coming on the Chriſtians unexpectedly, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege [a].

Heira 922. A.D. 1516.

Next year, a freſh opportunity offered of enlarging his empire. The nation of Kara Amîd (S), inhabiting the province of Diyârbekr, having long endeavoured to throw off the Perſian yoke, attempted to effect by ſtratagem what they could not atchieve by force. With this view, they contrived a counterfeit letter to be brought from the ſhâh by a meſſenger to the governor Kâra Khân, commanding him to march out of the city within five days, and encamp in a place called Kavakilder, and there wait for farther orders. Kâra Khân not ſuſpecting any deceit, departed accordingly, with all his forces and family; after which evacuation, the citizens, ſhutting the gates, put the garriſon to the ſword; and then ſent a letter to Selîm, promiſing to ſurrender the city to him, with a requeſt, that he would appoint for their prince Mohammed Beg, ſon of Bilikli Ogli, their countryman; who was then at his court. This propoſal was very agreeable to the ſoltân; but ſuſpecting ſome fraud from that deceitful people, he deferred ſending an anſwer for a whole year, chooſing to loſe them rather than hazard his troops. At length, being tired with the continual hoſtilities which they had with Kâra Khân, Chemſid Beg, a rich nobleman, who poſſeſſed above three

The Kara Amîd revolt from Iſmael.

[z] Cant. p. 152. [a] Leuncl. Hiſt. Muſul. & Ricaut. in Selym.

(S) By Kare-Emîd, or Kâra Amîd, are to be underſtood the inhabitants of the province of Diyâbekr, who take their name from the city itſelf; which is called alſo Kara Amîd; *kâra*, or *black*, being only an epithet added to Amîd, which is the ancient Amîda of the Greeks. The inhabitants of Diyârbekr were a mixture of Arabs, Kurds, and Turkmâns of the Kâra Koyunlu, or *Black Sheep* family; who reigned in this country before their dynaſty was deſtroyed by Uzûn Haſſan, founder of the Ak Koyunlu, or *White Sheep* dynaſty.

hundred

hundred villages in that country, gained credit at laſt for his nation, after ſeveral meſſages to Selîm, and obtained what was deſired.

The treaty being ratified, the ſoltân created Mehemmed Beg, Ibn Biliki, beglerbeg of Diyârbekr, with ſovereign authority, and gave him the whole kingdom; allowing him, moreover, an annual penſion, on the ſole condition of being faithful. The new prince made haſte to take poſſeſſion of his dominions; which, with the conſent of all orders and degrees of the people, he annexed to the Othmân empire. *Mehemmed Beg made their prince.*

Selîm, knowing that Kâra Khân's ardour would not be extinguiſhed by Mehemmed's preſence alone, he, in 922, ſent a good body of troops to his aſſiſtance, with a letter upbraiding his backwardneſs in chaſtiſing that Perſian's inſolence. Mehemmed, ſtung by this reprimand from the perſon to whom he owed his life and fortune, without waiting for the imperial forces, marched againſt Kâra Khân: but while both armies ſtood ready to engage, a great cloud of butterflies appeared in the air between them; and divided themſelves into two parties; the white ranged with the Turks, and the red with the Perſians; preſently the white charged the red, and after a fierce conflict, routed them. The Turks encouraged by this omen, bravely fell on the enemy, and eaſily defeated them, already diſpirited by ſuperſtition. The commander himſelf being found among the priſoners, his head was inſtantly ſtruck off by the victor's order.

Mehemmed Beg, flushed with this unexpected victory, beſieged the ſtrong city of Mardûn; which was forced at length by peſtilence and famine to ſurrender. A few days after, having taken Muſol, at the firſt aſſault, he deſtroyed it with fire and ſword. Theſe two bulwarks being thus reduced, the leſſer cities were eaſily ſubdued; ſo that, within a ſhort ſpace, the whole kingdom of Kyûrdi, and of Jazîreh, was annexed to the Othmân dominions, to the great reputation of Mehemmed Beg, as well as joy of Selîm; who, by the rapid courſe of his victories, was inſpired with a thought of ſubverting the Perſian empire [b]. *His great ſucceſſes.*

The Conqueſt of Egypt.

WITH this view, in the year 923, he departed from Conſtantinople, with a numerous army, and encamped near Halep; not far from which city Soltân Gauri, king Heira 923. A.D. 1517. *War with Egypt;*

[b] Cant. p. 152—157.

of

of Egypt, met him with equal forces; and, sending him ambassadors, offered friendship and assistance against the Persians. But while these things were in agitation, a party of Cherkassians, either with or without their sovereign's connivance, intercepted certain camels going to the Othmân camp, and plundered them. Selîm, incensed at this outrage as a purposed affront, of a sudden laid aside the Persian expedition; and turned his arms against Egypt [c].

occasion of it.

In an account of this war, written by a very considerable Turkish officer (T), who was in the expedition, we find that it was expressly designed originally against the soltân of Egypt. The kadi'lasker informs us, that in the year 1516, Selîm, having been apprised of the treaty concluded between Kansu al Gauri and Shâh Ismael, determined to march against the former with a powerful army, the rather as he knew Ismael had work enough cut out for him by the Green Heads (U). With this view, his army, in May, passed over into Anatolia, and Sinân Pâshâ was sent before, with a body of musketeers and a train of artillery, into Karamania. The shâh dispatched ambassadors to advise Kansu to march with his forces on that side, in order to rout Sinân Pâshâ, while he proceeded on the other. Accordingly the soltân, with a numerous army, advanced to Hâlep. As soon as Selîm heard of this motion, he left Constantinople on the 5th of June, in order to succour his general. On the way he sent the kadi'lasker and Zakharia Pâshâ, his ambassadors to the soltân of Egypt, to know the reason of his coming to Hâlep, which was not customary; and, as they had not an expeditious answer, they concluded that he held intelligence with the shâh.

Embassy to Kansu.

Selîm, having assembled all the doctors and learned men, asked them, what the law of God commanded on this occasion? He was answered, that it was lawful first to cut off that evil thorn, and then proceed where God should guide him. On this, he marched joyfully towards Hâlep, and encamped in a fine plain, near the venerable

[c] Cant. p. 152—157.

(T) Translated by Angiolello into the Italian language, inserted at the end of the Life and Actions of Uzûn Hassan, published in the second volume of Ramusio's Italian Collection of Voyages.

(U) The Yeshil Bâshi, or *Green Heads*, are the Uzbek Tatars, so nicknamed from the colour of their caps; as for the same reason the Persians are named Kezil Bâshi, or *Red Heads*.

grave

grave of the prophet David [d]. This is the kadi'lasker's account of the occasion of the war; which differs in many other particulars from that of Saadi Effendi, to whom we shall now return.

At the same time Selîm received letters from Khair Beg, governor of Damascus, and Gazel Beg, of Hâlep, who bore a mortal enmity to the soltân; wherein, having set forth his tyranny, ingratitude, avarice, and design against their lives, they promised to desert to him in the heat of the battle, and become his subjects; requiring no other reward than that one of them should have for life the government of Egypt, the other of Damascus. Selîm, having granted these conditions under his hand, and confirmed them by an oath, the traitors, following his directions, urged on soltân Gauri to a battle. The soltân, in consequence of their advice, drew up his forces in Burj Vaik, and marched against the Othmâns; who were so placed, that they might receive the enemy from what quarter soever they came. The Cherkassians (X), with a slow pace, approached within bow-shot; then rushing with a great cry on the Turks, furiously charged them, and, notwithstanding their gallant resistance, forced them to give ground.

But while they were elevated by the warmest hopes of obtaining the victory, Khair Beg, in the right, and Gazeli Beg in the left wing, going over to the enemy, struck them with the utmost terror. However, choosing rather to die than be overcome, they renewed the battle, and so fiercely pressed the Othmâns, that, notwithstanding the numbers against them, victory seemed to incline to their side. *His forces defeated;*

Selîm, observing that the Cherkassians by their agility of body, avoided the strokes of swords, spears, and darts, ordered the horse to halt, and placing the janizaries in the front, commanded them to fire on the enemy.

His orders were so well executed, that the Cherkassians, astonished at the sudden slaughter of their men, fell back, to close their ranks. The Turks seeing them recoil, gave them no time to renew the fight, but, rushing on them like a deluge, easily routed the broken troops. Soltân Gauri, finding all hopes of victory vanished, resolved not to survive the disappointment; piercing into the thickest

[d] See Angiolello, ubi supra. cap. 20. ad finem.

(U) The Turkish author them Cherkassians, and not affects every where to call Mamlûks.

of

of his enemies, he overthrew all he met. He flew from rank to rank, and called for Selîm, challenging him to single combat; but fortune did not throw the soltân in his way. At length, not wounded amidst so many swords, but tired with killing; his breath and spirits failed at once, and he fell dead amidst a heap of slaughtered foes [e].

falls down dead;

acts against the advice of Gazeli Beg.

The Christian writers impute the loss of the battle, in a good measure, to the pride and vanity of Kansu Gauri, who could not be persuaded that Selîm intended to attack him, till he was informed by his spies, that the soltân had crossed Mount Amân, and lay encamped with his army two days march distant. Being much perplexed at these unexpected tidings, and in doubt whether he should fight or retire, Jamburd Gazel Beg, governor of Apamia, advised him not to think of so rash an attempt as to engage such numerous well-disciplined troops with so small a force as twelve thousand Mamlûks, but retire towards Damascus; adding, that there he might recruit his army out of the garrisons, and with Arab troops, before the Turks with their heavy carriages could come up; and thus, protracting the war till winter, distress the enemy for want of provisions, as well as give the Persians time to join them, while cannon might be procured also from Rhodes and Cyprus.

Order of battle.

Kansu was inclined to follow this advice: but the headlong temerity of the Mamlûks, eager for battle, and especially the influence which the treacherous Kayer Bey, governor of Hâlep, whose brother the soltân had poisoned some years before, determined his mind the other way. Having taken his resolution, he went and encamped ten miles from that city, on the river Singa, where he made the disposition of the battle, which was fought August 17, 1516, the same day on which, two years before, Selîm overthrew Shâh Ismael in the Kalderân plains. The Egyptians, beside their soltân, lost above ten thousand of their brave Mamlûks, and the Turks three thousand horse [f].

Hâleb surrendered.

After the victory, the inhabitants of Hâlep, with their keys, met Selîm, who received them with much honour, and presented each of the principal citizens with a khilaat, or *vest*. Next Friday, going to the jâmi, he heard his name mentioned in the prayers, and commanded the reader, whilst yet in the pulpit, to be cloathed with a vesture wrought in gold, and alms to be distributed liberally not only to the ecclesiastics, but persons of all conditions.

[e] Cant. p. 157, & seq.

[f] Ricaut. in Selym.

This

This clemency induced not only the leſſer towns in that region to offer themſelves to the conqueror, but alſo the inhabitants of Damaſcus to ſend their elders to meet the ſoltân on his approach, and implore his mercy as well as goodneſs. Theſe he received with a pleaſant countenance; and, after having twice read their petition, promiſed to do every thing they deſired.

Damaſcus ſubmits.

Not content with theſe inſtances of clemency, he thought proper to gain the hearts of the ſuperſtitious people by ſome teſtimonies of his piety. With this view, the day of his entrance into Damaſcus, he ordered divine ſervice to be performed in the jâmi of Bani Ommîyah, and prayers to be offered for his welfare. Next he viſited the monument of the famous Muhiddin (W), without the city. The old men could ſcarce remember to have heard their fathers mention the burial of this hero; and the monument itſelf was not only laid in a vile place, but ſo covered with filth by ſuch as were ignorant of the precious relics it contained, that it looked more like a dunghill than a religious place. Selîm, having expreſſed a due abhorrence of the impiety of the inhabitants, ordered the dirt to be inſtantly removed, and found a marble ſtone, with an inſcription to this effect: "This is the monument of Sheykh Mohammed Ebn Arabi, conqueror of Spain." The emperor, being from hence ſatisfied that the hero's body lay there, erected over the monument a large kubbeh, or cupola, and near it a jâmi, with an hoſpital, where he ordered the poor to be daily ſupplied with meat and drink. He moreover exempted the whole from taxes, and confirmed theſe appointments with a khati-ſharîf, or ſignature of his name.

Selîm's piety and ſeverity.

When he had thus ſpent ſome days at Damaſcus, he conducted his forces, big with the hopes of victory, towards Elkair, or Kayro. In his march, being arrived at Khâni Yunus, and talking freely with the officers, Hîuſan

(W) As Mohammed was his proper name, and Muhiddîn a ſurname, he may poſſibly have been Mohammed Abdo'lmumen, ſon of Tomrût, who took the name of Mahadi, or *the Conductor of the Faithful.* This commander, after driving the Moravideh, or Marabûts, out of Africa, drove them alſo out of Spain, in Hejra 519, A. D. 1125, and founded the race of princes called Moaheddin, for which we ſuppoſe, by ſome miſtake, Muhiddîn has been inſerted in the text. But then he is here called Ebn Arabi, not Ebn Tomrût; and, if he reigned in Spain, why buried here?

Pâshâ, one of his wazîrs, with more boldness than prudence, exclaimed, "Most auspicious emperor, when shall we enter Kuthuir Kais (X)?" Selîm, perceiving his too great familiarity with his friends bred disrespect, replied, "We shall enter indeed when God pleases, but for thee, it is my pleasure that thou stay here;" and immediately ordered his head to be struck off.

Visits Jerusalem.

From thence he marched to Gâza; where, hearing that Kûdsharîf, or Jerusalem, was not far off, he was seized with an emotion of curiosity, to see a city the fountain of so many prophets, and the scene of so many miracles. Accordingly he went thither with a few attendants, and, in three days performing what religion required, returned to his army. Then, pursuing his route, he reduced Sisido'l-bâhr and Khano'ljuni, where he left such as were disabled by wounds or fatigue. As soon as he was gone, the people of Gâza, imagining that he would be cut off with his army by the Cherkassians, killed all the sick and their physician committed to their trust [g].

The Turks in danger of being surprised.

This part of the expedition is represented differently by other historians, particularly the kadhi'lasker, before mentioned. According to that officer, when Selîm had been a few days at Damascus, he ordered Mamet Bey and Skander Bey, two lords of Greece, to march with their troops to Gazzera, or Gaza, at the entrance of the Isthmus of Egypt. In their way they were often attacked by the Moors (Y) and Arabs. Al Gâzeli, who was a valiant commander, and newly arrived at Kayro from the last battle, asked leave of Tumân Bey, the new soltân, who had been grand diadâr, to march against them with five thousand Mamlûks. The Turks at Gazzera having intimation of his design, were in no small perplexity; but, in the interim, Selîm having, to reinforce them, detached Sinân Pâshâ, with fifteen thousand men, that general joined them before the enemy arrived.

Al Gâzeli, who at the same time was not far off, was greatly vext at this disappointment. However, he lost not his courage, but exhorted his men to do their duty,

[g] Cant. p. 159—163.

(X) A village or suburb of Kayro, seeming to have been some narrow and difficult place. Cant.

(Y) As we know not what word was used in the original, by Moors we understand the Egyptians, or other Mohammedans, who were not Turks.

resolving

reſolving to ſurpriſe the Turks in the night. Sinân Pâſhâ, being appriſed of his deſign, drew up his men in order of battle, and the night was ſpent with great joy, by firing guns, and lighting up fires in the camp. When they began to march, the people of Gazzera imagined they were returning to join the emperor; and, having put to the ſword the ſick whom he had left behind, ſent word to Al Gazeli, that the Turks were fled, an intimation which gave him great ſatisfaction for that night: but when at three o'clock next day he ſaw the duſt raiſed by their army, which advanced to attack him, he was greatly diſmayed.

When the armies approached each other, Sinân Pâſhâ harrangued his troops, and was anſwered by loud acclamations. Then he advanced to the charge, and the battle began. The Cherkaſſians ſuſtained his onſet with great courage and force: each ſide having often given way, from the hour of three till noon, and loſt many men. At laſt the Turks remained victors, with a great booty. The Mamlûks fled, purſued by a detachment, while the reſt of the Turkiſh army returned to Gazzera with the pâſhâ; who ordered the heads of all the ſlain lords to be filled with ſtraw, and thoſe of inferior perſons to be fixed on palm-trees, in memory of the battle.

Selîm advances.

The ſoltân, highly pleaſed with the news of this victory, marched from Damaſcus to Peneti, which was plundered and burnt. From thence he went to Jeruſalem; but met with much rain and bad weather, which occaſioned great fatigue, and the death of many. He diſtributed a great deal of money among the poor of that city, and offered ſacrifices of good wether-ſheep. In his march from thence to Gazzera he entered a terrible valley, where not above two horſemen could ride abreaſt. The Arabs had ſeized on this paſs, and amaſſed heaps of large ſtones to throw down upon the Turks; but the janizaries having found means to diſcharge their fire-arms, the Moors were put to flight, and ſome killed. As he approached Gazzera, the valiant men of Greece, well clothed in the enemies apparel, came a bow-ſhot from the town, to meet the ſoltân. The Moors were confounded at the ſight of ſo much pomp. The whole army being divided into two bodies, the ſoltân placed himſelf between both, and received their compliments. On ſight of Sinân Pâſhâ, he thanked him heartily, together with his troops, and made them large preſents.

Arrives near Kayro.

Having rested four days at Gazzera, Selîm marched to Kasali, which was plundered, to be revenged on the Arabs of the place, who had opposed them in the valley. The rains which fell had rendered the road thither commodious, and he took the direct route for Kayro [b].

The armies meet.

Upon the enemy's approach Tumân Bey, sprung from the noblest Cherkassian family, having been elected in the room of Kansu Gauri, and dignified with the title of Muluk Eshrefa (Z), assembled all the remains of his nation, with some auxiliary troops of Arabs, amounting in all to about forty thousand choice men, and encamped in a place called Ridania. Here they fortified themselves with cannon, and various contrivances, in expectation that Selîm, on his coming up, would instantly attack their camp, and so be taken in their toils. But the soltân, informed of their snares by his spies, as he was superior in number, ordered part of his forces to march round the enemy's camp, near Jebeli Maktali, and, at a signal given, to fall on their rear.

Hejra 923. A.D. 1517.

The Cherkassians being thus surrounded on all sides, in the year 923, there was fought so bloody and obstinate a battle as can hardly be described. The enemy, overpowered by numbers, were sometimes forced back, yet as often renewed the charge; the king himself fighting always in the front, and animating his soldiers by his example. The battle was continued for some time with broken ranks, when at last Tumân Bey, seeing part of his forces slain, part taken prisoners, and victory no way to be hoped for, with a select band opened a passage through the thickest of his enemies, and fled to Sheykh Arab, son of Bekkaar. Thus the Othmâns, though not without great slaughter of their men, obtained a complete victory. On their side fell the hero of his age, the renowned general Sinân Pâshâ (A); whose death was so grievous to Selîm, that he is said long

The Mamluks overthrown.

[b] Angiolello, Leunel. & Ricaut, ubi supr. [a] Cant. p. 164.

(Z) *Muluk Eshref* signifies the *Most Holy*, or *Most Auspicious*. Cant.

(A) At the same time all his men, who eat of his bread and salt, and were many, fell a sacrifice, saying, "with the cloathes on, which he has given us, we are willing to die with our master." They washed him with their tears, wrapped him up in the finest linen, sprinkled him with the water of Zemzem, a well in Mecca, and, having dug a grave, buried him.

after

after the taking of Kayro, to have lamented in this manner: "Misr, or Egypt, have I gained, but Yusef or Joseph have I lost; without Yusef, what signifies Misr[1]?"

The brave Tumân Bey, no ways discouraged by so many misfortunes, encamped with the remainder of his troops between Kayro and the Nile. These he recruited with eight thousand Ethiopian slaves. He likewise armed the Jews, Arabs, and sons of the Mamlûcks; but as he wanted artillery, and had not force enough to oppose the enemy in the field, he resolved to surprise them in the night. This design being betrayed to Selîm, he stood on his guard, and ordered great fires to be made throughout his camp; so that the Egyptians were repulsed with great loss. Tumân Bey upon this miscarriage retired to Kayro; and, by help of the inhabitants, fortified the gates and avenues; for it had no walls. Then he collected all his strength in the broad-street, leading from the east gate to the castle, which he likewise supplied with soldiers. The rest of the streets he took no care of; for they were so narrow and crooked that no great artillery could be brought in by them, or soldiers enter without great danger.

The city attacked.

However, Selîm, being informed of all these precautions, next morning by sun-rise entered by the Bâb Zuil, the chief gate of Kayro; and at the same time introduced his horse at divers avenues of the city, but his janizaries marched in by the largest street. Immediately horse encountered horse in the narrow streets and lanes, while the foot, with their light field-pieces placed in front, cleared the way before them. Yet were they still valiantly opposed at the barricades and trenches; where, after the most bloody conflict that can be imagined, the Turks, pressing on one another, tumbled by heaps into the covered trenches, and perished on the sharp stakes planted there on purpose by the enemy. The very women and children had a share in the battle, assaulting the Turks with stones and tiles, from the tops and windows of the houses; while many of the Egyptians, who hated both the Mamlûks and the Turks, attacked sometimes the one, sometimes the other, as they saw fortune was likely to declare herself. In short, the lanes and streets overflowed with blood.

Terrible slaughter.

The fight had now lasted two whole days, when the Mamlûks, being weary, and but few, began to give way: yet, the third day, considering their all was at stake, they

[1] Cant. p. 164.

fought with such determined courage that they drove the Turks a great way back, and took some of their cannon, which they turned upon them with great success. It is said that Selîm, upon his repulse, despairing of victory, and seeing Yonus Pâshâ slain before his face with a stone from a window, ordered the houses to be set on fire; so that while the inhabitants were calling out for mercy in the flames, the Turks fought but faintly, expecting that a retreat would be sounded. While things were in this suspence on one side of the city, Moslafa had defeated the enemy on the other side, and seized the horses of the Mamlûks, which stood ready bridled and saddled in the broad street, to secure their escape, in case they should be constrained to fly. This incident raised the sinking spirits of the Othmâns, and so discouraged the Mamlûks, that they betook themselves to flight, and abandoned Kayro to Selîm, who immediately sent to quench the fire [k].

Tumân Bey flies.

The kadhi'lasker informs us, that, after the fire had been extinguished, the Cherkassians renewed the battle in such a manner, that the arrows fell as thick as rain. The fight continued with the same fury all the day; so that streams of blood ran through the streets. Night coming on, the Cherkassians, who were fatigued and weak, retired into a mosque, where they held out gallantly, as if in a castle, for three days and nights. Being at last pushed very hard, it was taken. Tumân Bey fled in disguise; and Selîm went to take some rest, while the army was intent on plundering and taking prisoners, whose heads were afterwards cut off on the Nile.

Gazeli Bey submits.

Al Gazeli, who had been out of Kayro, raising Arab troops, was returned near the city, when Selîm caused proclamation to be made, that all the Cherkassians who would submit in three days, should be pardoned. A great number, who were at no great distance, took the benefit of this proclamation. Al Gazeli came also, and bent his knee, all receiving large presents. Selîm, accompanied with the great white standard, drums, kettle-drums, and fifes, went to the soltân's palace. Here the treachery of certain Mamlûks having been discovered, they endeavoured to escape; but being taken, some were put to death, and the rest imprisoned for a few days, then drowned in the Nile. Selîm likewise detached Al Gâzeli and a beglerbeg to Kayta, with orders to pillage that city, and punish the slaves there, who had greatly insulted

[k] Leuncl. & Ricaut, ubi supr.

his

his soldiers, sent thither to procure necessaries for the army. The place being accordingly plundered, and the Moors put to death, those of the neighbouring places tamely submitted.

The soltân Tumân Bay, who had passed the Nile, and fled into the county of Saetta, desirous to know what the Turks were doing, sent emissaries to Kayro, secretly to engage the citizens to use them ill. Mean while Omar, an Arab lord, came privately to kiss Selîm's hand, and informed him of the whole transaction; for which he was rewarded with a sanjâk in Saetta. Guards were set on every place, and artillery planted on the banks of the Nile; so that not a bird could pass. It was afterwards resolved to send two grandees, with the kâdhi of Kayro: but the Cherkassians, when they had the ambassadors in their power, put them to death [1]. *Selim offers peace.*

As soon as Selîm heard of this cruelty, he ordered bridges to be built across the Nile, and Mostafa to march over with his whole army. Of this design the soltân having been informed, he, with five thousand Cherkassians, and ten thousand Arabs, well mounted, began his march, and in one day and night made such speed, that they drew near the Turks at such time as part of the troops of Greece had crossed the river, and the rest were getting over, little expecting so sudden a visit from the enemy. But those appointed to mark out a place for the emperor's tent, perceiving their approach by the dust which their horses raised, in a great surprize, mounted, and Selîm sent to order Mostafa to do the like. The Cherkassians bore down all before them, till they came to the standard; but the Turks being there reinforced, repulsed them. The enemy rallied again, and drove back the Othmâns, with so much slaughter, that the blood ran like a river. *Another bloody battle.*

At length the pâshâ Mostafa, who was in Selîm's presence, seeing the battle in danger of being lost, drew his scymiter in a rage, and ran towards Tumân Bay, determined to deprive him of life. The Grecian, or European troops, beholding so much bravery in their commander, followed with a resolution to act in conformity with him; and certainly, had courage been then wanting, they must all have quickly bid adieu to life. The battle being thus renewed with so much vigour, the soltân perceived, that the Turks were resolved to obtain the victory: at the same instant reflecting with himself, that from a great lord he *The soltân flies.*

[1] Angiolello, ubi supr.

was reduced to an insignificant slave, and from immense riches to extreme poverty; he fixed his eyes on the heavens, and expostulated in such bitter terms, as filled all those who heard him with grief and compassion. After many exclamations and tears, he fled by day and night till he reached a bridge, where he rested. Mostafa, with the Grecian band, pursued him, while Selîm set out for Kayro; but as he continued his flight, he kept out of their reach.

He is taken, and put to death.

The bâshâ had now been four days and as many nights in pursuit of him, when he, through fatigue, was obliged to retire to a farm-house of the Moors; but the Turks, being also tired, could not easily come up with him. They therefore wrote to those of the farm, to keep a guard, and take care that the soltân proceeded no farther, under pain of having it pillaged and burned. Sheykh Assâim, who was chief of the farm, having acquainted all the rest with this order, the Moors surrounded Tumân Bay and his Cherkassians in such a manner, that they could not escape: but when the Turks came up, they threw themselves into a neighbouring lake, where part of them were cut to pieces, and others made prisoners. Tumân Bay was then knee-deep in water, and brought to the pâshâ, who thereupon dispatched a courier to the emperor with an account of what had passed.

The messenger was received with great joy, and all the sanjâks and lords kissed his majesty's hand. The soltân was now brought into Selîm's presence, but lodged in a tent near him, and strongly guarded. Mostafa fought another battle at a farm-house, near the Nile, with the Moors, who, in conjunction with some Mamlûks, had murdered and plundered the Turks. Having destroyed this house, he staid in the neighbourhood four days, and then returned to the emperor, who held a court, and ordered that Tumân Bay, the soltân, should be carried on a mule through the country of Kayro, and hanged at the gate called Bâbzowelet, which was accordingly executed [m].

Prince Cantemir says, that Selîm, when the king was brought bound into his presence, could not refrain from giving him his liberty, and bidding him daily eat at his table. Thus Tumân Bay, having purchased his freedom by his virtue, conversed both in public and private with his conqueror; informing him of the state of the Egyptian affairs, with the laws, genius, and manners of the people.

[m] Angiolello, ubi supr. See Leunclavius and Knowles.

But

But the miserable captive shortly after bitterly experienced how fortune sports with human affairs. Selîm could not but admire his heroic virtues, singular fortitude, sound counsels, and grave deportment. He thought it base to put such a man to death; and, as he seemed to free him from all danger, he had resolved to take him into his friendship, and set him over the kingdom of Egypt. These intentions being known to the people, they began already to express their hopes, that, by being vested with so great authority, Tumân Bay would, soon after the soltân's departure, have it in his power to help the Arabs to expel the Turkish garrisons, and restore the Cherkassian dominion. For a while Selîm was unwilling to give credit to such reports, as thinking them raised by enemies; but finding them to continue, he ordered Ali Beg, son of Sheykh Suvar, whose father had lately been fastened to a hook by the Cherkassians, to hang up the unfortunate king in the gate of Kayro, called Zavil, with these words: "How great my mercy was, is already declared: but what the malignant speeches of the vulgar, though on his side, can affect, let the wretch himself experience." The order was gladly executed by Ali Beg on the 10th of Rabio'l-awel.

Egypt submits.

The unexpected death of their king infused a terror into the Egyptians not to be expressed. They who before, with concealed indignation, bore his unjust dominion, now ran in a suppliant manner to Selîm, intreating his clemency, and promising faithful obedience. The soltân pardoned them, on condition that they delivered up the concealed Cherkassians. Hereupon the common people, fond of novelty, searched every where for their former lords, and dragged them bound to Selîm, to be butchered. This prince having the next day ordered a theatre, with a throne on it, to be erected on the banks of the Nile, commanded all the prisoners, said to exceed thirty thousand, to be beheaded in his presence, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. The second day he made a triumphant entry into Kayro; but, after a few hours stay, departed, and encamped near the Nile, in a place called Ruza. Having allowed his forces time for refreshment, on the 7th of Jamazio'lawel, he marched towards Iskanderiya, or Alexandria; but the city having avoided his indignation by a surrender, after settling the affairs of it, he returned to the inland parts of Egypt, and appointed Khair Beg governor of the kingdom [n].

[n] Cant. p. 165, & seqq.

In

Raïs Solymân yields up the fleet.

In the mean time Raïs Solymân, admiral of the Egyptian fleet, came and paid allegiance to Selîm. This fleet had been built in four years, at Swîz, or Suez, at the end of the Red Sea, by order of the late Kansu Gauri, and was designed against the Portuguese, who by their discovery of the Indies by sea, and conquests made there, had diverted the course of trade, which before passed through Egypt, to the extreme prejudice of that country. It was sent out under the command of Amîr Azîz and Raïs Solymân; but news arriving while they lay at Jidda, the port of Mecca, of the death of that soltân, and Selîm's entrance into Egypt, a mutiny arose among the soldiers: the issue of which was, that Amîr Azîz, who favoured Tumân Bay, was obliged to fly to that city for refuge; and being some time after delivered up to Solymân, who threatened else to attack the place, he was drowned in the night. After this incident, Solymân sailed back to Swîz, and went to submit himself to Selîm, as hath been already mentioned.

Egypt and its provinces being thus brought into subjection to Selîm, he, in the beginning of July, sailed down the Nile to Alexandria, there to view his fleet, sent by Piri Pasha and his son Solymân, from Constantinople, whither he removed five hundred of the best families from Egypt, besides the treasures of the country, and then returned to Kayro, from whence he soon after set out on his return for Europe.

Yonus Pasha put to death.

Yonus Pâshâ was become so popular by his valour and liberality, that Selîm fought an occasion to destroy him, which that officer soon furnished him with. A few days before the army was to depart for Syria, the garrison of Kayro petitioned for an augmentation of their pay. The soltân, always liberal to his soldiers, readily consented, and ordered Yonus to see it done; but the Pâshâ, carried headlong by the resentment he had conceived at the advancement of Kayer Bey to the government of Egypt, which he thought himself more worthy of, gave the treasurers and paymasters no orders about it. His view was to incense the soldiery against Kayer Bey, as the author of their wrongs, and by that contrivance get him displaced, but the Pâshâ was fatally out in his calculation, for when pay-day came, and no money was to be had, the governor and officers of the treasury, after excusing themselves to the insulting soldiers, dispatched messengers to Selîm, then at Larissa, to acquaint him with the matter. The soltân, highly incensed, sent for Yonus, who alleged,

that

that he had no ill intention in what he did; that the soldiers had been sufficiently enriched by the spoils of Egypt, and that his majesty's coffers were empty; but Selîm, not giving him leave to proceed, ordered him to be executed in his presence [a].

Hejra 925. A D. 1519.

Being arrived at Gaza, to revenge the perfidiousness of the inhabitants, he put every soul to the sword, and razed their city to the ground. Afterwards, coming to Damascus, he delivered that city, with the government of Palestine and Syria, to Gâzeli Beg, according to agreement. In short, within the space of one year, and in the same expedition, Selîm added more territories to the Othmân empire than any one of his predecessors had been able to subdue in his whole reign; for he not only conquered all the dominions of the Cherkassians in Asia and Egypt, but likewise reduced to his obedience other strong and famous cities of Asia; such as Malatîya, Dierbeghi, Derenda, Behtisi, Kierkieb, Kiakhte, Berejîk, Antâb, and Antakhia. Even the sharîf of Mekka brought the keys of his city to Selîm, whilst he was about Kayro, and openly acknowleged his sovereignty. He was honourably received by the soltân, who appointed his son his successor in the principality. By the authority of this man, the tribes of the wandering Arabs were induced voluntarily to submit to him, and deliver him a writing for a testimony of their fidelity, with some of their principal countrymen in hostage.

Selîm's conquests, and farther designs frustrated by death.

Being arrived at Hâlep, in Ramazân, 925, he was met by a Persian ambassador, sent by a feigned submission, to divert the storm that threatened his master. The more easily to obtain his ends, besides making magnificent presents, he tried to sooth the ambitious soltân with new titles, styling him Shahîn Shâhi alem, ve Saheb Kerâni bani Adam, that is, *emperor of emperors, and sole conqueror, or autocrator, of the sons of Adam.* Selîm's pride was so swelled with such great victories, and vain congratulations, that having made his triumphant entrance into Constantinople, he, next year, as if the fortune of war had been at his command, bound himself with an oath, not to recede a step till he had subverted the empire of the Persians, and utterly extinguished a nation perfidious to God, and hateful to man. This vow he made in a belief, that he should afterwards subdue, without difficulty, the Christian princes. But Providence seemed to thwart

[a] Leuncl. & Ricaut, ubi supra.

his

his arrogant designs; for he was obliged for want of money to defer his intended war the first year, and turn his thoughts to raising new supplies out of the conquered countries, which took up another year. Winter drawing on, to divert the time, he resolved to visit the monuments of his ancestors at Adrianople: but he had scare reached the village Suasht-di, when he was seized with a fever. Next day there appeared in his thigh an impostume, which so tormented and weakened him, that all the sinews of his body and feet were contracted. The tumor was indeed opened by a skilful surgeon, and remedies were applied, but the obstinate ulcer so infected his whole body, that after forty days of torture rather than sickness, the splendor of the Othmân empire expired [p].

Hejra 926. A.D. 1520. Perhad Pâshâ, who alone had staid with the soltân, concealing his death from all but the rest of the wazîrs, for fear of some commotion, immediately sent notice to Solymân, Selîm's son, then residing at Trapezond, who, on receipt of his letter, hastened to Constantinople, where all the great officers, clothed in mourning, saluted him emperor, in Shawal, 926. The same day, after noon, he went attended by his courtiers to meet his father's funeral, and conducted his body, with great pomp, to the jâmi built by Mohammed II. where it was interred, with this epitaph inscribed on his tomb: "This year Soltân Selîm departed to an everlasting kingdom, leaving the empire of the world to Solymân."

His successor.

Reign and character. Selîm lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine years and eight months. He had all the qualifications of a hero; with an able head, strong arm, and great contrivance: indefatigable, where the safety of the state was concerned, very fit to manage affairs, and extremely quick in discovering hidden designs. He frequently walked in disguise about the public places, streets, and camp, as well by night as day; and punished severely whatever he found contrary to his laws, or the common good. He had also his spies, who, mixing with all companies, daily reported to him what they had heard or seen. By these means he was so well acquainted with every thing which passed, that it became a common saying in his time, The empeperor will know to-morrow what passes in the chamber between man and wife: and this diligence to pry into people's behaviour, proved of so great service to the em-

[p] Cant. p. 167, & seqq.

pire,

pire, that, during his abſence in ſuch remote expeditions as were undertaken by him, there happened no rebellion but what was ſtifled in the very birth.

Horrible cruelty.

In ſhort, this ſoltân would have merited immortal praiſe, if he had not, by his proneneſs to anger and cruelty, ſullied the luſtre of his virtues. Two years before his death, Turkomania being infeſted by a robber, who, at the head of a conſiderable force, attempted to become maſter of that and the neighbouring provinces, Selîm ſent againſt him Ferhâd Pâſhâ, with great part of his forces: but before his arrival, the rebels had been routed by Ilbiſtân Beg Mehmed, ſon of Sheykh Savur. While the Pâſhâ, not daring to return without the emperor's order, encamped about Amaſia, a malicious ſlanderer, under pretence of fidelity, told him, that a counterfeit Morâd, who pretended to be the ſon of Soltân Ahmed, had drawn the whole city to his ſide, with above ſeven hundred robbers. Ferhâd, without examining into the matter, acquainted the emperor with what he had heard, and deſired his orders in this imminent danger. Selîm, truſting perhaps to his general's prudence, commanded without any enquiry, that all the chief men of the country ſhould be impaled. By this precipitate and cruel order, above ſix hundred innocent perſons of note ſuffered that infamous as well as horrible puniſhment; others were beheaded, and the reſt dragged through the ſtreets at the tails of horſes.

Selîm alone, of ſo many Turkiſh emperors, ſhaved his beard after he aſcended the throne, contrary to the received cuſtom, as well as the precepts of the Korân; by which the ſons of princes are enjoined to do it before, but not afterwards. The ſoltân being, on this occaſion, gently and facetiouſly reproved one day by the mufti, anſwered, that he did it to prevent his wazîrs from having any thing to lead him by.

The Turks relate of him, that he always had by him, or in his hand, a club, called topûz; of which cuſtom, they ſay, this was the occaſion. In the time of Bâ-yezîd, ſome provinces bordering on Perſia, for peace ſake, paid, yearly to that empire, by way of tribute, a certain number of carpets, called chul. His father being dead, the governors of thoſe provinces ſent to Selîm to know whether this ſlight tribute was to be continued, or not. His anſwer was, "Tell the infidel Kezil-bâſh, or Redhead, that the father of the carpets is gone, and the father

father of the clubs (B) is come in his room. The Turks are full of such stories of Selîm; which, for brevity, are omitted.

SECT. XI.

The Reign of Solymân I. surnamed Kanûni.

The Taking of Rhodes, Siege of Vienna, and Wars of Hungary.

Solymân I. SOLYMAN KANUNI (C) had scarce mounted his father's throne, when Gâzeli Beg, made governor of Damascus by Selîm, revolted, with a design to render himself independent. With this view, raising forces, he suddenly besieged Hâlep, which was bravely defended by Koja Mostafa Pâshâ till the arrival of Ferhâd Pâshâ. On this junction Gâzeli Beg, too weak to oppose him, raised the siege, and encamped near Damascus, in a place called Mustâba, which he strongly fortified, in hopes the imperial army would be forced by the scarcity of corn, and season of the year, to march back; but Ferhâd, mindful of the emperor's order, followed him, and at length, contrary to the opinion of all, Sefr the 27th, 927, attacked him in his fortified camp. There, after a fierce and doubtful fight for ten hours, all difficulties being surmounted, the whole rebel army, with their leader, was slain. The conquering Pâshâ entered Damascus, and appointed Ayâs Pâshâ beglerbeg of the city.

Hejra 927. A D. 1520.

Gazeli Beg rebels.

(B) The father of clubs is a phrase borrowed from the Arabs, signifying *a man abounding with*, or *possessed of, any thing*, as Abu'l Iman, *the father of faith*, or *endued with faith*; Altûn Babasi, *the father of gold*; that is, *one abounding with money*. Cant.

(C) Kanûni is taken from the Greek word *Kanonista*, *institutor of rules:* for Solymân instituted the written laws, which now subsist in the Othmân court and commonwealth; where affairs before were regulated almost entirely by custom, or rather the will of the soltân. By reason of these constitutions, he is, in the imperial library, painted with a book in his hand. He is by the Christian historians surnamed the Magnificent. Count Marsigli has published a translation, both in Italian and French, of the Kanûn Nameh, so far as relates to the army and revenue, under the title of The Military State of the Othmân Empire. Printed at the Hague and Amsterdam, 1733, in folio, with cuts.

Asia

Asia being now in peace, Solymân resolved to turn his arms against the European princes, in order to extend his dominion as far to the West of his capital, as it reached to the East. That he might not be disturbed in the midst of his progress by commotions in other parts, he left to Ferhad Pâshâ the care of Asia; sent one fleet into the Archipelago, and another into the Black Sea, consisting of fifty ships of war, with four hundred transports to take care of the provisions for his intended expedition. These precautions being taken, he departed by land, with a great army, to subdue Hungary: but before he set out, sent to Yahia Beg, son of Bali Beg, governor of Semendria, with what forces he had, to besiege Belgrade, and hinder either provisions or a reinforcement to be thrown into the city. The soltân, at length arriving, encamped in the field called Zeknîn; from whence he detached Mostafa Pâshâ, and Ahmed Pâshâ, beglerbeg of Rûm-eli, or Thrace, with forces to assist Yahia Beg. These two generals, by battery and undermining, soon destroyed the walls, and so fatigued the besieged by hourly assaults, that at length they were forced to surrender, on the fifth of Ramazân, the bulwark of Hungary; which had often been attacked, but never taken before: and thus opened the way to Buda, the capital of that kingdom. *Belgrade taken.*

Mean while Solymân, with the rest of the army, took, partly by assault, partly by capitulation, Burgaz Burij, Tiruje, and Biugurdlen, over-running the adjacent country, which he made the seat of the future war. On his return to Constantinople, he received advice, that Sheh Suvar Ogli, prince of Marâsh, was secretly preparing to shake off the Othmân yoke. Hereupon he sent orders to Ferhâd Pâshâ to take off that prince's head. As it seemed dangerous to execute this order openly, the Pâshâ sent him a letter, telling him, he was by the soltân appointed his assistant, and desiring he would come to consult with him about the public affairs: the prince, suspecting no deceit, fell into the snare; and, coming to Ferhâd's tent, was with his two sons, put to death [q]. *Ali Beg slain.*

Solymân having prepared a great fleet, in 928, sent the wazîr Mostafa Pâshâ to Rodos, or Rhodes, and followed himself in Ramazân. On his arrival, he closely pressed the city, and surrounded it with strong works. In this siege were employed all the arts of assaulting and defending hitherto invented by the wit of man. Both parties Hejra 928. A.D. 1521. *Rhodes subdued;*

[q] Cant. p. 174, & seqq. & Ricaut. in Solymân the Magnif.

fought

fought for five months with such fury, as if the dispute had been for the empire of the world, rather than a single city. At length the Christians, exhausted by continual slaughters and watchings, were forced to surrender on the 3d of Safr of the next year. This event, was followed by the voluntary submission of the neighbouring islands Iskankioy (D) and Butrum [r].

forces there; As the Christian historians have written copiously of this important place, we shall from them supply the deficiency of the Turkish. These authors tell us, that the damages committed by the gallies of Rhodes, within his dominions, determined Solymân to reduce that place. With this view, he made great preparations; which alarming the grand master, Philip de Villiers Lisle-Adam, grand prior of France, he put himself into a posture of defence. On a general-muster, there were found to be at most between five and six thousand men in the city and villages, able to bear arms; among whom were six hundred knights of the order, and five hundred Candiots.

About the middle of June a fire was made on the continent, and a galley sent to see what was the matter; but the captain refusing to land, one of the horsemen laid a letter on a stone by the water-side, and then rode away. It came from the soltân, requiring Rhodes to be given up to him, with promises to grant them their religion and liberty in case they complied; and threatening destruction in case they refused. The Rhodians, now assured of Solymân's designs, destroyed their suburbs and houses of pleasure, the grand master setting the example. The common people were also, by his order, brought into the town, with what provision they could procure.

those of the Turks. On the 26th, early, the Turkish fleet, to the number of four hundred sail, great and small, with two hundred thousand men on board, sixty thousand of them pioneers, appearing in sight, the gates of the city were shut up. The vice-admiral bore directly towards the mouth of the port; but seeing himself likely to be sunk by the guns from the bulwark on the left-side, he passed on with the rest of the ships. While the Turks were landing, and making other preparations, at Parambolin, a place about six miles from

[r] Cant. p. 177.

(D) Or Ko, corruptly by the Greeks Eis ten Ko, as Istambol, from Eis ten polin. Cant. It is faultily printed in the text Iskankioy. It is in the maps called Stankhio.

the

the town, the Rhodians ſunk ſeveral deep ſounds within the walls to diſcover the enemies mines; and fortified their bulwarks with great ramparts. At the ſame time the grand-maſter ſent to Spain, Rome, and France, for aſſiſtance; but to no purpoſe, on account of the diſtractions prevailing at that time among the Chriſtian princes. However, the brave Prejanes, governor of Khios, then under the power of the Rhodians, made ſhift to get to the iſland; as did alſo Gabriel Martiningo, a famous engineer from Candia, by whoſe ſkill fifty-five mines were countermined during the ſiege [s].

The city of Rhodes lies to the north part of the iſland, by the ſea-ſide, where it has two ports; one for gallies to the north, the other for ſhips to the eaſt. It was incloſed with a very ſtrong double wall; which had ſeveral fair gates, and was defended by five great bulwarks, thirteen fine towers, and very deep ditches. Without the walls, is a ſtony plain, not very broad, but of great length, bounded with hills, full of ſprings; which ſurround the city at ſome little diſtance, and were planted with olives, figs, and vines. *City deſcribed.*

The city had not been long inveſted, before it was in danger of being fired by ſome Turkiſh women ſlaves; who being diſcovered, their ringleader was put to death. The enemy, having poſſeſſed themſelves of a hill directly over-againſt the place where the Engliſh knights were poſted, began from thence to batter the place; and, under cover of their guns, opened their trenches, and fell to mining. But their pioneers, and thoſe who guarded them, were ſo moleſted by the ſallies of the garriſon, that, vaſt numbers of them being ſlain, they were forced to raiſe their mounts by night, and turn their artillery againſt the part from whence the Rhodians ſallied.

In the mean time, the Turkiſh ſoldiers being weary of the ſiege, Solymân, at the requeſt of Piri Pâſhâ, on the 28th of Auguſt, came himſelf in perſon to the camp; and now they began to make their approach to the ditch by trenches; raiſing two vaſt mounts of earth, one oppoſite to the gate of Auvergne and Spain, the other againſt the gate of Italy. Theſe were carried to the edge of the counterſcarp, and advanced ten or twelve feet higher than the walls of the town. The trenches being finiſhed, the ſeve- *Batteries raiſed.*

[s] Hiſt. of the Siege in Hakluyt. Collect Voy. vol. ii. p 72. Hiſt. Knights of St. John, in Thevenot's Trav. p. i. cap. 72. Ricaut. in Solimân.

ral generals took their posts, each against a bulwark, and furiously battered the walls with their ordnance. Stones of a vast size were thrown into the city from twelve great mortars; and a battery of forty cannon, whereof twelve were basiliſks, never ceased playing. But these with another planted against St. Nicholas's Tower, produced no great effect, because much annoyed by the cannon of the city. However Piri Pâshâ, after having had thirty-two of his mines frustrated, on the 4th of August blew up the English bulwark, where several officers of that nation perished. The Turks attempted to enter by this breach, but were repulsed by the grand-master and his party; when Mostafa Pâshâ, coming on with fresh troops, renewed a most terrible fight. However, by the bravery of the women as well as men, the Turks were forced to retreat, with the loss of two thousand men; while the besieged had fifty knights of the order, besides a few others, slain. The enemy had no better success in the second assault, which lasted three hours; wherein they lost as many men as in the former, with three great officers. Piri Pâshâ also was beaten from a mount which he had taken, and from whence he battered the Italian bulwark, which was near to it, with seventeen pieces of cannon; whilst the mines formed against the French bulwark were all countermined [t].

English bulwark blown up.

Several assaults.

Mostafa, to retrieve his credit with Solymân, resolved on a third assault against the English bulwark, in concert with Ahmed, a great officer, who was at the same time to attack the Spanish bulwark. But although many brave Englishmen lost their lives, and Prejanes was wounded in the furious conflict, yet Mostafa was baffled in his attempt. Ahmed indeed won the top of the wall, and pitched the Turkish standard on it, yet he was quickly beaten down again. However, the enemy having, on the 23d of September, by their mines and battery against the Auvergne bulwark, made a large breach, Solymân resolved on another assault the next day; of which the grand-master being informed by means of a Christian slave, he prepared his people to receive the enemy. The attack was made in five different places at once, with ten thousand Turks in each body; but they were opposed by the besieged of all ages and conditions, as well as of both sexes; who, with all kinds of destructive instruments, from the walls made great havock among them. The grand-master was present

[t] Hist. of the Siege, in Hakluyt. Collect. Voy. &c. ubi supra.

every

every where. After having taken all proper care of the Italian quarter, much diſtreſſed by Piri Paſhâ, he went to that of the Engliſh, hardly preſſed by Moſtafa. While he was there, a ſudden cry was heard, that the Spaniſh bulwark was loſt, as in effect it was; for while the Spaniards, who guarded that bulwark, left it to aſſiſt their countrymen poſted to the right of it, who were briſkly charged by Ahmed, ſome Turks, who at the beginning of the aſſault, to avoid the ſhot had hid themſelves among the rubbiſh at the foot of the bulwark, took that opportunity to mount the wall, and quickly got poſſeſſion of it. But they were ſcarcely warm in that poſt when the grand-maſter with a party of choice men, reſolutely ſcaled it again; while Hugh Capon and Menoſius, both knights of the order, with a company of Candiots, broke into the bulwark by the gate, which the Turks had not yet bolted, and recovered it, after it had been two hours in the hands of the enemy. In ſhort, the Turks being every where defeated with great ſlaughter, Solymân, after an aſſault of ſix hours, and the loſs of twenty thouſand men, ſounded a retreat; but was ſo enraged at this ill ſucceſs, that he ordered Moſtafa to be put to death, and Piri Pâſhâ afterwards, for interceding for him. Both would have ſuffered, if the reſt of the great officers had not implored mercy for them. However his admiral, becauſe he could not hinder relief from reaching the city by ſea, did not fare ſo well; for though by the mediation of Ahmed he eſcaped death, yet he was removed, and ſcourged as a ſlave on board the admiral galley.

Spaniſh bulwark loſt and regained.

Solymân, diſcouraged by theſe loſſes, would have raiſed the ſiege, but that he was perſuaded by his favourite Ibrahîm to continue it. Being thus reſolved, he began to build a ſtately palace on Mount Philermus in ſight of the city; during which time, ſeveral letters were ſhot with arrows into the town, diſcloſing many of the ſoltân's counſels; and intimating the deſigned revolt of a great man, ſuppoſed to have been Moſtafa; but he having been ſoon after made governor of Egypt, in the room of Kayer Beg, deceaſed, they received no more letters from the camp. Mean while, if the beſieged had friends in the enemy's camp, the enemy did not want them in the town; for firſt a Jew phyſician, employed as a ſpy, gave them notice of the ſtate of the place by letters; and then they were encouraged by the advice of Andrea de Amaral, a Portugueſe prior of Caſtile, chancellor of the order, and one of the

Solymân diſcouraged.

Treachery of Amaral.

principal lords of the council. This traitor diſguſted that De Villiers ſhould be preferred to the grand-maſtery before him, betrayed the weak condition of the place to the ſoltân; informing him that the beſieged were quite ſpent, and promiſing him an eaſy conqueſt if he ſtaid but a few days longer, and attacked the town in the place to which he directed. This notice was given by a letter or letters, tied to an arrow, and ſhot into the Turkiſh camp; in doing which, his ſervant was detected, and, being examined, confeſſed the whole affair [u].

A great breach. Nevertheleſs, it being now the month of October, the bad weather ſo much incommoded both the army and fleet, that Solymân was diſtracted, when Ahmed encouraged him to continue the ſiege, by promiſing in a ſhort time to open a way into the city. To accompliſh this aim, he never left attacking the outer wall of the Auvergne quarter till he had made himſelf maſter of it; after which atchievement, he raiſed a ſtrong penthouſe againſt the town-wall, which he began to undermine. This deſign ſtruck a great damp upon the ſpirits of the Rhodians, who yet deſtroyed many of the Turks at their work; however the latter, prevailing by numbers, at laſt beat down the wall; ſo that the beſieged had no better expedient left than to labour day and night in raiſing another.

General aſſault. Theſe advantages gained, Solymân prepared for a general aſſault on the laſt day of November. The Turks, with colours flying and great ſhouts, ruſhed towards the breach, and advanced to St. Ambroſe's Gate, while the fleet made a ſhew of attacking the city from the ſea; but the beſieged, preferring death to the thoughts of captivity, behaved ſo gallantly, that the Turks, notwithſtanding their fierce attacks, were forced to retreat. However, ſtung with the ſcoffs flung at them by the Rhodians on that occaſion, and diſdaining to be ſo treated by a handful of men, they returned to the charge with greater fury than before; yet at laſt were obliged to march back, leaving five thouſand more dead behind them.

Turks gain ground. After this defeat, they employed themſelves in making trenches through the rubbiſh of the walls, in order that way to get into the city, and demoliſh the new-raiſed countermure, and other barricades. In effect, they made ſuch progreſs with their mattocks and pick-axes, at the ſame time continually ſkirmiſhing with the beſieged, that

[u] Hiſt. of the Siege in Hakluyt. Collect Voy. &c. ubi ſupra.

they

they soon obliged them to pull down several houses, in order to erect new fortifications, and dig new trenches. Thus they found the city daily going from them, and themselves pent up in less room, the enemy having by this time gained within the town almost two hundred paces in breadth and one hundred and fifty in length.

Solymân, though now assured of carrying the place, at the persuasion of Ahmed and Kassi, sent Jerom Monelia, a Genoese, to parley with the Rhodians; but as his orders were to deliver his message in private to Mathias de Via, his countryman, Farnovius, one of the knights, ordered him forthwith to depart. Yet soon after the grand-master, at the earnest solicitations of the people, was forced to send ambassadors to Solymân, to know for what end he had sent to require a parley; but the soltân in a great heat, as if he had known nothing of the matter, said there was no such thing; and sent them back with a letter to the grand-master and citizens, advising them to make trial of his clemency; with a promise of liberty and effects, in case they submitted. The grand-master was for resisting to the last, in defence of their faith and honour. With him some others joined, out of distrust that the Turks would not keep their articles with them; but the majority were for putting it to a trial, rather than occasion the destruction of so many people. *A parley required.*

However, the grand-master broke up the assembly without coming to a final resolution; only promising to take care of their welfare; but next morning, finding by Prejanes that the enemy had so shaken and battered their works, that the city could not possibly be long defended, it was by general consent agreed to surrender; and a truce was accordingly settled for four days. Mean while a ship arrived from Candia, with wines, and one hundred volunteers, unknown to the Venetians, then in league with the Turks; who in great numbers approaching the walls of Rhodes, Favorinus ordered a whole tire of cannon to be fired against them. The enemy, justly offended at this breach of the truce, advanced through the ruins of the breaches into the city, as far as the rampiers and barricadoes, to revenge the injury; but were valiantly driven back. However the Rhodian ambassadors, then in the Othmân camp, must have been torn in pieces by the enemy, had it not been for the Turkish hostages in the town: but on the arrival of two burgesses in the camp, with the terms of surrender, all was presently quiet. *The city surrendered.*

Le Villiers honoured.

Solymân having agreed to all the articles (E), the grand-maſter, by Ahmed's advice, went in a mean habit to proſtrate himſelf before the ſoltân, attended with a few knights of the order. Having waited at the tent-door in the rain moſt part of the day, he was clothed with a rich robe, and then introduced. Soon after, he was admitted to kiſs the hand of Solymân, who would have engaged him in his ſervice; but Le Villiers declining it with a modeſt boldneſs, which pleaſed the ſoltân, he was ſent back to the city with honour. A few days after, when Solymân viſited the place, the grand-maſter would have proſtrated himſelf before him; but the ſoltân took him up, and called him father. Likewiſe, when he went to deſire leave to depart, he was received ſo very courteouſly, that Solymân, turning to Ibrahîm Pâſhâ, ſaid, "Truly, I cannot but be troubled to ſee this unfortunate old man, driven out of his own habitation, departing ſo heavily from hence." The ſoltân entered the city in triumph on Chriſtmas-day, 1522 [w].

Egypt rebels.

During the ſiege of Rhodes, Khair Beg, governor of Egypt, happening to die, Jumun-Kiaſhuf, an Arab Sheykh, who had ſubmitted to Selim, by his ſpeeches and preſents perſuaded all the people of Egypt unanimouſly to attempt to ſhake off the Othmân yoke. Solymân, hearing of theſe tranſactions, ſent his wazîr Moſtafa Paſhâ, with five ſhips, into Egypt; who, arriving in a few days at Eſkanderîya, ſurpriſed the rebels unprepared, and, entirely routing them, reſtored the country to its former ſtate: but as it took him up time to ſettle affairs, and collect Khair Beg's riches, which were very great, Solymân, to whom the whole adminiſtration of the government ſeemed too great a burthen, made Ibrahîm Aga, from a common janizary, prime wazîr.

Moſtafa, who thought his late victory deſerved rather an addition of honour than an affront, was grieved at this promotion: but concealing his reſentment, as if entirely ignorant of what had been done, ſent an account of

[w] Hiſt. of the Siege in Hakluyt. Collect. Voy. &c. ubi ſupra.

(E) Theſe were, that the churches ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians; that no children ſhould be taken from their parents; that none ſhould be forced to change his religion; that ſuch as would, might remain in the city without paying tribute for five years; and that the reſt, with their goods, ſhould be ſhipped for Candia, with as many cannon as they pleaſed, within a reaſonable time.

his

his proceedings to Rhodes, and requeſted the government of Egypt, as a reward for all his paſt ſervices. Solymân readily granted his petition, telling him, he reſerved nothing to himſelf, but the royal name and coin. Moſtafa, thus inveſted with ſo great power, and enriched with Khair Beg's treaſures, as well as the effects of the proſcribed rebels, reſolved to ſubject all Egypt to his dominion. This deſign he imparted to Mehemed Effendi, ſcribe of the Divân, and made him wazîr, as thinking him a man of ſenſe, and his particular friend: but Mehemmed, deteſting his lord's treachery, endeavoured, with ſome accomplices, to kill him when he was bathing; while Moſtafa, informed of the danger by a truſty ſervant, eſcaped through a back-door, and fled with a few attendants to the Sheykh of the Arabs. By the Sheyk's aſſiſtance, he quickly aſſembled a large force, and waged war with the ſcribe; whom, for his want of experience, he deſpiſed. Mean while Mehemmed, having acquainted Solymân with what had paſſed, obtained as a reward the government of Egypt; and encouraged the ſoldiers with a large ſum of money, led them againſt Moſtafa, whom he defeated in a bloody battle, and cut off his head.

Solymân, to make his new wazîr Ibrahîm Paſhâ more faithful, in the year 930, gave him his ſiſter in marriage; and whilſt he was gracing the nuptials with his preſence, the joy was doubled by the ſoltâna's being delivered of a ſon, who was named Selîm. Shortly after, the wazîr departed, with ſome gallies, to ſettle the affairs of Egypt. Being driven by a ſtorm into Rhodes, he there left his ſhips, and marched by land to Kayro; where, by his authority, diſperſing the rebels, and ſeizing the ring-leaders, the ſons of Amar and Bekaar, he ordered them to be hanged, and their eſtates to be confiſcated. As among their effects was found a great quantity of gold, he coined ducats, like thoſe of Venice, but leſs in value by thirty aſpers; which ſtill bear the name of Ibrahîmi. After having taken theſe meaſures, delivering up the government to Solymân Pâſhâ, he returned to Conſtantinople *.

Hejra 930. A.D. 1523.

The rebels ſubmit.

Next year, the ſoltân reſumed the war againſt Hungary; and with a great army, on the 30th of Rajeb, arrived at Belgrade. Then, croſſing the Save, proceeded towards Buda, taking in his march Sulnuk and Oſek; the bridge of which laſt place, over the Drave, he ordered

Hejra 932. A.D. 1525.

Battle of Mohatz.

* Cant. p. 180.

to be demolished. The Hungarians going thither with the same design, and seeing the work already done, were seized with consternation, as it convinced them that the Turks had passed the river, with a resolution to conquer or die. Their king Ladasla (F), to prevent the devastation of his country, marching with incredible speed, incamped in sight of the Turkish army, in a place called Mohaj (G). Next day, being the first of Ziulkadeh, both armies engaged, and contended the whole day with such intrepidity, that it was difficult to perceive to which side victory would incline. At length, the king being slain in the battle, about sun-set the Hungarians fled with precipitation; and a great number of prisoners, with their camp, became a prey to the Othmâns [y].

Hungarian rashness.

This is the Turkish account, which receives a good deal of light from that of the Christian historians. According to them, Solymân had marched with two hundred thousand men as far as Sofia, before the Hungarians had any suspicion of his design. Being straitened for want of time, they were not able to raise above twenty-five thousand forces; yet not only the generality of the soldiers were for fighting, but Tomoreus, archbishop of Colossa, their general, insisted on engaging the enemy, before the vayvod of Transilvania had joined them with his horse. The wiser sort of the officers thought it madness to hazard a battle with such a handful of men, and dissuaded the young king Lewis from venturing his person: but the soldiers would not act without his presence.

Severely punished.

Being arrived at Mohatz, Balibenès, who commanded the Turkish van, consisting of twenty thousand horse, divided them into four bodies, and so continually skirmished with the Hungarians, that they could not get to the Danube for water. This inconvenience laying Tomoreus under a necessity of fighting, he drew up his army in no bad order, and barricaded his tents with waggons; but the Hungarians were overthrown in the first encounter by the multitude of enemies; who slew their general, with many other prelates and nobles. Then attacking their camp, while the few body-guards were engaged to little purpose, king Lewis fled, and was unfortunately

[y] Cant. p. 177, & seqq.

(F) This was not Ladislaus, as Prince Cantemir asserts; but Lewis II. king of Hungary.

(G) Or Mohatz. Prince Cantemir, in the note, calls it Mohatur.

drowned

drowned in a filthy ditch, into which his horſe had plunged. Of all the Hungarian army only a few horſemen eſcaped; the reſt being ſlain in this fatal battle, fought the 29th of October, 1526. When the ſeven bloody heads of the biſhops and nobility were preſented to Solymân, he much pitied the hard fate of the young king; ſaying, he came not to take the kingdom from him, but to revenge former injuries received from the Hungarians [z].

Buda taken.

After this victory, Solymân marched directly to Buda; which, diſpirited by the late ſlaughter, was eaſily taken, the third of Ziu'lhijeh; and Peſtthe, oppoſite to it on the Danube, voluntarily ſurrendered. He then threw a bridge over that river, and ſent his troops in parties after the Hungarian fugitives, who had killed ſeveral Turks, diſperſed over the fields in ſearch of prey; and by theſe means cleared the country of thoſe enemies. Winter approaching, he returned; taking in the way, by aſſault, Baj, on the Danube, with Seghedin and Titeli, on the Tiſa.

Hejra 933. A.D. 1526.

Rebellion in Aſia.

In the mean time, a falſe report of his death being ſpread in Aſia, many free-booters, belonging to the country of Zuulkadîr, miſerably harraſſed all the neighbouring provinces. They were oppoſed indeed by Piri Paſhâ, governor of Adâna, who killed many, and put to death all he took: but, for want of ſufficient force, he could not ſuppreſs the rebellion. Kalender Beg, ſon of Haji Bektaſh, rejected all offers that were made him: but the wazîr, Ibrahîm Pâſhâ, being ſent over with a good army, found the arch rebel at Kayſarîya; and, after a bloody conflict, defeated him, and killed above thirty thouſand of the plunderers.

Hejra 934. A.D. 1527.

Religious diſturbance.

Next year Kabîzi Agem, a man of great learning among the Turks, being well verſed in the law and ſeveral ſciences, publicly maintained, that the Chriſtian religion ſtood on a firmer foundation than the Mohammedan. When he could not be brought by private admonitions to recant, they carried him before the mûfti; where, by arguments, he endeavoured to prove the Goſpel more excellent, for its precepts, than the Korân. He was again admoniſhed to abandon his opinions: but, diſregarding both admonitions and threats, he was at length, by the ſoltân's command, puniſhed with the loſs of his head; and an edict was publiſhed, that whoever ſhould, even by way of diſpute, prefer the doctrine of Chriſt be-

[z] Ricaut. in Solymân.

fore

fore that of Mohammed, should undergo the same penalty.

Unjust punishment. About the same time some Albanian thieves at Constantinople, breaking into a Christian merchant's house near Selîm's temple, murdered him, and carried away his goods as well as money. Next day complaint was made to the divân; but as the names of the persons were not discovered, and it appeared from Constantinople, that many were concerned in the fact, the soltân ordered that all the Albanians, whether inhabitants, or only sojourners on account of trade, should be seized, and to a man put to death. While this butchery was acting at Constantinople, a great quarrel arose at Halep between the ecclesiastical judges (H), which daily increasing, the citizens, to put an end to it, killed them all in the very jami at morning prayers. Solymân being informed of this transaction, ordered some pâshâs to march thither with their forces, and put all the inhabitants, guilty, or not guilty, to death; but by the intercession of Ibrahîm Pashâ, the chief men and heads of the conspiracy only were executed, with various kinds of punishments; and the common people, as persons rather seduced than guilty, banished to Rhodes [a].

Buda retaken. Let us now return to the affairs of Hungary. John Sepuvius, vayvod of Transilvania, arriving with his troops after the battle of Mohatz, so practised with the nobility, that at length they chose him their king: but Ferdinand, arch-duke of Austria, newly elected king of the Romans, in right of his wife Anne, sister to the late king Lewis, entering the country, first took Buda, and then routed king John; who, not able to withstand so potent an enemy, fled into Poland. There, to retrieve his fortune, he resolved to apply to Solymân, by the advice of Jerom Laskus, a person of great reputation and abilities, who, undertaking the embassy, by his arguments, joined to a promise of doing homage and paying tribute, so gained on the grand wazîr Ibrahîm, and the other pâshâs, that the soltân agreed to support John's interest [b]. Accordingly, in the year 935, he marched with a great army, and en-

Taken again.

[a] Cant. p. 180, & seqq.

[b] Leuncl. & Ricaut. in Solymân.

(H) The molla and kaziler. The molla are the judges of principal cities and towns; the kalizer, that is, the kadis, are those of the lesser towns and villages. The molla also may be compared to an archbishop, the kadi to a bishop. Cant. Oth. Hist. note p. 31.

camped

camped in a ſpacious plain near Filibeh (I); but all the warlike proviſions being deſtroyed by long and laſting rains, which ſwelling the torrents, endangered his whole army, he was forced to defer his intended expedition. However, making freſh preparations, he, next year, marched to Buda (K), and having battered the walls with his engines, the garriſon, weakened by continual aſſaults, ſurrendered the city, on condition of having their lives and arms; but the Turks reviling them for cowardice as they were going out, one of the ſoldiers ſtabbed a janizary, who was reproaching him. The reſt exclaimed the articles are violated, and, againſt the ſoltân's order, fell on the Germans, who were all put to the ſword before the tumult could be appeaſed [c].

Moldavia ſubmits.

While Solymân ſtaid a few days in the neighbourhood to refreſh his army, Tutuk Lagotticta (L) arrived in embaſſy from Bogdân, prince of Moldavia, and the people, to offer the ſoltân both Moldavias, as a fief to the Othmân empire, on honourable conditions, particularly that their religion ſhould be preſerved entire. Solymân readily accepting of the terms, confirmed them with his own hand; and, in his return from that year's expedition, was met near Sofia, a city of Servia, by Bogdân, accompanied by ſome of his barons, by whom he was preſented with four thouſand gold crowns, forty brood mares, and twenty-four falcons, as a yearly preſent, in token of his feudal ſubjection. Hereupon the ſoltân again ratified the agreement, gave him a larger kukka (M), adorned with jewels, with a khîlaat fahireh (N), and a horſe with all the impe-

[c] Cant. p. 185.

(I) Philippoli.

(K) With an army of a hundred and fifteen thouſand men, according to the Chriſtian writers.

(L) Of the nobleſt Moldavian race, from which five hundred families derive their original. He ſpoke ſeveral languages to perfection; was wiſe and learned. He built a palace in the city of Conſtantinople; which is called Bogdân Saray, the Moldavian palace. Cant.

(M) A creſt, or ornament for the head, made of oſtrich-feathers; with which only are adorned the buluk agalari, or tribunes; the ſeghan baſhi, who is next to the aga of the janizaries; and the princes of Moldavia and Walakhia. Cant. From hence poſſibly comes our word cockade.

(N) It is the firſt of the three ſorts of robes of honour.

rial

rial trappings. Moreover, he ordered four of his guard to attend him (O)[d].

Vienna besieged. Solymân, having refreshed his army, resolved to besiege Vienna, the capital of Austria. To this end he sent before him Ahmed, with the volunteer horse, who penetrating as far as Lintz, destroyed all the country, with innumerable inhabitants. The soltân followed, and in his march took the castle of Alcenburg; but in vain attacked Neustadt seven times in one day. On the 26th of September he arrived before Vienna, and, with his huge army, encamped in five places round the city, so that it not being possible for Frederic, duke of Bavaria, who was general of king Ferdinand's forces to throw in any supplies, he staid at Chresme, about twelve miles distant. However, there were in the city twenty thousand horse and foot, under the command of Philip, palsgrave of the Rhine, and great need there was of such a force, the place was so badly fortified. In the second sally, seven officers being taken prisoners, Solymân asked, whether those who had the command of the city intended to defend it against his mighty power? Zerlitz answered, that Ferdinand would certainly give him battle, as soon as the German forces, which he waited for at Lintz, were arrived; and that he knew the besieged were resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

Assaulted in vain. Solymân, dissembling his concern, gave them their liberty, with a promise of great favour to the citizens, provided they submitted; and threatening ruin to them in case they persisted in their opposition. Finding they did not comply, he began to batter the city with small field-pieces, whilst the great guns were coming up the Danube; but they were happily sunk, with the vessels that brought them, by the brave Wolfang Hoder. However, another part of the Turkish fleet, reaching Vienna, broke up all its bridges, and blocked it up on that side also. Hereupon the enemy began mining, which was carried on in fifteen different places; but they were all countermined, with the loss of eight thousand Turks buried alive or slain. Nevertheless, having had the good fortune to bring one mine

[d] Cant. p. 186.

(O) This custom is still observed whenever the prince of Moldavia goes to the Othmân court; neither pâshâs nor wazîrs in general being created with so much pomp. Cant.

to

to perfection, they blew up a great part of the wall, near the gate of Carinthia; but were repulsed with great loss, as well as in two other furious attacks at another breach made not far off by the springing of a mine.

About the same time the besieged, in a sally, cut off five thousand three hundred of the enemy; yet, October the 15th, they made a general assault with all their forces, in which succeeding no better than before, Solymân, next day, sent some of his chief prisoners to acquaint the citizens, that he did not come to besiege Vienna, but to revenge the injuries done him by Ferdinand; and that, in case they would submit to him, he would not molest them, nor enter their city; but finding they disdained his proposals, he raised the siege, and barbarously slew all his prisoners; otherwise the besieged suffered very little loss; while of the Turks were slain, as was computed, eighty thousand men. Solymân having drawn off with his army, restored the kingdom of Hungary to king John, to be held by him as his vassal [e]. *The siege raised.*

This is the account given by the Christian historians; but the Turks ascribe their soltân's ill success to the deceit of the Germans. They tell us, that after having battered the city for forty days, and blowing up part of the walls, he commanded his men to enter the breaches; but as often as they attempted, they were repulsed by the valour of the garrison. However, they must at length have yielded, if they had not, by fraudulent promises, deceived the politic Solymân himself; for, by their ambassador, owning themselves exhausted, and promising to become his vassals, they desired a truce; but prolonged it, under various pretences, till the time of the autumnal rains; which fell suddenly in such abundance, that the Turks, after some faint assaults, were obliged to retire. His army being now, by their losses rendered inferior to that of the enemy, and encumbered with a great number of captives of both sexes, he ordered all the prisoners to be massacred in his presence; and then striking his tents, retired to Buda, before his retreat was known: there receiving of the vayvod (O) of Transilvania the tenths of the tribute he had

[e] Ricaut, ubi supr.

(O) He is called by the Transilvanians their ban. Vayvod, or waywod, is a Sclavonic word, signifying *the general of an army*; but by the Poles is given to governors of provinces, as vayvod Kiowski, &c. The Turks call by the same name the Christian princes of Moldavia and Walakhia,

had raised in Hungary, he confirmed him in his principality.

Solymân's joy.

On his return to Constantinople, he celebrated the circumcision of his three sons, Mostafa, Mohammed, and Selîm; at which were present not only all the wazîrs and pâshâs of the empire, but also the ambassadors of Persia and the Christian princes. It was followed by a splendid entertainment. At the soltân's table sat the mufti and kazio'lasker on his right hand, and on his left his hoja; at a second table were the wazîrs; at a third, the pâshâs; and at a fourth sat the ulema, or *learned in the law*. There was a separate table for the foreign ambassadors, among whom the Persian and German had the precedency. But his mirth was disturbed by a sudden message, that Firindos (P), king of the Chekki (Q), had besieged Buda, and for twenty-seven days attacked it with all his forces. The janizaries, making a brave defence, gave Mehemed Beg, son of Yahia Pâshâ, governor of Semendria, time to come to their relief with the forces of his sanjâk; but as he found himself too weak, he spread a report among some prisoners, that he was Ibrahîm Pâshâ the prime wazîr, and that the soltân, with the rest of the army, would arrive in three days. The captives being suffered to escape, repaired to the camp of the Christians with the news; which struck them with such terror, that they fled, leaving their cannon and other warlike provisions behind them.

He relieves Buda.

Hejra 938. A.D. 1532.

Invades Hungary.

Solymân, to be revenged for this affront, in 938, invaded the king of the Chekki with a great army, destroying the country before him with fire and sword. Firandos met him with no inconsiderable army, and bravely maintained the fight for some time; but was at last routed, and obliged to fly to Gradiska, the place of his residence (R). This victory not only added above twenty cities and towns to the Othmân empire, but so terrified the petty princes

lakhia, who are tributary to them; although formerly the princes of Moldavia had the title of rekkiur, or *king*. Sometimes the governors of large cities, who are not pâshâs, are called vayvodes; as Pera vayvodesi, Galata vavodesi, &c. Cant.

(P) Ferdinand, at that time king of Hungary and Bohemia.

(Q) So the Turks call the Bohemians.

(R) Gradisca, which is a noted town of Sclavonia, seems erroneously to be made the seat of Ferdinand; since no Christian writer mentions his having resided there any time. Cant.

of

of the Sclavi and Hirvati (S), that they voluntarily submitted to Solymân [f].

The whole tranſactions of this expedition are ſo very differently related by the Chriſtian writers, that they ſeem to be treating of quite another affair. According to them, Solymân, not able to digeſt his diſgrace before Vienna, and being beſides continually ſolicited by John, king of Hungary, quickly after the circumciſion of his ſons, raiſed a vaſt army. Mean while, king Ferdinand, apprehenſive that it was deſigned againſt him, ſent ambaſſadors to Solymân, who was then in Servia, to treat of peace, but could receive no anſwer. However, the emperor Charles V. who was now in Germany, beginning to take the matter upon himſelf, prepared to raiſe all the forces he could in Germany, Spain, and Italy. In the mean time, king John, upon the approach of the Turkiſh army towards Semendria, thought it a fit time to beſiege Gran: but although Aloyſio Gritti deſtroyed moſt of the fleet ſent by Ferdinand down the Danube to its relief, yet he could not take the city. *German preparations.*

Solymân arriving in fifty-ſix day's march at Belgrade, ſent a great number of horſe over the Save into Hungary, and marched in perſon directly for Stiria. Being come to the little town of Gunz, where Nicholas Juriſchitz was governor; the prime wazîr Ibrahîm, deſirous to ſave ſo brave a man, who had been formerly his intimate acquaintance, when ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, did all he could to induce him to ſurrender the place. On his refuſal, the Turks fell to mining, and overthrew the walls in three places; but in ſpite of their fierce aſſaults, cannon, and huge mounts, the beſieged repaired the breaches, as faſt as they were made. Ibrahîm, finding all their efforts baffled, after a ſiege of twenty-eight days, to ſave the ſoltân's reputation, adviſed him to ſend for the governor, and, as it were of his own bounty, to beſtow the town upon him. Juriſchitz being much wounded, and having but one third part of eight hundred ſoldiers left, gladly acquieſced in the expedient propoſed. He ſet up one of *Affair of Gunz.*

[f] Cant. p. 192, & ſeqq.

(S) Theſe are one and the ſame nation. However, the Turks call them Hirvati, who are under the dominion of the Chriſtians; while thoſe who are Mohammedans, or obey the Othmân power, are named Serbadli, that is, *People of the Borders.* Cant.

Solymân's

Solymân's banners on the chief tower of the city, and admitted a captain with ten janizaries, who, after a short visit, returned to the camp.

Carintha invaded. Sólymân leaving Gunz, with an army of five hundred thousand men, and three hundred small field-pieces, but no cannon, marched towards Carinthia, with a design only to ravage the country, and avoid fighting the enemy. Kassan had been detached before with fifteen thousand horse on the like occasion, and did incredible mischief; but, on his return, finding himself beset on all sides, he slew four thousand of his prisoners; and then, dividing his forces into two bodies, endeavoured to escape by night. The party under Ferises cutting their way with incredible labour through thick woods, got safe to the grand army then in Stiria; but Kassan being met near the valley of Staremberg by the general of the German princes, with twelve thousand men, two of them horse, and some field-pieces, was slain, with a great number of his soldiers. Those who remained falling afterwards in the way of other troops, were all cut off, to the number of eight thousand.

Solymân retreats. The emperor, who was now at Lintz, having no intelligence of the motions of the Turks, marched to Vienna; where, on a general review, he found his army to consist of two hundred and sixty thousand men, of which near one half were veteran troops. There, in a field, with king Ferdinand his brother, he waited in expectation of the mighty host of the Othmâns; but Solymân, being informed of their strength, and manner of encampment, thought it not fit to hazard a battle; but returned the same day to Belgrade, with thirty thousand captives. The emperor, instead of pursuing his advantage against king John, as his brother desired, returned to Italy, leaving behind however all the Italians, who returned soon after [g].

Koron taken, and Patras. While the emperor Charles was thus employed by land, his admiral Andrea Doria, with a fleet of thirty-five large ships, and forty-eight gallies, on board of which were twenty-five thousand old soldiers, sailed, with a design to annoy the Turks in the Peloponnesus or Morea; but the Venetian fleet refusing to join him, because the league had been renewed between Solymân and the republic, the Turkish fleet had an opportunity to get out of the bay of Ambracia, and retire to the strong port of Kalcide. Upon their retreat, Doria sailing for Koron, besieged it both

[g] Leuncl. & Ricaut. ubi supr.

by

by sea and land. Soon after there arrived some Turkish forces to relieve the place; but being defeated by count Sarne, and their general slain, the enemy, wearied with assaults, and falling in want of necessaries, surrendered the city, on condition of liberty to depart with their baggage.

From Koron, Doria sailed to Patras, which he easily took, and pillaged; for the Turks, distrusting the strength of it, had intrenched themselves near the castle; which they also surrendered on the like terms. After this atchievement he took the castles Rhium and Malykreum, opposite to each other, in the gulf of Lepanto. The artillery taken in the first, some of them vastly big, were valued at seventy thousand ducats. Doria, having performed these exploits, returned towards Genoa: but in the beginning of the year 1533, Koron being besieged both by sea and land by the Turks, Doria hasted thither again. At his approach they retired, the fleet sailing to Modon, whither Doria followed, to provoke them to fight; which they not thinking fit to do, he retired to Messina, in Sicily.

Koron abandoned.

The winter following, the Spaniards and Greeks in Koron beginning to want provisions, desired their governor to lead them out against the enemy, chosing rather to die in battle than by hunger. Hereupon Macikaus, much against his will, marched with them to surprise the city of Andrussa; but the Turks, being five thousand strong, made such resistance, that Macikaus, endeavouring to break in at a postern, was slain, with several of his men. The rest retreated to Koron, where the plague beginning to rage not long after, the Spaniards, with some Greeks, embarked with their cannon, and left the town to be repossessed by the enemy [h].

Vayvod of Transilvania.

King John being solicited by his subjects to let Hungary, for the sake of peace, devolve to king Ferdinand and his heirs, Solymân sent Gritti, son of the doge of Venice, in a very magnificent manner, to be his lieutenant in that kingdom, and see that his vassal, king John, did nothing without his consent. Gritti entered Transilvania, then a province of Hungary, attended by seven thousand men; among whom were Urbanus Bathiani and John Docia, two famous Hungarian commanders, with their troops, and a good number of janizaries. Being proud of his authority, he took it very ill, that the vayvod Americus

[h] Leuncl. & Ricaut. ubi supr.

Cihach, bishop of Veradium, a person of great rank and power, was not ready to salute him. At length the vayvod came with a great train, and pitching his tents, received Gritti with so little condescension, that, coming out from dinner, he took the cap off his head, and said, "This cap will not hold two heads, and therefore it must be fitted to one."

Assassinated. This expression being heard by Docia, whom the bishop had struck for some bold words spoken in a public assembly, he aggravated the matter to such a pitch, that Gritti desired him, if possible, to seize the vayvod, in order to send him to Constantinople. Docia set out from Baxovia, with a strong party, towards the bishop's quarters; and understanding by his spies that he lay in the fields by reason of the hot weather, while his retinue were dispersed in the country villages, he broke into his tent when asleep, and cut off his head, which he brought in his hand by the ear to Gritti.

His death revenged. As soon as this horrid fact was known, the bishop's kindred and friends, to revenge his death, assembled forty thousand men; who, under the command of Stephen Maylat, besieged Gritti in the strong town of Mege, whither he had retired for his security. Gritti finding no assistance from king John, or the Turkish sanjâks on the frontiers, and being besides unprovided with victuals, endeavoured to escape through the camp of the blockaders; but missing his way, and lighting on Maylat, instead of the governor of Moldavia, his friend, who was to have met him with a party of horse, his Turks were slain, and himself was taken without any resistance. Being delivered to the bishop's kinsman, he ordered him immediately to be beheaded. The executioner, in stripping the body, found about it in jewels to the value of forty thousand ducats. He was the greatest Christian favourite that any of the Turkish emperor's ever had [1].

Exploits of Barbaroſſa and Doria. Conqueſt of Tunis by Charles V. Affairs of Hungary.

Bâghdâd attempted. TWO years after Olama, prince of Azerbejân, hitherto subject to the Persian, fled for refuge to Solymân, and suggested the means of taking Bâghdâd. With this view Ibrâhîm Pâshâ was sent into Asia; but finding more dif-

[1] Leuncl. & Ricaut, ubi supr.

ficulty

ficulty in executing his design than was expected, he turned off to Vân, and took it at the first assault. Mean while Khairo'ddîn Pâshâ, who had hitherto exercised piracy in the White Sea, offered his service to Solymân, and petitioned to be admiral of a fleet, that he might reduce the kingdoms of Tunez and Jezaîr. This affair being referred to the wazîr, who was then at Halep, Khairo'ddîn repaired thither, and having made it appear to Ibrâhîm, that the conquest was both easy and advantageous, he was appointed admiral [k].

Rise of Barbarossa.

According to the Christian writers, Khairo'ddîn, whom they call Hariadenus, surnamed Barbarossa from his red beard, was the son of a Greek renegado of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos; who, in company with his elder brother Horrukkius, at first practised little piracies; but at length, joining with corsairs of greater account, Horrukkius in time became their chief. While these rovers were scouring the seas about Morocco, Selîm, king of Algiers, hired them to oppose his brother Mohammed, who laid claim to his kingdom; and they had the good luck to secure him in the throne. This exploit having brought Horrukkius into credit, he afterwards slew the king, and got himself advanced in his room; but making war upon the king of Tremisson, he was slain by the Spaniards, who came to that king's assistance. Horrukkius was succeeded by his brother Hariadenus, surnamed Barbarossa, who performed many gallant actions, and, on his departure for Constantinople, where he arrived in 1533, left a son behind him eighteen years old, under the care of a trusty friend.

Ravages Italy.

Barbarossa used many arguments to persuade Solymân to the African war; and had brought with him Rashîd, elder brother of Muley Azîz, king of Tunis, as a fit instrument of subduing that country; so that he was soon after made the fourth pâshâ and high admiral; on which occasion the soltân delivered to him a sceptre and a sword, with eight hundred thousand ducats for the expences of the war. Hereupon, putting to sea with a fleet of eighty gallies and some galliots, he steered his course for Italy, where he plundered the towns of Lucidius and Citario, Prochita and Speluńca; while two thousand of his land-forces, crossing the mountains in the night, surprised the city of Fundi, and had well nigh taken Julia Gonzaga, the beauty of Italy, whom Barbarossa designed to make a pre-

[k] Cant. p. 196.

sent of to Solymân. Coming at length to the isle of Capri, in sight of Naples, he filled that city, and all the coast, with terror. Another part of his fleet landed at Terracia, which they found deserted by all but a few unable to get off, whom they put to the sword; as they did all whom they did not think fit to carry away.

Sails to Africa. After he had ravaged the coasts, and alarmed Rome itself, he passed over swiftly to attack the king of Tunis, against whom the expedition was designed. Muley Hassan, who at that time reigned there, being by his father Mohammed, at the instance of his wife, declared his successor, in prejudice to his elder brothers Machin and Rashîd, he no sooner mounted the throne than he put Machin, with seventeen more of his brethren, to death, and the eyes of three others were put out. Rashîd and Abdo'lmâlek made their escape to Abdo'llah, prince of Biskaris, where the latter turning monk, the first, by the assistance of the inhabitants, endeavoured to recover his right; but failing in his attempts, he fled to Barbarossa, who carried him to Constantinople, where he was detained, though the captor gave out that he was with him in the fleet, in order to be restored to his father's kingdom.

Takes Biserta and Tunis. Mean while the Turkish admiral, landing at Biserta, the place was surrendered to him without opposition. From thence he sailed for the Goletta, a strong castle, commanding the bay of Tunis; and, in token of friendship, saluted it with all his great guns, which the castle answered in the same manner; but the governor being required to deliver it up to Rashîd, he answered, that it should always be at the command of him who governed in Tunis. The citizens, hearing that Rashîd was arrived, were presently all in an uproar; whereupon Muley Azîz, who was hated by them for his cruelty, by the advice of Abdahar, the messuar, or next in authority, fled, leaving all his treasures behind him. As soon as he was gone, Barbarossa, at the invitation of the people, hastened to the city with five thousand Turks, and was joyfully received; but the Tunisians not finding Rashîd among them, and having an aversion to the Turks, under the conduct of Abdahar, fell upon them as they were entering the castle, and quickly, though with much bloodshed, gained one of the bulwarks. Then sending for Muley Hassan, they, by their repeated assaults, distressed Barbarossa, till he, sallying out at two gates upon the Moors, three thousand of them were slain, with the messuar. On this, Muley Hassan fled, and with difficulty escaped to Kon-

Konſtantina, the ancient Cyrtha, in company with his brother Doraks, to whom that city belonged. The citizens next day, diſcouraged by their loſſes, and having no king to fight for, begged pardon of Barbaroſſa, and ſubmitted to Solymân. After the affairs of Tunis were ſettled, he, by proper methods, gained the Numidian princes to his intereſt. Theſe ſteps being taken, he quickly reduced the other cities of that kingdom, excepting Kayrwân, which held out for a while, and then ſurrendered[1]. Let us now return to the affairs of Perſia.

Next year Solymân marched to the aſſiſtance of the wazîr Ibrâhîm, who was then about Vân, and advancing to Tigris, Soltân Mozaffer, king of Ghilân, with ten thouſand men, and Mehemed Khân, joined him againſt Perſia, promiſing for the future to be his vaſſals. Thence he proceeded to Soltânîya, and after a ſhort ſtay, about winter, marched to Bâghdâd. The governor Tekkielu Mehemed Khân, finding himſelf too weak to withſtand the Othmân forces, retired farther into Perſia, and gave the ſoltân an opportunity of entering the city without oppoſition. While Solymân was one day viewing the monuments of ancient heroes, he took notice of a place dedicated to Imâm Azem, and as from thence the city could be defended, and the inhabitants bridled, he ordered it to be ſtrongly fortified, and garriſoned with janizaries. He afterwards examined the defterdâr's, or *treaſurer's* accounts, and finding that he had not only embezzled ſome bags of money, but alſo betrayed his deſigns to the Perſians, ordered him to be hanged. The defterdâr being brought to the gallows, aſked for pen, ink, and paper, ſaying, he had ſome matters to impart to the emperor before he died. Pen and paper being brought him, he wrote a letter to Solymân, acquainting him, that Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, the prime wazîr, was alſo guilty, and bribed by the Perſians to make an attempt on the emperor's life. Which letter, though at firſt ſuppreſſed by the ſoltân, was the cauſe of that famous and prudent miniſter's loſing his life.

Hejra 941. A.D. 1534.

Bâghdâd taken.

Chief treaſurer hanged.

News being brought whilſt he ſtayed at Bâghdâd, that the ſhâh of Perſia was marching with a great army to beſiege Vân, he returned ſpeedily to Tibris, and next day encamped at Dergejineh; by which means the ſhâh, diſappointed and terrified, ſued for peace by his ambaſſadors, whom Solymân diſmiſſed without an anſwer. Next year,

Hejra 942. A.D. 1535.

Bitlîs ſurrenders.

[1] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

seeing nothing to be feared from the Persians, he returned through Khavit towards Derjishah, where the khân of Bitlîs surrendered all his towns to him. From thence the soltân marched through Amza to Halep, and, in Rajeb, entered Constantinople in triumph; three days after which entrance, he ordered his former beloved and brave general Ibrâhîm Pâshâ to be put to death [m].

Heira 943. A.D. 1536. In 943, a fresh expedition into Persia being necessary to preserve his late conquest, and being unwilling to undergo the fatigue himself, he sent Mehemed Khân, who had lately submitted to him, with an army into Gurjistân, or Georgia, which, after many bloody battles, submitted on certain conditions.

Georgia submits.

About the same time an army of Moldavians, Poles, Bohemians, Germans, and Spaniards, voluntarily assembling, invaded Bosnia, and besieged Sulien; but being suddenly attacked by Hasrûd Beg, governor of that country, with a small force, fled for fear; and being pursued, were overtaken, and routed near Kilis, which Hasrud, after a few days siege, took; and thus added a whole sanjâk to the Othmân empire.

Emperor Charles V. Whilst Solymân was engaged in his Persian expedition, the emperor Charles V. fearing, by Barbarossa's late successes, that in time his own dominions, especially Sicily, would be endangered by him, resolved to pass over to Africa, with a puissant army of Spaniards, Germans, and Italians. He accordingly set sail from Barcelona for Africa, with a very powerful armament; landed his forces near Tunis; reduced the fort of Goletta, where Barbarossa's whole fleet fell into his hands; then marching to Tunis, took the city by storm. While he was thus employed, Barbarossa weighed up some of his sunk gallies at Biserta, and retired to Algiers, from whence he sailed to the Levant, and, in his passage, committed depredations along the coast of Apuglia. For the particulars of the conquest of Tunis by Charles V. we must refer the reader to the History of Germany.

About the end of the year the soltân equipped another fleet, and sent it into the Adriatic, under the command of Lusti Pâshâ, Ibrâhîm's successor in the wazîrship, and Khairo'ddîn, now kapudân pâshâ, or *high admiral*, to take Kiorfes, or Korfu, from the Venetians.

Albania submits. He himself, accompanied by his sons Mostâfa and Mohammed, led the land-forces through Aulonia, in order

[m] Cant. p. 197, & Ricaut. ubi sup.

to

to chaſtiſe the Arnaudi, who had raiſed diſturbances; but they would have rendered Solymân's paſſage very difficult, if they had not, by the perſuaſions of their countryman, Ayâs Pâſhâ, ſubmitted to the ſoltân. Arnaud, or Albania, being thus ſubdued without bloodſhed, after a month's ſtay there, to ſettle the affairs of the country, he paſſed into the iſland of Kiofres, and commanding all the towns and villages to be burned, cloſely beſieged the city; but at length, after much ſlaughter on both ſides, it was relieved by the approach of winter, the ſoltân being forced to retreat, and ſail back to Conſtantinople °.

Turks take Caſtro.

This is all we find in prince Cantemir's Othmân hiſtory relating to thoſe tranſactions; which deſerve a more particular account from the Chriſtian writers. According to them, Solymân, to revenge the diſgraces he had received in Africa, poſtponed the war of Perſia, with a deſign to turn all his forces againſt Italy. To this expedition he was much ſolicited by De Forreſt, the French ambaſſador, and Troylo Pignatelli, formerly a commander in the emperor's army: but, being diſguſted with the viceroy of Naples, who had executed his brother Andrew, a knight of Rhodes, he fled to the ſoltân, and was made one of his muteſarakas (T). Soleymân ſet out with two hundred thouſand men; and, being met at Aulona, in Macedonia, by his high admiral Lutzi, and Barbaroſſa, with their fleets, he ordered them to ſail over to Italy, to try the pulſes of the people. By Pignatelli's direction they put into the town of Caſtro; and this place with the adjacent caſtle, was delivered by his perſuaſion upon articles, which the Turks, to the great mortification of the admiral, violated.

Loſſes at ſea.

Italy was now ready to be overwhelmed with the mighty power of Solymân, when the raſhneſs of a Venetian captain diverted the ſtorm upon his own republic. This was Aleſſandro Contareni, who, meeting ſome Turkiſh gallies, attacked and ſunk two, becauſe they refuſed to make the ſignals of friendſhip. Likewiſe Solymân's chief interpreter, ſent with two gallies, on a meſſage to Lutzi Pâſhâ, offer-

° Cant. p. 199, & ſeqq.

(T) They are a body of horſe, of all nations and religions, who are obliged to attend the ſoltân when he goes to war.

ing to pass by the Venetian fleet at Korfû, without saluting the admiral, some of his ships drove them on the rocks, where they were taken by the people inhabiting the mountains; from whom the interpreter had much ado to redeem himself. About the same time Doria, the imperial admiral, cruising in the Ionian sea, met in the night, near Korfû, with twelve of Solymân's great gallies, full of janizaries; who, after an obstinate fight against thirty gallies, were most of them slain, and their vessels taken: but Doria, finding himself too weak to encounter Barbarossa with his eighty gallies, returned to Messina, to refit.

Besiege Korfû without success.

The soltân, exasperated at this loss, but more at the double injury done him by the Venetians; and pretending that they had entered into a private league with the emperor Charles V. changed his resolution of invading Italy, and declared war against them. Marching from Aulona, he encamped near the mountains over-against Korfû, where the people of Khimera, by the instigation of Damianus, a famous robber, undertook by night to break into Solymân's camp, and kill him in his tent: but as Damianus, who had approached with them through bye-ways, was, from a tree, spying out the soltân's tent, and the order of his guards, the bough on which he stood breaking, he was discovered by a janizary. Being thus taken and tortured, he confessed the whole design; which the Turks revenged on the mountaineers, and then prepared to invade Korfû.

As soon as Pisaurio, the Venetian admiral, discovered their intention, he supplied the place with men and other necessaries. Then retiring, left the farther defence to the governors Aloysia Ripa and Simon Leoni, two senators of Venice; who caused the fine suburbs to be pulled down, and turned all the useless people out of the city. By this step great numbers perished in the town ditches, for fear of the enemy, while others dispersed throughout the island were destroyed or made captives: only three thousand inhabitants valiantly defended themselves in the castle of St. Angelo, fifteen miles from the capital.

Solymân retires.

In the mean time the Turks annoyed the city with their cannon from the rock Maripetrus, and from the ruins of the suburbs with their small shot, while the gallies battered the walls from the sea: but Solymân, perceiving after all that there was no likelihood of taking the place, left the island in September, 1537; yet first did a remarkable piece of justice, in ordering those who violated the articles

articles of Caſtro, in Italy, to be put to death, and the priſoners who could be found, after a diligent ſearch, to be ſet at liberty.

During theſe tranſactions, Dutzi, the Turkiſh high-admiral, ſubdued, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the rich and famous iſland of Ægina. The city of Ægeum was firſt given up to the mercy of the ſoldiers, then burned, and, after a great ſlaughter of the inhabitants, the reſt were carried away into ſlavery. The like ſpoil and cruelty were committed at Paros: but the duke of Naxos, to avoid the calamities of war, ſubmitted to pay a tribute of five thouſand ducats. Lutzi returned, laden with ſpoil, to Conſtantinople; from whence, ſoon after, he was baniſhed, for ſtriking and confining (U) his wife, who was Solymân's ſiſter [p]. *Iſland Ægina ſubdued.*

In the year 944, an army of twenty thouſand men, of different nations, under one Kohpan, entered through Serem, the Othmân borders, with a deſign to beſiege Semendria: but being ſuddenly attacked in their way by Mehemed Beg, governor of that city, were totally routed [q]. This is all the light the Turkiſh hiſtorians give us into an affair, which, according to the Chriſtian writers, much redounded both to their honour and advantage. Theſe latter inform us, that, the ſame autumn in which Solymân had ravaged Korfû, king Ferdinand's troops received a great overthrow by the Turks, at Eſſek. There was indeed a kind of truce between thoſe two powers; but as their reſpective troops, in ſmall parties ravaged each other's dominions, and the Turkiſh light horſe had generally the better of the great and heavy armed Germans, Ferdinand was ſo nettled, that he reſolved to drive the Othmâns out of the country of Poſſega. To this end he raiſed eight thouſand horſe and ſixteen thouſand foot; over whom he made John Cazzinaer, a noble Kroatian, his general. Mohammed, the valiant governor of Belgrade, to ſupport king John, aſſembled forces out of Boſnia, and other provinces; which, with the Hungarians who joined him, formed an army equal to that of the Germans. Hejra 944. A.D. 1537. *Ferdinand's forces beſiege Eſſek.*

With theſe he marched to Eſſek, where he reſolved to wait for the enemy, who advanced towards him: but by the time they got thither their foot was diminiſhed by one

[p] Paul Jov. Leuncl. Ricaut, ubi ſupr. [q] Cant. p. 201.

(U) On her expoſtulating with him for committing ſodomy with a youth he kept for the purpoſe.

half,

half, although their horſe had an increaſe of two thouſand. They were joined next day by the biſhop of Zagabria, with his horſe; and ſome proviſion came into their camp. From a hill, which they took from the Turks, they perceived a riſing ground on the other ſide of the city, fit for erecting batteries; to which they made their way through a troubleſome foreſt, without much loſs. There encamping, they offered the enemy battle: but Mohammed, who was ordered by Solymân to defend the city to the laſt, and knew the ſcarcity of proviſions in the Chriſtian camp, declined an engagement. Being thus reduced to great diſtreſs, they quitted Eſſek in the night, and went to beſiege Hermaude; where they expected to meet with ſtore of proviſions, but found ſcarce enough to ſerve the army two days.

Entirely overthrown.

From thence, marching through Poſſega for Juvancka, they in the way met with great refreſhment: but the Turks getting at the ſame time to the laſt place, had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with them. They likewiſe ſo diſtreſſed them in their retreat afterwards, that at length the commanders of the cavalry, ſeized with a panic, ſuddenly took to flight, ſome one way, ſome another, ſo that the diſmayed general at laſt fled alſo: however, many of the troops joined the infantry; who ſtill kept their poſts, commanded by the brave Lodronius. At the ſame time, the Turks charging them were valiantly oppoſed by the horſe; who yet ſuffered much, eſpecially the Bohemians. The foot alſo, being ſore galled in their march, near a marſh, were at laſt broken, and all cut to pieces or taken. Lodronius, being driven into the marſh and much wounded, was perſuaded by the Turks to ſurrender, with three companies, who were with him: but, being judged unable to travel by his keepers, they ſlew him, and carried his head to Conſtantinople. Mean while the general Kazzinaer fled to his own caſtle; and, fearing to appear before Ferdinand, broke the priſon, and fled to the Turks. Soon after this defection, he had a promiſe of the government of Kroatia: but, tampering with Nicholas Serini to revolt, he was deluded by him, and ſlain in his houſe [r].

Hejra 945. A.D. 1538.

Next year, 945, the ſoltân ſent his admiral Khairo'ddîn, and Solymân Pâſhâ, general of the foot, with a conſiderable army into India (X); where they diligently

Expedition to India.

[r] Leunc. Ricaut, ubi ſupr.

(X) This muſt be the borders of Arabi Felix: for I have not read that a Turkiſh army was ever in India. Cant.

executed

executed his orders, and annexed the whole kingdom of Yamman, with the adjacent provinces, to the Othmân empire [t].

It has been already related in the reign of Selîm I. that Kanſu Gauri had fitted out a fleet at Swîz, or Sues, at the end of the Red Sea, againſt the Portugueſe in India, who had ruined the trade of Egypt: but that expedition being laid aſide, on account of the troubles which enſued in the country, the deſign lay dormant, till now Solymân revived it, by the advice of Solymân Pâſhâ, the eunuch. For this purpoſe the Pâſhâ, with great diſpatch, having built a fleet of eighty ſtout ſhips and gallies at the above mentioned port, the command of it was given to him, in conjunction with Haſſan Beg, the famous Moor of Alexandria. At their ſetting out, the Pâſhâ, having ſeized on the effects of the Venetians at Kayro and Alexandria, diſtributed their ſeamen on board his fleet.

Having ſailed through the Red Sea, he arrived at Aden, a ſtrong city and port of Arabia, not far from the mouth of it; where, ſending for the king on board, after many careſſes, he hanged him, with four of his courtiers, at the yard-arm of his galley, and ſeized the city. From thence he croſſed the Indian ſea, and on the fourth of September, 1538, came to Diu, a very ſtrong fortreſs of the Portugueſe, on the coaſt of Kambaya, which he vigorouſly attacked, and battered with prodigious large cannon; but the Turks having been repulſed in all their aſſaults, with great loſs, he raiſed the ſiege; and on the appearance of the Portugueſe fleet, ſheered off with his own. In his return through the Red Sea, the king of Zibîd, or Zabîd, refuſing to come to him, he landed and marched to that city. The unfortunate prince, not able to defend himſelf, thought it beſt to go out to him; but on his approach, Solymân ordered his head to be ſtruck off. He afterwards landed at Joddâh, the port of Mecca, to perform the pilgrimage to that city, and ſent Haſſan Beg with the fleet back to Swîz [u].

Moldavia invaded, and reduced.

During theſe tranſactions, Solymân, with numerous forces, as a friend, entered Moldavia; but, contrary to the expectation of the inhabitants, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword from the Danube to Soczava, then the metropolis; near which pitching his tents, he demanded the yearly tribute. The Moldavians, ſeeing no way to with-

[t] Cant. p. 201. vol. i. p. 88.

[u] Ricaut, & Gen. Collect. Voy. quarto.

ſtand

ſtand ſo great a ſtorm, humbly ſued for peace, and promiſed the payment of the annual ſum: only they petitioned that the choice of a prince might remain in the ſtate, and that he might be inveſted with regal authority. Solymân granted their requeſts, confirmed the prince choſen by them, and reſtored their captives. Next day, he aſſembled nobles, and ſeverely reprimanded them, ſaying, That, unmindful of the favours received from his predeceſſors, they had dared to draw the ſword againſt ſo powerful an empire, and not only burned the town of Kili (Y), but ſlain many Muſulmans: that though, for this proceeding, all by the Mohammedan law were guilty of death, he, as a demonſtration of his clemency, was ready to give them life and liberty, on condition they would deliver up the treaſures of their late prince. As the wretched Moldavians could refuſe nothing, the defterdâr, with a company of janizaries, went into the town, and plundered both the public and the prince's treaſury; where were found, beſides a great quantity of money, the diadems of the princes, croſſes, and holy-images, adorned with precious jewels. Theſe Solymân abuſed as he pleaſed, and then led back his forces. In his return, he ordered Kili, which had been deſtroyed by the Moldavians, to be rebuilt; and, becauſe there were no woods in thoſe parts, he gave them the timber of a bridge he had thrown over the Danube.

Chriſtian fleet defeated.

In the interim, Khairo'ddîn, unexpectedly, near Kandia, fell in with the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of three hundred ſail, and after an obſtinate battle, took many, and ſunk the greater part of their veſſel. Next day he attacked another fleet, commanded by Andreas Dorea, in the port of Preveſa; where the enemy, aided by the advantage of the place, behaved with great bravery, and rendered the victory long doubtful: but, at length, the Chriſtians ſeeing themſelves overpowered, made off in the night, leaving ſome of their ſhips as a prey to the Turkiſh

(Y) The occaſion was this. A diſpute ariſing between the Bujâk Tartars, in conjunction with ſome new colonies of Turks, and the inhabitants of Kiegeczy, theſe laſt drove the Turks out of the woods; and, on their making a ſecond attempt, purſuing them to Kili, ſet the town on fire: but this was the act of private perſons, and without the conſent of the ſtate. Kili, called Cilia by the Moldavians, and formerly Lycoſtomon, is ſituate on the north ſide of the largeſt or northern mouth of the Danube. Cant.

admiral.

admiral. He had no ſooner turned his back, then Doria beſieged Nova, and taking it, put all the inhabitants to the ſword: but next year, Khairo'ddîn returning with a freſh fleet, attacked the town, and recovering it, killed, in revenge, all the Chriſtians whom he found there, without diſtinction of age or ſex [x].

This is the Turkiſh account: let us now ſee what the Chriſtians ſay. The ſenate of Venice, finding themſelves hard preſſed by the Turks, entered into a confederacy againſt them with the emperor Charles V. and pope Paul III. The emperor's fleet, of eighty-two gallies, was commanded by Doria; the Venetians, of the like number, by Capello; and the pope's gallies by Grimani, patriarch of Aquileja. The land forces were under the conduct of Ferdinand Gonzaga, viceroy of Sicily: and the agreement was, that whatever might be taken from the enemy, in either Greece, the iſlands, or Dalmatia, ſhould be delivered up to the Venetians. To oppoſe this power, Barbaroſſa, with one hundred and thirty-eight gallies, early in the ſpring, ſailed to Kandia, with a deſign to ſurpriſe Kanea; but Gritti, the governor, ſo plied the Turks with great and ſmall ſhot from the walls, that their admiral was forced to retire, after the loſs of many men, leaving one thouſand more behind him, who were likewiſe ſlain. All he did was to reduce the little town of Cecilia, and then ſail to the bay of Ambracia, which he fortified for fear of the Chriſtian fleet, by this time arrived at Korfû. The general Gonzaga was for landing and attacking Preveſa, which, if taken, would enable them to bring its ordnance to bear upon the enemies fleet, and ſhut up the bay. But Doria adviſed rather, that in caſe Barbaroſſa could not be brought to an engagement, they ſhould ſail for Lepanto; and taking it, ravage all the towns in the bay of Korinth, which counſel was moſtly approved. On the appearance of the Chriſtian fleet before the bay of Ambracia, Barbaroſſa being irreſolute what courſe to take, was ſharply reproved by an eunuch of the court, as if guilty of cowardice. In the cloſe of his diſcourſe, he bade him beware, leſt in avoiding an honourable, he did not incur a ſhameful death, by the ſoltan's diſpleaſure. Upon this remoſtrance, Barbaroſſa, turning to Salek, one of the chief pirates, ſaid: "We muſt, for aught I can ſee, venture a battle, though at too much

A.D. 1538.

Barbaroſſa attacks Kanea.

Retires to Ambracia.

[x] Cant. p. 202.

diſadvantage,

disadvantage, lest we perish by the complaints of this barking half-man."

Fights Doria. Then weighing anchor, he stood out of the bay to fight the Christians, who thinking he durst not venture, were steering towards Leucade. Doria having advice of his motions, tacked about and prepared for battle. The enemy's fleet being preceded by twenty light gallies, under the conduct of Dragut, a famous pirate, the foremost of them bore down upon the great galleon of Bondelmero; but that commander poured such a quantity of great and small shot into them, that they were glad to sheer off. Mean while Doria, resolved not to engage without the ships of war, which were detained by a calm, steered his course accordingly: the crafty Turk changed his also, and lay still for fear of being circumvented. However, a little before sun-set, both his wings began in divers places to engage the Christians, from whom they took two gallies and a Spanish man of war, besides sinking two ships more; but a sudden gale arising, Doria sailed back for Korfû, in such haste as seemed rather a flight than a retreat, for which he was much censured; and because, through fear, the lights in the poops of the ships were put out, Barbarossa laughed heartily at it, and used to say, Doria did it to conceal his flight.

Castello Nuovo taken. Soon after, he arrived with the Turkish fleet at Paxos, an island four leagues to the east of Korfû, challenging the Christians to fight. At length returning to Ambracia for fear of tempestuous weather, they besieged and took Castello Nuovo; which, contrary to articles, was garrisoned by four thousand Spaniards, for the use of the emperor. This circumstance so discontented the Venetians, that they sued to Solymân for peace, which soon after was concluded. In the interim Barbarossa, putting to sea to relieve that place, many of his gallies were wrecked on the Acroceraunian rocks, and it is said, twenty thousand men were lost. Yet Doria refused to pursue him on this advantage; and returning to Italy, gave occasion to Ursino, a noble Venetian, then in the service, to say, that Doria had done nothing more politicly, and for the emperor's interest, than in thus setting the Venetians and Turks together by the ears without the loss of a galley.

A.D. 1539. *Recovered.* Solymân, to recover Castello Nuovo, sent Barbarossa next spring to besiege it both by sea and land. The Turks lost a thousand men at first; but having made a breach in the town wall, they stormed it, and after a very

very bloody fight, ſlew almoſt the whole garriſon, with Sermiento, who commanded them, but thoſe in the caſtle had quarter. Barbaroſſa then appeared before Cattaro, but finding the governor Bembo did not regard his threats, he accepted of ſome preſents and withdrew.

About this time, peace being concluded between the emperor Charles V. and Frances I. of France, they both ſent to invite the Venetians to join them againſt the Turks. The ſenate, after ſeveral debates, ſent ambaſſadors to thoſe princes, to dive into their deſigns; and a third to Solymân, to avoid giving up, if poſſible, the cities of Napoli di Romania and Malmaſia, without which the ſoltân refuſed to grant them peace. While the ambaſſador offered a large ſum, in lieu of thoſe towns, Solymân took him up ſharply as a baſe diſſembler, and recounted to him all his private inſtructions, in ſuch terms as induced him to yield up not only thoſe cities, but alſo two caſtles in Dalmatia. For this ceſſion, he had like to have been baniſhed by the ſenate; and the traitors being diſcovered were executed [y].

A.D. 1540.

Peace with the Venetians.

This year a new war was kindled in Hungary. John De Zapol, who, under Solymân's protection, had managed affairs with great ſucceſs, left Iſtifan, or Stephen, an infant, heir to the kingdom. The king of Germany (Z), thinking it eaſy to dethrone a child, with an army of eight thouſand choice men beſieged Buda. Solymân, who was made the young prince's guardian, being informed of this invaſion by John's widow, ſent his wazîr, Soſi Mehemed Pâſhâ, with a good army, and a letter to the queen; promiſing to come to her aid with all his forces. The wazîr, being arrived at Buda, commanded his men to attack the Germans, though ſtrongly entrenched. The enemy, finding that the Turks were not very numerous, divided their army into two bodies, and with one carried on the ſiege, while with the other they oppoſed the Othmâns; and thus for thirty days there were continual ſkirmiſhes. Mean while the beſieging party, having deſtroyed the fortifications, Solymân, to prevent the place being taken, advanced in ſpring to his wazîr's aſſiſtance. As ſoon as the Germans heard he was within four days march of their camp, they retired in the night, leaving their artillery be-

Heira 947. A.D. 1540.

Buda beſieged.

Relieved by Solymân.

[y] P. Jovius. Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

(Z) This was Ferdinand, king of the Romans and Bohemians, brother to the emperor Charles V.

hind

hind them. Mehemed Pâshâ vigorously pursued them, and getting before to the place where they were to embark, took some, and killed others; while a few, throwing away their arms, saved themselves by flight. Solymân, being arrived, entered Buda; and, judging Istifan and his mother incapable of defending the kingdom, the one on account of his youth, the other of her sex, sent them into Transilvania, and assigned them a sanjâk for their subsistence. He afterwards converted the churches into jâmi, and appointed a kadi, or *judge*. Then, leaving a strong garrison of janizaries in the city, under the command of Solymân Pâshâ, he returned to his capital.

The Christian historians represent this transaction still more to the advantage of the Othmâns, and the dishonour of their enemies [z].

A.D.1541. King Ferdinand, being informed of the fatal disaster which had befallen his army, sent ambassadors to Solymân with terms of peace, accompanied with curious presents. Being admitted to audience, they humbly desired, that the soltân would bestow Hungary on their master; who, on his part, would pay him the same yearly tribute as king John had paid, and undertake to draw the emperor Charles into the league; so that the Turks might be at liberty to turn their forces against the Persians. But instead of granting Ferdinand's request, Solymân required, that he should restore all the places formerly belonging to king Lewis, and never after meddle with Hungary. He likewise demanded, that Austria should pay him a small tribute on account of the charges of the war; and even refused to grant a truce, till such time as the two princes should be acquainted with his answer. However, the ambassadors had liberty to see the camp, where the most exact discipline and profound silence was observed.

Peace rejected.

Transilvania restored.

At the same time that Mohammed Pâshâ was sent into Hungary, Ahmed, governor of Nissa, was ordered to invade Transilvania, in conjunction with Peter, prince of Moldavia and Walakkia. Stephen Maylat, who had been made vayvod, not being able to withstand the enemy, fled to Togaras. Ahmed, who found that town too strong to be taken by force, decoyed Maylat to his camp, under pretence of peace; but when he had gotten him there, secured him, and soon after Togaras surrendered. Hereupon almost all the country of Transilvania was, by Soly-

[z] Vide Hist. of Hungary.

mân's

mân's consent, given to the young king Stephen; to whom the people readily swore allegiance [z].

This rapid course of victories, which terrified some Christian princes, induced others to implore Solymân's aid against the unjust oppressions of their neighbours. Accordingly, in the year 949, Firanche Pâdishâhi, no longer able to withstand the Spaniards, sent an ambassador extraordinary to make an alliance with the soltân, and entreat his succour. The alliance being made, he sent Khairo'ddîn Pâshâ with a numerous fleet to Spain, and, early next spring, entering Hungary with a great army, reduced Liposa, Beczovi, and Shocklovas, which had been, two years before, recovered by the Germans. Then penetrating farther into the country, he conquered Usturgan, Beligrad (A), Tatar Hissari, and Ustuni Beligrad (B). Having converted the best churches into jâmi, and strengthened the places with strong garrisons, he returned to Constantinople; but as he drew near the city, he received the news of his son Mohammed's sudden death; which so affected him, that, laying aside his intended triumph, he made his entry mournfully, like one who had been vanquished. He afterwards, in remembrance of his son, and for his soul's health, built in the way to the gate called Enghi Kapu a large jâmi, adorned with a college and hospital, called Shehzâde Jâmi [a].

Hejra 949. A.D. 1542.

French assisted.

Hungary invaded.

The foregoing transaction, so briefly touched on by the Turkish authors, requires farther enlargement from the Christian historians; especially those relating to Solymân's sending a fleet to assist the French, and his war in Hungary. With regard to the first article; new differences arising between the emperor and Francis king of France, the latter sent Rinco, as his ambassador, into Turkey, to solicit Solymân to make war upon Charles; but in his way through Italy he was murdered by some Spaniards. This assassination inflaming the resentment of Francis, he sent Polinus on the same errand. Polinus arriving at Constantinople received no very agreeable reception from Solymân the eunuch, grand wazîr: but having, by means of the Kapa Aga, or chief porter, obtained an audience of the soltân himself, that prince promised to send his master, the following spring, as large a fleet as he desired. Spring

A.D. 1542.

[z] Ricaut, ubi supra.

[a] Cant. p. 206, & seq.

(A) Strigonium, or Gran.
(B) Alba Regalis, called, by the Germans, Stul Weissenburg. Cant.

A D. 1543. being come, the execution of this affair was, out of envy to Barbaroſſa, much oppoſed in council by the wazîr; who ſaid, he ſaw no reaſon why the ſtate was put to ſuch an expence, but to ſerve the admiral's turn. However, Barbaroſſa having with incredible diligence fitted out one hundred and ten gallies and forty galleons, by Solymân's order, departed from Conſtantinople with the French ambaſſador.

The Turkiſh fleet takes Rhegio. As ſoon as he arrived in the Fare of Meſſina, the Turkiſh pirates, being come with their galliots in ſight of Rhegio, began to land their men. This diſembarkation made the people leave the city: but Gaietano, a Spaniard, who kept the caſtle, with his guns killed ſome Turks; whereupon the reſt breaking into the town, fired it, to the great diſpleaſure of Barbaroſſa, as well as the French ambaſſador. The Turks landing ſome cannon, with a few ſhot ſo terrified the commander, that he preſently gave up the place. However, he was ſet at liberty, with his wife and children; excepting one daughter, of exceeding beauty, with whom Barbaroſſa was ſo enamoured that he took her to wife. The place was plundered by the ſoldiers; and ſeventy Spaniards, of whom the garriſon conſiſted, with many more citizens, were made captives. The Turkiſh admiral after this exploit, ſailing along the coaſt of Italy, touched at Oſtia, at the mouth of the Tibur; a viſit which ſo terrified the Romans, that the ambaſſador's letter to cardinal Rudolpho, the pope's legate, to aſſure them of their ſafety, could ſcarce keep them from forſaking the city [b].

Beſieges Nice. Barbaroſſa arriving at Marſeilles, lay there a long time, mortified to ſee that the French let the ſeaſon ſlip without entering upon action. At laſt, being joined by ſeveral French ſhips and eight thouſand land forces, he had orders beſiege Nice, in Provence, then under the duke of Savoy; the citizens of which, after repulſing the Turks at one breach, were ſo terrified with a freſh battery, raiſed by the Turkiſh admiral, that they agreed to ſurrender to the French; by which means the janizaries, being diſappointed of the plunder, would have ſlain the ambaſſador, if an opportunity had offered. They had preſently after a new cauſe of reſentment; for they had not ſat down long before the caſtle, when the French ſent to borrow powder and ſhot, their own being expended. This circumſtance ſo enraged Barbaroſſa, that he threatened to lay hands on Polinus, and to return

[b] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

home;

home; but he was ſcarce pacified, when a letter from Vaſti, to Paul, the governor, being intercepted, promiſing relief within two days, they raiſed the ſiege; however, the Turks firſt broke into the city, plundered it, and then ſet it on fire.

Barbaroſſa being come to an anchor at the iſle of Lerina, or Margarita, intelligence was brought that Doria with his fleet lay at Villa Franca; and as he had loſt four gallies in the ſtorm, Polinus ſent to adviſe the Turkiſh admiral to fall on him. The latter making no great haſte thither, his officers, by way of deriſion ſaid, he had reaſon to deal kindly with his brother Doria, in return for letting him eſcape at Hippo; but Barbaroſſa's anſwer always was, that he being an old commander, and half blind, ſaw more into the matter than all thoſe green captains with their ſharp ſight. Not long after, ſailing to Thoulon, he ſent out twenty-five gallies under Salek and Haſſan his kinſmen; who, after pillaging ſome maritime towns of Spain, went and wintered at Algiers. While Barbaroſſa refitted his fleet at Thoulon for the ſervice of the following ſpring, Doria, under pretence of redeeming priſoners, ſupplied him with ſome neceſſaries, although his enemy, for fear he ſhould commit any hoſtilities againſt the territories of Genoa [c]. *Shuns Doria.*

Barbaroſſa, weary of lying ſo long idle in Provence, requeſted of the king of France, that he might have leave either to depart or ravage the coaſts of Spain; but France, unwilling to grant the latter requeſt, beſtowed on him, in lieu of the Turks who were dead, all the Mohammedan ſlaves in his gallies, amounting to four hundred, with ſtore of proviſion, and other preſents. After this ſupply, the Turkiſh admiral departed from Thoulon; and, coming to the iſle of Elba, belonging to the duke of Florence, demanded of the governor Appiano, the releaſe of the ſon of his old friend Sinân the Jew, who was kept a priſoner there. The governor anſwered, that the young man being turned Chriſtian, he could by no means give him up; but that, for his ſake, he would uſe him as his own ſon. Barbaroſſa, not ſatisfied with this apology, landed his men, and committing great ſpoil, retrieved the captive. But the ſon's liberty proved his father's death; for overcome with joy at the unexpected ſight of him, he fainted away in his embraces, and died. *Ravages the coaſts and returns.*

[c] Ricaut. ubi ſupra.

The admiral, sailing from Elba, landed first at Telaman, then at Porte Hercule, which city he burnt. He afterwards ravaged the isles of Gigio and Ischia; burnt the three chief towns of the latter, and carried away abundance of people from both. Then he endeavoured to take Puteoli; but was prevented by the approach of succours from Naples. He had better success at the isle of Lipari, which he laid waste; then burnt the town, and carried off about seven thousand prisoners to Constantinople; where he was honourably received, and applauded by Solymân.

Ferdinand's forces enter Hungary.

Let us now, take a review of the war in Hungary. As king Ferdinand was much alarmed at the answer given his ambassador at the Porte, the princes and states of Germany, at his request, unanimously resolved to take up arms, for recovering Buda, and other places of Hungary, from the Turks. To this end they raised thirty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, under the command of Joachim, marquis of Brandenburgh. They were joined at Vienna by Ferdinand's forces, ten thousand horse out of Stiria, fifteen thousand Hungarian horse, and three thousand choice Italian foot, sent by pope Paul III. under the conduct of Alessandro Vitellio. The marquis marched so slowly along the Danube, that his officers said, the summer would be spent before he could enter upon action. At length, being come to Gran, it was reported, that Solymân was on his march with a great army towards Hungary; but this report being contradicted by his spies sent to Semendria, who brought word, that not above three thousand Turks were arrived at Buda, and that the enemy's fleet was not much inferior to the king's, they were encouraged to proceed to that city; but the general, contrary to the opinion of his officers, passed the Danube, with a design to take Pest, in order to facilitate the reduction of Buda. At the same time Medicis, an Italian, admiral of the fleet, came down the river, and forced the Turks out of the isle of St. Margaret, lying a little above that city.

Besiege Pest.

The Marquis having invested the place, the Turks made several sallies; in one of which Vitellio, feigning to retreat, drew the Turks after him; while Perenus, getting between them and the city with his light-horse, five hundred of them were slain. The Christians, elated with this small advantage, presently raised their batteries; and, having made a breach, four Italian companies, led by Vitellio, ran bravely to attack it; but not being assisted by either

either the Germans or Hungarians, they were forced to make a disorderly retreat, after the loss of seven hundred men. They were no less dejected by this ill success, and it was debated, whether they should raise the siege or not; but while they stood divided in their opinions, a false report, that Ahmed was advancing against them with the European horse, determined them to march off. But before they put this resolution in execution, the enemy sallied, and skirmished with the Hungarians. Here it happened that a remarkable commander among the Turks desired to see Vitellio; who being shewed to him, he ran and embraced him out of respect, and then went off again [d].

The night following, the Turks perceiving the army moving off towards the fleet, sallied on every side out of the city, and, upbraiding them with cowardice, closely pursued their rear. Nay, Ulemas, governor of Buda, passing the river, so eagerly followed them, that they must have suffered much, had not Vitellio with his Italians made a bold stand, and prevailed on the German as well as Hungarian horse to turn upon the enemy; who by that effort were routed, and in the pursuit many of them slain. After this action, the army retreated without molestation; but seven hundred Germans, who were sick and straggled behind, were slain in their sight by the Turkish horse. When they arrived at Vienna they were disbanded; but to cover the shame of this unfortunate expedition, and divert the discourse of people another way, the noble Peter Perenus, one of the greatest lords of Hungary, was, upon a pretended suspicion of aspiring to the crown of that kingdom, seized for a traitor by Ferdinand's order, and doomed to a perpetual prison. *Obliged to retreat.*

Solymân being by this time arrived in the country, sent Morâd, governor of Dalmatia, and Ulemas, the Persian, to besiege Walpo; which was surrendered by the garrison; who, as a reward of their treachery, were all put to the sword, while the general was treated with much courtesy by the Turks. Peez, or the *Five Churches*, also, and Siclos were quickly yielded; the garrison of which last place were all put to death, because they did not submit sooner. The soltân, informed of these successes, marched from Buda to besiege Gran, then governed by two proud Spaniards, Liscanus and Salamanca; who, being summoned, boasted of their courage and fidelity. Mean *Gran besieged.*

[d] Ricaut, ubi supra.

while the Turks planted their batteries against the weakest parts of the wall, and made a large breach; but were bravely repulsed in three assaults. However, the two Spanish commanders fearing the event of the siege, it was resolved to surrender the city. To this end Salamanca, with the approbation of the officers, although the soldiers were against it, went to the Turkish camp, and in his way commanded those who defended the water-tower to withdraw for their safety into the city. The soldiers, terrified at this order, retired with such precipitation, that the vigilant Turks broke in before they had all gotten out, slew those whom they found there, and took possession of the castle. Salamanca, being brought before Ahmed, insisted on high terms; but could obtain no better than to surrender at discretion. This circumstance being signified by letter to Liscanus, he surrendered the city, and the Turks entered peaceably. But when the garrison was come to Presburgh, the two governors, with some other officers, were arrested, on suspicion of treason.

Basely surrendered.

Siege of Alba Regalis.

Solymân entered Gran on the 10th of August, and converted the Christian churches into Mohammedan temples. Then, fortifying the city, he went and razed the castle of Tatta, which surrendered to him. From hence he proceeded to Alba Regalis; so called because there the ancient kings of Hungary were crowned and buried. This city is seated in the middle of a lake or marsh, and approached by three very broad causeys, with fair houses and gardens on each side. It is surrounded also with strong walls, and a deep ditch filled with water, which makes it difficult to be besieged. On the enemy's approach, Barcotius, the chief commander, would have had the suburbs destroyed; but the citizens would not consent, as thinking them defensible. As soon as the Turks with their multitudes, began to surround the place, five hundred hussars, who were in garrison, not used to be cooped up, departed out of the town in the night. Mean while the Turks, by the continual firing of their cannon, battered down the planks and timber which kept in the sandy mould, whereof the fortress was built; afterwards, having, with incredible labour, in twelve days time, filled up the ditches and lake, they assaulted the bulwark of the suburbs towards Buda; and, being continually relieved, at last gained it.

The city yielded.

On this occasion the very women and monks fought in defence of the place. Among the rest, a tall Hungarian amazon, advancing among the soldiers to the top of the Italian fort, which still held out, with a great scythe, at one blow

blow ſtruck off the heads of two Turks, who were climbing up the ramparts. That day, being the 25th of Auguſt, the Turks could penetrate no farther; but ſoon after, making another aſſault, they, by favour of a miſt, got to the top of the ramparts before they were perceived by the beſieged. In fine, they won the ſuburbs, and the people fled; but the draw-bridge being pulled up, and the gate exceeding ſmall which led into the city, great numbers of them were ſlain, and among the reſt general Borcatius, whoſe head and hand, being cut off, were ſhewed about by the enemy on the point of a ſpear. Hereupon the magiſtrates ſurrendered the place upon articles, and the ſoldiers in garriſon retired to Vienna. Solymân after this capitulation entered Alba Regalis; and, notwithſtanding his proclamation, that the Hungarians had nothing to fear, within three days, ordered the principal citizens to be ſlain; although ſome will have it, that he only put to death thoſe who bore offices at the time when they revolted from the young king to Ferdinand. However that be, he ſoon after returned to his capital, leaving the Tartars to ravage the country. At length, in 1547, a peace was ratified between the emperor Charles V. and Solymân, for five years, wherein king Ferdinand was likewiſe included [e].

Expedition to Perſia, India, and Africa, with the ſiege of Malta.

IN 954 Alkasîb Mîrza, being greatly injured by the Perſians, fled to the ſoltân, and ſhewed how he might ſubdue all Perſia, offering to conduct the forces himſelf. Solymân perſuaded by his diſcourſes, ſupplied him with a large ſum of money, to raiſe an army for recovering his dominions, and early in the ſpring moved in perſon towards Perſia with numerous forces. In this march he was met by his ſons Bâ-yezîd, governor of Ikonium, and Moſtafa, governor of Amaſia, who having kiſſed their father's hand, were ſent back to their governments. Having entered Azerbejân, Soltân Burhan, deſcended from the ancient kings of Shîrwan, ſurrendered both himſelf and territories to him. Preſently after he committed the cuſtody of Tibris to Alkasîb Mîrza; who ſeeing himſelf neither able to do any thing, nor ſafe from the attacks of the

Hejra 954. A.D. 1547.

Alkasîb Mirza invades Perſia.

A.D. 1548.

[e] Ricaut. ubi ſupra.

Persians, demolished the palaces of the shâh, and retired with his forces to the imperial camp, which was now before Vân. Solymân, with this additional strength, made a vigorous assault; whereupon the besieged, on the 19th of Rajeb, on condition of having their lives, surrendered this strong and noble city. Hence he led his forces to Amzeh, where he surprised and routed part of the Persian army.

Seizes the treasures. Mean while, being informed by his spies that the shâh's immense treasures lay weakly guarded in the cities of Ispâhân, Kashân, and Kamid, he sent Alkasîb Mîrza, with some light-armed troops, to seize them. The mîrza executed his orders so well, that, routing the guards, who little expected his coming, he got possession of the riches; and, after destroying the adjacent country, returned laden with spoil. With part of the prey, he obtained of the covetous wazîr, Azîz Allah, to be made associate with the governor of Bâghdâd. When he went thither he repented of having deserted the Persians, and sent private letters to the shâh, in which he begged pardon, promising for the future to be faithful to him, and a diligent spy upon the motions of the Turks. His colleague, Mehemed Pâshâ, no less watchful of his actions, quickly accused him to Solymân, and received orders to send him in irons to the Porte.

Flies to Georgia. But before the order arrived, he was informed of what was transacting, by some friends, whom he had made with Persian money; and, as there was no other way to escape, fled into Gurjistân. The Georgians, about a year before, had surprised Mostafa Pâshâ, governor of those parts, when little suspecting such perfidiousness, and cut his whole army in pieces. To revenge these deeds, Mehemed Pâshâ was sent, with a large body of troops, into Gurjistân, where, after several battles, fought with various success, he at last entirely routed all the enemy's forces. He took and razed seven of their strongest castles, A.D. 1549. after which he withdrew to winter in Diyârbekr. Early in the spring he re-entered the country, and meeting no opposition, reduced above twenty cities; then placing garrisons in the fortresses, and establishing the provinces in the soltân's obedience, he returned to Constantinople [f].

Revolution in Tunis. We are now called to see what is doing in Africa. When Barbarossa was sent with a fleet to assist the king of France, Muley Hassan, king of Tunis, fearing that ar-

[f] Cant. p. 207, & seq.

mament

mament was prepared againſt him, paſſed over to Naples, with a deſign to meet the emperor at Genoa, and crave his farther protection; but while he ſtayed there, advice coming that his ſon Amîd, who had been left to defend the coaſt with the men of war, had uſurped the kingdom; he, with one thouſand eight hundred Italians, the refuſe of gaols, headed by Giovanni Battiſta Lofredi, immediately put to ſea, and landing at the Guletta, by the perſuaſion of ſome traitors, marched to Tunis, with his ſmall forces, which, with their leader, were all ſlain, excepting five hundred; and Muley Haſſan being taken, his eyes were put out. Tonarres, governor of the Guletta, judging the emperor injured by Amîd's ſeizing the throne without his conſent, ſent for Abdo'l Malek, a natural ſon of Muley Haſſan, who, repairing to Tunis in the abſence of Amîd, was, by favour of his veil, miſtaken for him, and admitted into the caſtle by the governor. But this new king dying, when he had ſcarce reigned one month, Mohammed, his ſon, only twelve years old, was advanced in his room, under the direction of three governors, who ruled at pleaſure. Of them Muley Haſſan obtained leave to retire to the Guletta; and thus very luckily eſcaped the bloody hands of his ſon Amîd, who, ſoon after, was invited by the citizens, weary of the evil government of the triumvirs, and entering Tunis without oppoſition, put all his enemies to death with the utmoſt cruelty.

Amîd uſurps.

Thus things remained till the year 1550, when Dragut Rais, a famous Turkiſh pirate, having ſurpriſed the cities of Africa and Mohammedia, in the kingdom of Tunis, from thence infeſted the Chriſtians, both by ſea and land. Of theſe inſults daily complaints being made to the emperor Charles, he ſent Doria, aſſiſted by the knights of Malta, with a ſtrong fleet and army, to beſiege the city of Africa, which they took by ſtorm the 10th of September; and having raſed it to the ground, ravaged the neighbouring coaſts, and returned. Dragut, provoked by this loſs, excited Solymân to make war on the emperor and king Ferdinand, although the five years truce was not yet expired. Accordingly, in the following ſpring, the ſoltân furniſhed Dragut with one hundred and forty ſail, commanded in chief by Sinan Pâſhâ; who ſuddenly took and ſacked the caſtle of Auguſta in Sicily. They then landed in Malta; where having battered the caſtles of Manet and St. Paul, to no purpoſe, they ſailed to the little iſle

A.D.1550.

Dragut's ſucceſſes.

A.D.1552.

isle of Goza, five miles distant, which they ravaged, and carried off six thousand three hundred people into slavery [g].

Tripoli taken by the Turks.

After these depredations they passed over for Tripoli in Barbary, which had been bestowed also on the knights of Malta by the emperor; and in August closely besieged that city. They carried on their approaches so expeditiously, that they planted a battery within a hundred and fifty paces of the wall, in which they made a large breach even with the ditch; but the besieged repaired it so well in the night, that there was no assaulting it. At length, having, by the direction of a French deserter, battered a place which could not well be repaired, the soldiers were so terrified, that they obliged the governor, Vallier, to capitulate; and all that two knights sent for this purpose could obtain from the pâshâ, was a promise of liberty. Upon this the place surrendered on the 15th of the same month, and the castle the next day; but Sinân, instead of performing the articles, though he twice swore to them, took from the garrison both their effects and liberty. Nor could Arramont, the French ambassador, prevail on him to release more than two hundred and thirty of the least useful: he also insisted for a while on being paid the charges of the war. They dealt barbarously by John De Chabas, gunner of the castle, who, during the siege, happened to shoot off the hand of the chief clerk of the army; for, after having cut off his hands and nose, they set him into a hole up to the middle, and then shooting at him with arrows, at last cut his throat [h].

Temeswar reduced.

The affairs of the East being thus settled, Solymân resolved to enlarge his dominions to the west. To this end Mehemed Pâshâ, beglerbeg of Rûm-eli, was sent with the European army to take Temishwar, the strongest city in all Hungary. The pâshâ having made himself master of the neighbouring towns Bachi, Buchghergi, Ratzu, and Chenad (C), laid close siege to the city; but an army coming to its relief superior to his own, he sent to court for a speedy supply. Hereupon the prime wazîr, Mahmûd Pâshâ, hastened with the rest of the Othmân forces to his assistance. Thus strengthened, he routed the ene-

[g] Ricaut. in Soleyman. [h] Ibid.

(C) Cities, as it seems, lying between the Danube and Save; which country is called by the Turks, Bacha Ovasi. Cant.

my;

my; and then taking the city by ſtorm, annexed to the empire the whole territory of Temiſhwar, almoſt as large as a beglerbeglik; the cuſtody of which he committed to Kaſsîm Pâſhâ, with a good garriſon [i].

The Chriſtian hiſtorians ſay, that this city was taken by Ahmed before mentioned, and Ali, pâſhâ of Buda; and that contrary to their faith, they put the garriſon to the ſword. They tell us alſo, that the ſame generals took the caſtle of Zolnuk, but failed in their attempt upon Erſam, as Ali did next year in the ſiege of Agria, having been obliged to raiſe it with the loſs of ſix thouſand men; but that Solymân, at the ſolicitation of Arramont, ambaſſador from Henry II. of France, in 1553, ſent a fleet into the Tyrhenian ſea, which did great harm upon the coaſt of Italy and the iſlands of the Mediterranean. The ſame year Iſabella, not being able to defend herſelf againſt the encroachments of the Turks in Tranſilvania, ſurrendered that province to Ferdinand, and retired into Poland [k].

Zolnuk yielded.

A.D. 1553.

In the mean time the Othmân affairs were not ſo proſperous in Aſia. Shâh Iſmaël, ſon of Tomaſib, after the departure of the Muſulman army, entered the ſoltân's dominions, and ſuddenly took Ardiſh and Aglaſh; putting to the ſword all the Turks he could find in thoſe cities. Hereupon Iſkander Pâſhâ was ſent, with good part of the Aſiatic forces, to oppoſe the ſhâh; but being met by him was routed, with the ſlaughter of the greater part of his men. Thus fortune ſmiled on the Perſians in leſſer battles only to ſhew them her reſting in greater; for Solymân having ordered the prime wazîr, Mehemed Pâſhâ, with what force he had ready, to winter about Tokâd, in Ramazân, joined him near a place called Arkileh, with the reſt of his army. Here he received certain information that his ſon Moſtafa, who, on ſuſpicion, had been confined the year before, was engaged in a plot againſt his life; upon which he ordered him to be ſtrangled. When he was come to Halep, Jehân Ghir, another of his ſons, departed this life; after which event he commanded his ſon Seſîm to winter with his forces in Marâſh [l].

The ſhâh takes Ardjîs,

The Chriſtian hiſtorians ſpeak of this Moſtafa as a young prince of great endowments, and aſcribe his death to the intrigues of a lady of the ſaray, or ſeraglio, whom they call Roxolana. They ſay, that in order to procure the ſucceſſion for one of her four ſons, ſhe firſt, by artifice, prevailed on the ſoltân to marry her, and then at-

Moſtafa put to death.

[i] Cant. p. 209. [k] Ricaut. ubi ſupra. [l] Cant. p. 210.

tempted

tempted to take Moſtafa away by poiſon; but failing in her deſign, ſhe began to accuſe him to Solymân of rebellious practices; ſhewing letters ſent from her creatures, who watched his motions, and, among the reſt, one from the pâſhâ who had the government of the prince and the province of Amaſia, with intimation of a report, that he was contracted to the king of Perſia's daughter; that theſe ſuſpicions being confirmed by the ſubtilty of the grand wazîr Ruſtan, Roxolana's ſon-in-law, Solymân at length gave into them; and, with an intent to put him to death, ſent for him to attend him in the camp; that Moſtafa, depending on his innocence, went; but, on entering his father's tent, was ſeized by ſeven mutes, who ſtrangled him, while Solymân, from behind a curtain, with frowns, and other threatening ſigns, urged them to diſpatch him. The ſame authors add, that his dead body being ſhewed to his brother Jehân Ghîr, who was very crooked, that prince, who loved Moſtafa extremely, after reproaching his father with cruelty, ſtabbed himſelf, and died on the ſpot; that this execution was ſucceeded by a mutiny of the ſoldiers who accompanied Moſtafa, in which two thouſand men were ſlain; and that the janizaries, when they came to know of his death, with a great noiſe, and their ſwords drawn, broke into the tent of Solymân, who could ſcarce appeaſe them, by depriving Ruſtân of his employments. But to return to the Perſian war [m].

Hejra 961. A.D. 1554. *Perſia invaded.*

At length, in the year 961, Solymân entering Shîrwân, ſent a herald to the ſhâh, to tell him he was ready for battle, and challenged him into the field: but the Perſian anſwering neither by words nor deeds, he beſieged Revân (D), his regal ſeat; and taking it in a few days, deſtroyed the royal gardens, palaces, and country-houſes; then ſet fire to the city itſelf, the glory of all Perſia. He afterwards marched to Nahjivân, and, by the conduct of ſoltân Huſſeyn, laid waſte all the province between Tibris and Maràghe, utterly deſtroying the cities, towns, and villages, with fire and ſword. Having taken this ſevere revenge of the Perſians, he, at the approach of winter,

[m] Buſbequius's Embaſſy, lib. iii. Ricaut.

(D) A famous city of Perſia, corruptly written in the maps Ervan. Cant. The author miſtakes; Ervân or Irvan is no corruption. It may alſo be written Revân or Rivân, and Irivân.

ſent

ſent his forces into quarters about Amaſia. Next ſpring, ſhâh Kuli Soltân viſited him near Arzerûm, imploring his protection. From thence he marched to Baghdâd, where he received ambaſſadors from the Perſian king, humbly ſuing for peace; which at length was concluded, and in virtue thereof the cities of Van Marâſh and Moſul were made the boundaries of the Othmân empire.

A pretender taken.

While Solymân was thus employed in Aſia, a certain impoſtor appeared in Dobrujeh (E), under the name of ſoltân Muſtafa; who, aſſembling forty diſſolute men, cruelly laid waſte not only this, but all the neighbouring provinces. But before this pretender, by reaſon of the diſtance, could be reſtrained by the ſoltân, Bâ-yezîd, his ſixth ſon, by an admirable ſtratagem, drew him into a ſnare, and ſent him in chains to his father, who was about to diſpatch Moſtafa Pâſhâ with an army to oppoſe him.

Falſe Moſtafa.

The Chriſtian writers give a very different account of this affair: they tell us, that this falſe Moſtafa was ſet up by Bâ-yezîd himſelf, to try his ſtrength againſt his brother Selîm; from whom, by his mother's intrigues, he wanted to wreſt the ſucceſſion to the empire; that Portân Pâſhâ being ſent with forces againſt the impoſtor, he was deſerted by his followers, and taken, with ſome others; and that, having on the rack confeſſed the deſigns of Bâyezîd, they were all drowned in the ſea; but that Bâyezîd was pardoned by the intreaties of Roxolana.

France aſſiſted.

About this time a war being kindled between the kings of Spain and France, the latter, much preſſed by his enemies, deſired the aid of a ſecond fleet, which Solymân ſent under the command of Karli Ali Beg; who, finding no oppoſition at ſea, ravaged the coaſts of Spain, and carried off the inhabitants. The Spaniards, to put a ſtop to his progreſs, recalled their troops; by which means the French, commanded by Korbon (F), gained a complete

(E) A plain country on this ſide Mount Hæmus, extending along the Danube from Driſta, in Walakhia, to the mouth of that river. The inhabitants, called Chitaki, originally Turks, entertain travellers with almoſt unparalleled hoſpitality. Cant.

(F) He ſeems to have been Charles duke of Bourbon, general of the emperor's army to whom he revolted from the French. But as neither the German nor French annals mention this battle, I take it to be a fiction of the French, to induce Solymân the more eaſily to aſſiſt them; an artifice I have known them uſe at Conſtantinople in my time. Cant.

victory,

victory, slaying forty thousand of the enemy on the spot.

Ormûz invaded by the Turks.

Solymân, encouraged by this success, sent another fleet to Hurmiuz or Ormuz, under the conduct of Peri Reis; who, having plundered all the maritime provinces of that kingdom, returned laden with spoils to Constantinople; but being pursued and attacked by the enemy's fleet, whilst he negligently sailed along the Egyptian sea, his scattered ships were partly sunk and partly taken, especially those laden with the plunder. Some of the lightest vessels escaped, in one of which was Seyd Alî Kapudân; who, gathering his dispersed ships, re-attacked the enemy's fleet while they sailed back in disorder, and, by a strange turn of fortune, took and sunk several of their vessels. At the same time, Toygun Pâshâ, beglerbeg of Buda, with his forces, took three cities from the Christians, and carried away numberless captives. On the other hand, the governor of Jezayr or Algiers, Salîh Pâshâ, subdued Bijaneh, and three other castles in Spain.

Hejra 963. A.D.1555.

Francha Padishâhi, not succeeding against the Spaniards according to his wish, desired a third fleet to be sent to his assistance. Solymân rejoicing that he could break one egg with another, without hurting his own hands, readily granted his request, and sent Kapudân Piâla Pâshâ, with a great fleet, to join the French; who took Misina, Rija, and Marioka (G), with three lesser neighbouring isles; and, laying waste all the coasts of Apulia, returned in autumn with great spoils.

System of laws.

The Othmân empire being thus strengthened on every side, Solymân gave his army some respite, and spent almost ten years in regulating civil affairs. His first care was to finish the jâmi, founded by him three years before; which he did in so beautiful a manner, that, excepting Sancta Sophia, there is not, it is thought, the like in the world, and called it by his own name, Solymâniyeh. Afterwards, perceiving many things performed irregularly, as well in the court as out of it, and that the confused degrees of offices begat contention among his officers, he made new regulations, both civil and military; assigning to every one his rank at court, in the city, and in the army.

Great preparations.

This new system of laws paved the way to greater designs. Solymân had discovered by his former expeditions, that the German empire was too powerful, and its barriers

(G) That is Messina, Regium Julium, or Reggio, in Calabria and Majorka; the two first are, by a common mistake of the Turks, placed by them in Spain. Cant.

too

too ſtrong to be thrown down, without greater preparations than he had hitherto made. He therefore redoubled his efforts in preparing for a freſh invaſion, and repleniſhed his exhauſted treaſures[n].

This is all the Turkiſh authors, made uſe of by prince Cantemir, afford to fill up the ſpace of ten years in the hiſtory of Solymân's reign; during which time, however, there happened, according to the Chriſtian writers, ſeveral tranſactions, ſome of equal moment with any before related under this ſoltân.

Much about the ſame time that the Turkiſh admiral ſeized the iſles of Blambis and Elba, Ali, pâſhâ of Buda, ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of Boboza, in Hungary; but failing in his attempt to ſurpriſe Sigeth, he ſat down before it next year, on the 20th of June, with a great army; who, on the 30th, gained the out-walls; but, in ſtorming the caſtle, were repulſed with the loſs of eight hundred men. Then they endeavoured to fill up the marſh and ditch about the town, but to no purpoſe; yet, July the 12th, the pâſhâ made another aſſault, which continued for five days together, though without ſucceſs. Hereupon he raiſed the ſiege on the 21ſt, yet returned ſix days after, and gave another aſſault, as fruitleſs as the former; having in all loſt two thouſand men, and ſpent ten thouſand ſhot: nor was he more fortunate next year in the ſiege of this place, which he was forced to raiſe on the approach of Ferdinand's army, under Polcerher and Sirini, who routed his army near Boboza. This misfortune, with the arrival of new ſupplies, under young Ferdinand, archduke of Auſtria, the king's ſon, ſo terrified the Turks, that they quitted Boboza, Sammartin, San Laurence, with ſeveral other ſmall places, and fled to Five Churches, not without the loſs of many in their retreat; and the governor of Raab burned the ſuburbs of Alba Regalis, carrying off ſeveral thouſands of the enemy's cattle.

A.D. 1555. *Siege of Sigeth.* A.D. 1556. *Raiſed with loſs.*

Bâ-yezîd, the younger of Solymân's two ſons, who were then alive, having been pardoned by the interceſſion of Roxolana, as before related, behaved very dutifully ſo long as his mother lived; but ſhe dying, in 1557, he began to tamper with the ſoldiery; practices which the ſoltân being informed of, he ſent to put him in mind of his duty; and to place his ſons more at a diſtance, both from himſelf and each other, ordered him to remove from Kutayeh to Amaſia, and Selîm from Magneſia to Ikonium.

Bâ-yezîd's attempt againſt Selim.

[n] Cant. p. 211—215

But

But Bâ-yezîd, instead of removing, sought delays, and petitioned either to remain where he was, or have some province less distant than Amasia assigned him; especially as his brother was, by a new order, allowed to reside at Prusa, where he was daily contriving mischief against him. Solymân sent over two pâshâs to see his sons settled in their respective provinces; but Bâ-yezîd still declining to obey, his father prepared to oblige him by force; and finding the janizaries favoured his party, applied to the mufti for his opinion in the case; which was, that both the man, for no person was named, and his accomplice deserved death. This sentence was published, and sent to Bâ-yezîd; who, in answer, desired his father not to meddle in the quarrel between him and his brother; intimating by the same hand, that, if he did, he knew how to destroy the country, and provide for his own safety.

Defeated by him.

Nevertheless, he set out towards Amasia; and proceeding as far as Ancyra, Selîm thought he might, without danger, repair to Ikonium; which opening a passage to Syria, Solymân took care should not fall into Bâ-yezîd's hands: but that prince, having collected a great force, by the resort of vagabonds, and some troops of Kiurds, resolving, if possible, to be master of that city, marched thither to attack Selîm, who was then joined by all his father's forces. The battle was very obstinate; and, though after forty thousand had fallen on both sides, Bâ-yezîd was forced to give way; yet he retreated leisurely, and in good order. This action, wherein a handful of men were engaged against a well-disciplined army, supported by great artillery, procured Bâ-yezîd great reputation, and made Solymân, in June, 1559, haste over into Asia: however, he resolved not to remove far from the coast, fearing the janizaries might revolt. Mean while, Bâ-yezîd, by letters, desired a reconciliation with his father; who, dissembling his resentment, seemed inclined to pardon him; but at the same time resolved to have him seized, and ordered the governors on the borders of Persia to prevent his escape. Bâ-yezîd being informed of this design by his friends, set out from Amasia with twenty followers; and so well deceived the governors of Siwâz and Arzerûm, by setting them upon a false pursuit, that he got safely out of Turkey, and was kindly entertained by shâh Tahmasp, who promised to reconcile him, if possible, with his father [o].

flies into Persia.

[o] Ricaut. ubi supr.

In

In ſome time, however, the ſhâh, whether with or without grounds is uncertain, grew jealous of him; and, having diſperſed his men in the villages about Kaſvîn, clapped him and his three ſons up in priſon. Of this impriſonment an account being ſent to Solymân, continual meſſages paſſed between him and Tâhmaſp about delivering him up; but the ſoltân finding the ſhâh could not be brought to that condition, he tried to have him diſpatched, propoſing to pay the charges which Tâmaſp demanded for maintaining Bâ-yezîd and his men. To this end Haſſan Aga and the pâſhâ of Maraſh were ſent to Perſia; where, after they had gone to priſon to ſee the prince, whom they found in a miſerable plight, that they might be ſure of their prey, they ſtruck the bargain; upon which Haſſan, being admitted a ſecond time, ſtrangled him, and three of his children, with his own hands. Mohammed the youngeſt, an infant, ſuffered the ſame fate at Pruſa. *Put to death.*

The knights of Malta having for ſome years ſollicited the pope, the Spaniards, and other powers, to aſſiſt them in recovering Tripoli, in Barbary, taken from them nine years before by the Turks, they, at length, obtained the deſired ſuccours, and in February, 1560, ſailed for the iſle of Zerbi or Jerbi; and although Drâgut, governor of Tripoli, had landed before with eight hundred janizaries, and provided for the defence of the city, yet having laid ſiege to the ſtrongeſt caſtle in the iſland with eight thouſand men, it was preſently ſurrendered to them: but while Karawân, a poor king of the Moors, from whom that iſle had been taken, was gravely diſcourſing with the generals about the methods for driving the Turks out of Africa, advice came that Piala Pâſhâ, the Turkiſh admiral, was at hand with a fleet of eighty-five gallies. Hereupon they obliged the chief of the Moors to pay the king of Spain the ſame tribute which was paid to Drâgut, and began to fortify the caſtle; but the ſoldiers were ſo long about it, that the Turkiſh fleet came in May, and ſurpriſed them before they could get on board. It happened luckily, however, that the greater part of the ſhips, and fourteen gallies, had ſet ſail the night before; and the grand-maſter had recalled his gallies in April. Of the reſt, ten gallies were immediately taken, as were afterwards ſome others, which ran aground. Only ſome few eſcaped: but the viceroy, and the admiral Giovanni Andrea Doria, got off the night following, in two ſmall frigates, to Malta. *Zerbi invaded.* *Doria defeated.*

The castle taken. The Turks, flushed with this success, laid siege to the castle; which, notwithstanding the reinforcements brought by Drâgut, held out three months, and would have been defended much longer but for want of water, there being only one large cistern to supply the garrison; so that many died of thirst. Don Alvares, the governor, with the admirals of the Neapolitan and Sicilian gallies, endeavoured to escape in the night, aboard a vessel which lay under the castle; but being discovered by the Turks, they were all taken; on which the soldiers gave up the place, on con-
A.D. 1561. dition of having their lives. Thus ended this unfortunate expedition, in which the Christians lost eighteen thou-
Losses of the Christians. sand men, besides a great part of their fleet. In the following year also, the Turks, with their gallies, pillaged several places on the coasts of Italy, Sicily, and Malta. Philip II. king of Spain, sent indeed a fleet against them; but lost twenty-five of his gallies, with Mendoza the admiral, in a dreadful storm; which happened on the 18th of September [p].

Peace concluded. Not long after this event, Ferdinand, to whom Charles, his brother, had resigned the empire, in 1559, having, with much difficulty, obtained a peace of Solymân, his son Maximilian, in a diet held at Frankfort, November the 24th, 1562, was elected king of the Romans. Thither came Ibrâhim Pâshâ with presents, and a letter written to the emperor in a haughty style, containing the conditions of an eight years truce; the most material of which was, that Ferdinand should pay to Solymân a yearly tribute of thirty thousand ducats for Hungary, and the arrears
Germans break it. of two years. The truce held till 1564: when that prince dying, and Maximilian succeeding to the empire, Melchior Balas, the emperor's lieutenant in Hungary, towards Transilvania, first violating it, surprised several towns on those frontiers. These hostilities were revenged by the waywode of that country, who took Sakma, with the wife and children of Balas in it: then being aided by four thousand Turks, and three hundred Moldavians, he ravaged the emperor's territories, reducing Haden, and laying siege to Ungar. Hereupon Maximilian sent Lazarus Suendi, a valiant commander, with eight thou-
A.D. 1565. sand men to besiege Tokay; which he took in February, 1565, and then reduced the rich town of Erden.

Prepare for war. In the mean time Solymân, to facilitate his intended revenge, dispatched an ambassador to the emperor, to

[p] Ricaut. ubi supr.

put

put him in mind of the league between them; while the Paſhâ of Temeſwar beſieged Giula with ſix thouſand men, as the Tranſilvanians, in June, did Erden. Chernovich, the emperor's ambaſſador, returning from Conſtantinople about this time, aſſured his maſter, that the Turks meant nothing but war, notwithſtanding all their pretences to the contrary. In conſequence of this intimation, he made all neceſſary preparations for it, while the Turkiſh ambaſſador was ſtill treating of peace, although the archduke Charles had cut-off eight thouſand Turks at one time, who were ravaging the borders of Stiria. In ſhort, Maximilian, being aſſured on all hands that Solymân had projected grand deſigns againſt him, not only fortified his frontier garriſons, but reſolved to call a general diet of the empire, next ſpring, at Ratiſbon, to provide againſt the attempts of the common enemy; where we ſhall at preſent leave this matter, to relate the proceedings of the Turks in the Mediterranean againſt the knights of Malta [q].

Malta invaded.

The continual damages done to the ſubjects of the Othmân empire at ſea by thoſe knights, determined Solymân to take a ſevere revenge upon them; to which he was particularly ſolicited by Koſſum, ſon of Barbaroſſa, king of Algiers, and Drâgut, governor of Tripoli. Having fitted out a fleet for that purpoſe, and exhorted his commanders to deſtroy the Malteſe pirates, as he called them, he gave them a map of the iſland, with draughts of its ſeveral fortifications. The grand-maſter of the order, John Valette, otherwiſe Pariſot, a Frenchman, being informed of theſe preparations, immediately went to work; and while he laboured for his defence at home, he ſent abroad to the pope and other Chriſtian princes, to demand their aid againſt the common enemy of the croſs.

The Turkiſh forces.

In the mean time the Turkiſh fleet, commanded by Piâla Paſhâ, conſiſting of one hundred and forty-two gallies, ſeventeen galliots, and twenty-two ſhips of burden, with other ſmall veſſels, ſet ſail on this expedition; having on board above thirty thouſand ſoldiers, among whom were ſeven thouſand nine hundred ſpahis, or horſemen, and four thouſand five hundred janizaries, all under the conduct of Moſtafa Paſhâ, a man ſeventy-five years of age. Theſe forces arriving at Malta, on the 18th of May, put into Porto Majore, on the north-weſt ſide of the iſland, which is about twenty miles long from north-

[q] Ricaut. ubi ſupr.

west to south-east, and twelve broad. On the east side of the isle are two harbours, divided by a high bridge, or tongue of land, which shoots out north-eastward: that to the north is called Marza Mushet; the other, to the south, Port Majore. With this last, on the left hand, are four promontories; on the second of which, at the very point, stands the strong castle of St. Angelo; and adjoining to it the town, by some called the New City, separated from it only by a wall and ditch, and situate in a hollow cut out of the main rock, strengthened also by the sea, and human industry. Upon the third head of land stands a castle, called St. Michael, with a town also; and, at the point of the tongue of land, another castle, named St. Elmo, very strong both by nature and art.

City described.

Forces there.

For the defence of this important place there were in the island about one thousand three hundred Messinars, French, Spaniards, and Italians; one thousand seamen of the knights fleet; five hundred men in St. Angelo Castle; five thousand country people, who fled into the fortified places; five hundred knights, besides esquires and priests. In the city of Malta itself, called the Old City, which stood in the middle of the island, there were two hundred soldiers, as many citizens, and three hundred country horse.

St. Elmo besieged.

The Turks landed twenty-thousand men at Marza Siroco, on the south-east side of the isle, while Piâla Pâshâ, with seven thousand went to view the castle of St. Michael: but at length, having resolved to besiege that of St. Elmo, they cast up a mount in order to batter it, and play upon the gallies in the haven, that so they might open a way for the fleet to enter. St. Elmo after a very gallant defence, in which the Turks were several times repulsed, was at length taken by storm. Then St. Michael and St. Angelo were successively attacked with such fury and perseverance, that nothing but the most incredible efforts of valour and military skill, displayed by the grand-master and his knights, could have prevented their being taken. At length Don Garcias the viceroy of Sicily, after many affected and scandalous delays, arriving with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, the Turks reimbarked with great precipitation, having lost twenty-four thousand men, and twenty-four pieces of battering cannon, in this enterprize. For the particulars of this famous siege, the reader is referred to the history of Malta.

Take Scio.

Although the Turks were thus baffled, we do not find that Solymân resented his miscarriage on the commanders, as was customary: but, after the return of his fleet, he sent

ſent Piâla Pâſhâ with it to ſubdue Scio; whoſe governor, being his tributary, had held intelligence with the Malteſe during the ſiege. The admiral arriving in the middle of April, 1566, poſſeſſed himſelf of the haven, and ſent for the governor, with twelve of the principal citizens, whom he threw into irons. Then, ſeizing the town, he appointed a Turkiſh governor; and, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in the place, ſailed for the coaſt of Apulia, in Italy, where he deſtroyed many villages, and carried away a multitude of captives.

Affairs of Hungary.

It is time now to return to the affairs of Hungary. Maximilian, having in the diet at Frankfort, obtained aid from the empire, drew together a great army out of Germany, Italy, and other countries. Theſe, under the command of Suendi, laid ſiege to the town of Huſth, on the borders of Tranſilvania; whoſe vayvod aſpiring to be king of Hungary, much inflamed this rupture between the two empires. At the ſame time the pâſhâ of Buda attacked Palotta, about eight miles from Raab, with greater fury than ſucceſs; having been forced to riſe from before it, with the loſs of ſome cannon and baggage, by the count of Hoffenſtein, who alſo took Wriſboun. Soon after, count Salm reduced Tatta or Dotis: and the caſtles of Geſtes, Witha, Iſcholika, and Samboc, were abandoned by the enemy. Mean while count Serini, governor of Raab, underſtanding that Solymân approached, detached fifteen hundred horſe and foot, to lie in ambuſh for the forlorn hope of the Turkiſh army; who, being encountered near Five Churches, were routed, and moſt of them ſlain or wounded [r].

The empire threatened.

In this place, after a long chaſm, the Turkiſh hiſtorians coincide with the Chriſtian writers. According to theſe latter, the Germans began the war; but the former ſpeak as if Solymân firſt entered on it without any provocation, purſuant to a project he had long meditated, of overthrowing the German empire. They tell us, that when he had made vaſt preparations, he aſſembled his troops from all parts, in order to execute the deſign.

Hejra 974. A.D. 1566.

To this end, in the year 974, he led a mighty army to Adrianople; from whence, diſpatching the prime wazîr Pertu Pâſhâ, with ſome troops, to ſeize Giula, he followed more ſlowly with the reſt. Though every thing elſe was ready, youth was wanting, and old age refuſed to execute his purpoſes. Worn out with years, and fatigued

Solymân dies.

[r] Ricaut, &c. ubi ſupr.

with labours, when he reached Segetwar (H), he was seized with a slow fever, which, increasing by degrees, became malignant. Though grievously tortured, and almost past hopes of recovery, yet, invincible in mind, he ordered the city to be invested and assaulted. But the governor making a brave defence, his illness increased; and while he prayed the God of all the worlds to grant that his army of the faithful might conquer the place, he expired.

The prime wazîr having sent notice to Selîm, then at Magnesia, of his father's death, which he concealed from the soldiers, on the 18th of that month took the city by a general assault, assisted by an accidental fire; and at the same time news came of the reduction of Giula [s].

Thus ended all Solyman's vast preparations against the German empire.

The Christian historians give us to understand that the gallant Serini, seeing himself reduced to the last extremity, by the assailants and the conflagration, devoted himself to death: putting on a new suit of cloaths, and encouraging his soldiers to sell their lives as dear as they could, he sallied out at the head of them, sword in hand, and rushed into the midst of his enemy, by whom he and his followers were all slain, excepting a few.

Other transactions.

But this siege cost the Turks very dear; for, by their own confession, they lost seven thousand janizaries, and twenty-eight thousand other soldiers, besides volunteers, and three great pâshâs. Serini's head was cut off, and set on a pole for the army to gaze at; after which exposure it was sent by the wazîr as a present to count Salm (I), then at Raab. Goila or Giule also was delivered to the Turks by the governor Keretchen, for a great sum of money, and most of the garrison put to the sword, contrary to articles. But they were not so successful near Alba Regalis [t].

Age and sons.

Solymân reigned one-and-forty years, and lived seventy-four. He had seven sons: Morâd, Abdollah, Mehemed, Mostafa, Selîm, Bâ-yezîd, and Jehânghîr; who all, but Selîm, died before their father.

[s] Cant. p. 215, & seq.

[t] Ricaut in Soliman.

(H) By the Christians called Sigeth. Cant.

(I) With this short letter: "In token of my love, I send thee the head of a most resolute and valiant commander, thy friend. The remainder of his body I have decently buried, as became such a man. Sigeth bids thee farewel for ever."

Solymân

Solymân was a prince of an heroic and invincible mind; of great valour and wiſdom. He endured the hardſhips of war with ſurpriſing patience. Beſides the Turkiſh language, he ſpoke alſo the Perſian and Arabic. In that kind of poetry by the Perſians called Nazm (K), he excelled all for elegance and wit. He acquired great fame by his Perſian, Hungarian, and naval victories; but his reformation of the courts of juſtice, and his excellent laws, by which the Othmân empire ſtill flouriſhes, acquired him greater[u]. According to the Chriſtian writers, this ſoltân was tall, and of a ſlender make; his neck long, his face pale and wan, his noſe long and hooked; by nature ambitious and magnificent; more faithful to his promiſe than moſt of his predeceſſors; in a word, he wanted ſcarce any qualification but clemency worthy of a prince. Mohammed, the prime wazîr, for fear of the inſolence of the janizaries, to conceal his death till Selîm's arrival, ordered his phyſicians and apothecaries to be ſecretly ſtrangled. However, the janizaries beginning to miſtruſt the matter, he cauſed the dead body, in the ſoltân's uſual dreſs, to be brought into his tent, ſitting upright in his litter, as if he had been ill of the gout, a ſtratagem which diſſipated all their ſuſpicions[w].

His character.

Death concealed.

SECT. XII.

The Reign of Selîm II. ſurnamed Meſt (L).

SELIM, upon notice of his father's death, left Magneſia in the year 974, and, on the 9th of Rabio'lawel, which day the planet Merikh or Mars ruled in the firmament, he entered Conſtantinople, and mounted his father's throne. Next day all the great men of the empire, according to cuſtom, appeared in mourning at court, to adore the new emperor, and comfort him on the occaſion with moral ſpeeches. Three days after, he ſet out with a few attendants towards Segetwar or Ziget; but at Belgrade found Mehmed Pâſhâ, who had ſent the army into winter quarters. As Solymân's demiſe was ſtill a ſecret, the ſoldiers

Hejra 974. A.D. 1565.

Soltân Selîm.

[u] Cant. p. 127.

[w] Ricaut. ubi ſupr.

(K) A poetical metre often occurring, particularly in the Korân; and for that reaſon accounted more elegant than the reſt. Cant.

(L) That is, *Drunkard*, becauſe he was extremely given to wine.

were troubled at Selîm's unexpected arrival in the camp; and, fearing he might, after the example of his grandfather of the same name, do some injury to his father, ran to arms; but the long concealed death being divulged, they paid obeisance to him as their sovereign.

Solymân's funeral.

Solymân's body, being laid in a gilt chariot, was conducted by the whole army to Constantinople, and deposited in the court of the jâmi built by him; where all the ecclesiastics of that metropolis were ordered to finish the Telaveti Korân (M) forty times a day, for forty days, and by their prayers obtain peace for his soul. Moreover, Selîm caused a mihrah, or *altar*, to be erected before the jâmi; and over his grave a large marble turba, or *monument*; which is religiously visited by the Turks; for they are persuaded, that he was a great favourite of heaven, because he not only lost his life at the siege of Segetwar, and so became shahîd or *martyr*, but was also gâzi or *conqueror*, two cities having been taken under the conduct of his relics.

When the funeral ceremonies were performed, Selim being again confirmed in the throne by all orders and degrees of people, celebrated his father's victories with a splendid triumph. Then he distributed among the janizaries and spahis, the usual bakhshish or *donative*, and presented the ulema (N), with the rest of the ecclesiastics, who officiated at the funeral, with silk robes and money [x].

A.D. 1567.

Peace with Germany.

Affairs being thus settled at home, Selim was as desirous of peace in Hungary as Maximilian himself, that he might be more at leisure to suppress a dangerous rebellion in Arabia; and oppose the Persians in case they attacked his dominions, which stood in some danger from that quarter. At last it was agreed on, that, if the emperor would send ambassadors, with the arrear of tribute-money, they should have a safe-conduct, in order to treat of peace. They arrived at Constantinople, August 22, and six days after visited the prime wâzir Mostafa Pâshâ, with Parteu and Terhad Pâshâs, but could not obtain audience of the soltân himself till September 21, when they were honourably received, and made rich presents. At length the

[x] Cantemir Othman Hist. p. 218, & seq.

(M) The reading of the whole Korân, which is usually done over the grave of the deceased. Cant.

(N) This is the name used to denote all those who are distinguished with any ecclesiastical degree.

peace

peace was concluded at Adrianople, in January 1568, for eight years, on these conditions: that each prince should hold what he had; that the emperor should pay thirty thousand ducats, as a yearly tribute, for Hungary; that the subjects on neither side should pay any thing to those of the other prince; and, lastly, that the vayvod of Transilvania should be included in the treaty[y]. A.D. 1568.

Mean while, Ulian Ogli, the Arab, hearing of Selymân's death, threw off the Othmân yoke; and, persuading his neighbours to join in the rebellion, cruelly laid waste the territories of Baghdâd; but they were quickly routed and dispersed by the governor of that city, in conjunction with those of Bâsrah and Shehresul. The same year Selîm finished a bridge (O), begun five years before by his father, not far from Constantinople. Hejra 975. *Arab tribe subdued.*

Peace having been concluded with Germany, Selîm had now leisure to turn his thoughts towards the Persians; who, by their continual incursions into the Othmân dominions, had justly given occasion for a war; but he was deterred from this by the difficulty of the passes, which fatigued his troops, as well as rendered the carriage of warlike stores and provisions impracticable; for want of which, numerous armies of his ancestors had miscarried. To remove this obstacle, he sent a body of soldiers over the Euxine sea to Kiefe or Kaffa, and ordered the khân of Krîm, with labourers hired out of all the tribes of Tatars, to encamp near the river Ezel (P), in that place where it is but six Italian miles distant from the Teri (Q), and by a canal to join the two rivers. By this communication he hoped to penetrate with ease out of the Euxine, through the Palus Meotis, and those rivers, into the Caspian sea; and, as the Persians had no fleet there, so, by transporting an army into Shîrwân, without much difficulty subdue all Persia. The khân immediately repaired to the place appointed, by the way of Aizderkhân (R); but *Attempt to join the Don and Wolga.* Hejra 976.

y Knowles edit. Ricaut in Selymis.

(O) Built over the lake Buyuk Chekmejah, where it runs into the Propontis, at a village of the same name, about two hours distance from Constantinople. It is all built of square stones, and two thousand paces long; a truly imperial work. Cant.

(P) Or Edel; hence Edilla and Atilla: so the Tatars call the river named by us Wolga, and the ancients Rha.

(Q) The Don, Dona, or Tana, the ancient Tanais.

(R) The Tartarian kingdom now subject to the Russians, called Astrakan.

scarce

scarce one third part of the canal was finished, when the labourers were so infested with continual rains, cold storms, and want of provision, that many perishing, the rest were forced to abandon the work. This expedition was, however, attended with one advantage; namely, the submission of thirty thousand Nigayan Tatars, who, having thrown off the Russian yoke to receive the Othmân, departed with their families to settle in the Krîm[z].

Peace with Persia.

While these matters were in agitation, an ambassador arrived from shâh Tâhmasp, king of Persia, to treat of peace. The ambassador was honourably entertained at Adrianople; but had not been there long, when, going to visit Mohammed the prime wazîr, a jamoglan shot at him with a musket. Although the ball missed the ambassador, he was very much startled; and the assassin being seized, boldly answered in his presence, before the prime wazîr, that his reason for shooting at the ambassador was, that he was an heretic, and sent from an heretical king; who, being an enemy to their religion, was not worthy of a peace. But this zeal for orthodoxy did not save him from punishment; for, after having been dragged at a horse's tail through the city, he had first his right-hand, and then his head cut off. In December Selîm allowed the Persian and his retinue five hundred ducats a day; but he having delivered his presents, which loaded forty-four camels, in December, the peace was soon after concluded, and he returned home.

Hejra 977. A.D. 1569.

The Venetians renewed their league with Selîm this year; but he broke it the next, without any just provocation. About the same time Muttahir Sharîf, of the kingdom of Yammen, with some Arabs gained to his party, suddenly attacked Morâd Pâshâ, beglerbeg of that province; and, having slain him with his whole army, freed the country from the Turkish yoke: but Sinân Pâshâ, governor of Egypt, in conjunction with Ozdemîr Ogli, being sent against the rebels, fell upon them by surprize, routed, and having dispersed them, reduced the whole country once more to the Othmân obedience: but the joy for this success was interrupted next year, by a sudden fire at Constantinople, which raged with such violence for seven days together, that almost the whole city was laid in ashes.

Yammen revolts.

Hejra 978. A.D. 1570.

In 978, the remains of the Spanish Saracens, who had hitherto been ill treated under the dominion of the Chris-

[z] Cant. ubi supr. p 220, & seqq.

tians,

tians, roſe in arms, ſeized Garbia, and made Manſûr, of the race of the Beni-akhmer, their king; then, vigorouſly attacking the Spaniards, vanquiſhed them with great ſlaughter: but, perceiving themſelves too weak to withſtand their power long, they ſent ambaſſadors to implore Selîm's aſſiſtance. The ſoltân, whoſe thoughts were bent on the conqueſt of Cyprus, promiſed aid, but not till that iſland was taken. In the mean time he exhorted them to keep as cloſe together as poſſible, and only ſtand on the defenſive. *Moors in Spain.*

Selîm had now ſent numerous forces to ſubdue Kîbris, under the conduct of the prime wazîr, while Kapudân Ali Pâſhâ kept off ſuccours by ſea. The wazîr began with the ſiege of Nikoſa, and vigorouſly aſſaulted it; but his attempts being baffled by the ſtrong ſituation of the place, as well as obſtinacy of the garriſon, he was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and put his ſoldiers into winter-quarters. However, the following year, Kapudân Ali Pâſhâ, with a freſh ſupply of ſhips, ſtores, and forces, under the command of Parteu Pâſhâ, arriving in Cyprus, renewed the ſiege; and having made breaches in the walls, both by battering and mining, carried the city by aſſault. The iſland being now deſtitute of relief, Maguſa (S) firſt, and then the reſt of the towns, ſtrove to engage the conqueror's clemency by a ſurrender [a]. Hejra 979. A.D. 1571. *Cyprus invaded.*

According to the Chriſtian writers, when this war was propoſed by Selim in council, Mohammed Pâſhâ, the prime wazîr, declared againſt it, both on account of the diſhonour in violating the peace, and danger of the enterprize; but the arguments of Moſtafa Pâſhâ and the admiral Piâla Pâſhâ prevailing, preparations were ſet on foot both by ſea and land. Theſe motions being obſerved by the Venetian merchants, whom now the Turks began to obſtruct in their trade, Antonio Barbaro, ambaſſador from the republic, complained to the prime wazîr of the injuſtice they were meditating againſt his nation, and more to gain time to prepare againſt the ſtorm, than in hopes to divert it, preſſed the ſending an ambaſſador to Venice, in order to prevent hoſtilities by a friendly accommodation.

At length one Kobâd was ſent from the Porte, with letters from Selim, mentioning ſeveral pretended injuries *Reaſons alleged.*

[a] Cant. p. 221, & ſeqq.

(S) That is, Famaguſta.

done

done to his subjects by the Venetians, and requiring the surrender of the island of Cyprus, by way of satisfaction; otherwise he threatened to take it from them by force. The senate answered, that they had always kept their leagues with the Othmâns, even when they might have broken them to advantage; that they had put up with many injuries received from the Turks; that Selîm, notwithstanding his complaints, was himself the aggressor. In short, they declared, that since the Othmân faith was no defence to them, they would by force defend themselves. The ambassador being sent away privately, for fear of the people, the public made all the necessary preparations for the defence of the island; they sent also for succours to the Christian powers, but could obtain none, except from the pope, the king of Spain, and some Italian princes.

The Turkish fleet. As soon as their ambassador was returned to Constantinople, Selîm confined the Venetian ambassador Barbaro, and imprisoned all the Christian merchants of the West throughout his dominions. Then having made all things ready for the expedition, in order to employ the Venetians near home, he, in the beginning of February, sent a great body of horse and foot to infest the borders of Dalmatia, while Piala Pâshâ set sail with the fleet, consisting of two hundred gallies, galliots, and small men of war, with many transport-ships. In the way he furiously attacked Tenos, one of the Cyclades, but in vain. At Rhodes he took up Mostafa, the general, and Ali Pâshâ; from whence the former sent a letter, requiring the Venetians, with threats, to give up Cyprus: for they reckon their military expeditions unlawful, unless they give notice of their design to the nation whom they intend to attack.

Nikosia besieged. Having landed their forces, and examined the country, they resolved to begin with besieging Nikosia, the capital of the island, which had about eight hundred horse and foot in garrison, but most of them natives and raw soldiers.

Mostafa Pâshâ having encamped within a mile and a half of the city, planted and played his batteries with such wonderful celerity, that the Turks soon ran their trenches to the very brink of the ditch, and then battered the walls so furiously, that in a few days all the curtains between three of the bulwarks were beaten down. At these breaches however, the besieged made a desperate resistance; but after long fighting the Turks entered the ditch, which had not been well scoured by the besieged, and made

made two ways to the walls, which they fortified on the sides with waggons and earth. Then they attempted to fix their ladders, to fill the ditch, and undermine two bulwarks: however, the Christians repulsed them in the assault with great loss.

After this miscarriage Mostafa, dividing his army into four parts, attacked four bulwarks of the city with greater fury than ever. Nevertheless, the enemy was bravely forced back, although the besieged were much diminished by these encounters. A company of Italians, contrary to the opinion of Dandalo, the governor, made a sally to the very trenches of the unwary Turks; but were compelled at last to retire with the loss of many men, and their two commanders. Mean while Mostafa endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants to surrender, by shooting letters into the city, and desiring a conference with one Constantius: but finding those methods ineffectual, he encouraged his men to another assault. However, the besieged still valiantly endured the storm, in hopes of being relieved by the Christian fleet, which now was approaching to their relief. *The Turks repulsed.*

At length, the general, knowing in what distress the besieged were, artfully caused the army to retire, in order to amuse them into security; a stratagem which succeeded so well, that two hundred of his choicest soldiers secretly mounted the four bulwarks, and slaying the negligent guards, took them. These being seconded on all hands by fresh troops, quickly cleared the walls, with great slaughter; whilst the governor, bishop, and better sort of citizens, retired to the town-hall; where the Turks, breaking-in upon them, put all to the sword. Great barbarity was used by the victors, who slew in all fourteen thousand people, and took an immense booty, with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. This event happened on the 9th of September, 1570; and soon after Cyrina was delivered up by Palaccio, the cowardly governor, on condition that he might march off with his garrison. *The city taken.*

From Nikosia, Mostafa Pâshâ went and laid siege to Famagusta; but finding winter approach, and the place too strong to be soon reduced, he thought fit quickly to raise it, and leave the work for another year [b].

Let us now see what became of the great naval preparations made for the relief of Cyprus. Summer was near half spent, when the Venetian fleet, which had been infected *The Venetian fleet takes several places.*

[b] Ricaut, as before.

with

with the plague, sailed for Korfû, in expectation of being joined there by Doria, the Spanish admiral. He not arriving immediately, they sailed to Kandia; and on the 12th of August, landed at Suda, where, in the end of the month, Doria and Colonna, the pope's admiral, arrived. The whole fleet consisting of one hundred and ninety-two gallies and twelve galleasses, besides victuallers and tenders, about the middle of September, sailed to the relief of Nikosia: yet hearing by the way that the city was lost, Doria, in spite of all the arguments used by the admirals of the pope and Venice, would not proceed to succour the rest of the island, but returned to Messina, as the others did to Korfû, from whence Zani, the Venetian admiral, was by order of the senate, carried prisoner to Venice, and Venieri appointed in his room.

While the new admiral lay at Korfû, the Venetians, by the advice and assistance of the rude Acroceraunian people, quickly took the strong castle of Khimera; and soon after their vice-admiral Quirini, landing near the bay of Mayna, in the Morea, stormed a strong castle built by the Turks two years before, and put all the garrison to the sword; then raising it, they carried twenty-four pieces of
A.D.1571. cannon to Zant. Early next year he reinforced the garrison of Famagusta, with seventeen hundred men, besides store of ammunition and provision, after he had gallantly beaten some Turkish gallies and run them a-ground. For suffering this supply to get into that place the governor of Scio lost his head; the commander of Rhodes, who had the guard of those seas, was disgraced, and Parteu Pâshâ made admiral in room of Piâla.

League among some Christian powers.

From the beginning of this war the Venetians, pope, and king of Spain, had been deliberating about a perpetual league against the Turks, without coming to any resolution, when an accident happened which quickly brought them to an agreement; for now Mohammed, the prime wâzir, giving the republic hopes of peace, they sent an ambassador to Constantinople to adjust the articles. This step coming to the knowlege of the other two powers, so alarmed them, that they immediately agreed to conclude the perpetual league; and the Venetians, inclining rather to them than to the Turk, sent for their ambassador to return, under pretence of farthering the peace, which had been very far advanced. The treaty was signed May 24, 1571, wherein it was stipulated, that the sea and land forces should consist of two hundred gallies, one hundred ships, fifty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse,

horſe, to be ready every year in March or April at fartheſt. Of this expence the king of Spain was to diſcharge one half, the Venetians two thirds of the other half, and the pope the remainder. Don John of Auſtria, the king's natural brother, was to have the chief command. Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, if ſubdued, were to remain to Spain; but all other conqueſts were to be divided among the confederates. Theſe were the chief articles of the league. Mean while the Venetians ſent Vincenzo Aleſſandro, one of their ſecretaries, by way of the Euxine ſea and Sinope, to Kaſbîn, in Perſia, to excite ſhâh Tâhmaſp to make war on the Turks. The ſhâh, after long ſolicitation, anſwered, that he would for two years wait the ſucceſs of the Chriſtian league; and then reſolve on peace or war, as he ſaw occaſion; but this imprudent reſolution he afterwards repented of [c].

Famagoſta beſieged, and furiouſly aſſaulted.

To return to the war in Cyprus. Moſtafa Pâſhâ having reinforced his army to near two hundred thouſand men, in April this year renewed the ſiege of Famagoſta. The city is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, in a low ground, between two promontories. It was then two miles in compaſs, and of a ſquare figure; but the eaſt ſide more long and winding than the reſt. Almoſt one half of it lay open to the ſea; the remainder was defended by a ditch not above fifteen feet wide, and a ſtone wall, ſtrengthened with ſome bulwarks and parapets. The harbour, whoſe entrance is narrow, was ſhut up with a chain; and near it ſtood an old caſtle with four towers. It had one ſtrong bulwark, of modern fortification; and its garriſon conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred Italians, two hundred Albanian horſe, and two thouſand five hundred Cypriots, all determined men. Theſe forces were commanded by Baleoneus, and Bragadino was governor of the city.

Moſtafa having battered the walls and towers ſeverely with his cannon and mortars, made ſeveral ſucceſſive aſſaults; but was always ſo effectually repulſed, that in a few days he loſt thirty thouſand men. However, the pâſhâ having ordered mounts to be caſt up higher than the parapets of the city, and walls raiſed of the broken ſtones on each ſide to ſave his men from the flanking ſhot of the beſieged. They renewed the aſſault, which was maintained daily on the breach for ſix hours together. Find-

[c] Ricaut. ubi ſupr.

ing

ing all these efforts did not prevail, they tried to possess themselves of the Limosin gate, by setting fire to a great quantity of wood heaped near it for that purpose; in hopes its intolerable smell would have obliged those who defended it to abandon that post; but they endured it with patience for twenty-four hours.

The garrison weakened, and city surrendered.

While the senate of Venice wrote to the citizens to hold out, promising them speedy relief, the Turks began to sink mines in four several places. One of these blowing up great part of the wall near the tower on the haven, they presently mounted, and began a most terrible battle, in which they lost four thousand men, and fourteen colours; whereas not above one hundred of the besieged were slain. Nevertheless, the enemy played their batteries so furiously, that on the 8th of June, not fewer than eight thousand cannon-balls were shot into the city, which having so shattered one of the bulwarks that it was ready to fall, the besieged themselves blew it up, and with it above six hundred Turks, who came to assault the place. However, the enemy still obstinately continuing their batteries and assaults, whereby at length the fortifications were greatly ruined, and the garrison reduced to three hundred men; the powder likewise being consumed to less than seven barrels, and other wants increasing upon them, the citizens prevailed on the governor to capitulate.

Accordingly the place was to be delivered up, on condition that the inhabitants should enjoy their lives, liberty, and property, with the free exercise of their religion; and that the governor and remainder of the garrison might march out with bag and baggage, five pieces of cannon, three horses, and be safely conducted to Kandia. Hereupon Bragadino, attended by some others of quality, having leave to wait on Mostafa Pâshâ in his camp, the perfidious general caused them all to be secured, and next day the brave but unfortunate Bragadino was brought out to be gazed at, with his ears cut off. He was afterwards tortured with the most exquisite cruelty, and made to endure the greatest indignities; among which, one was to carry on his back baskets full of earth to repair the ramparts. At last, being flayed alive, his head was cut off, and his skin, stuffed with straw, hung at the yard-arm of a galley. They hanged count Theupolus; but the famous commander Martinengo had the good fortune to be hidden by one of the pâshâs eunuchs, and, by help of a fisherman,

fiſherman, got ſafe to Leptis. The loſs of Famaguſta was followed by that of the whole iſland of Cyprus [d].

Thus far the Chriſtian hiſtorians. Let us now return for a while to the Turkiſh. About the ſame time that the conqueſt of Cyprus was going forward, Kilij Ali Pâſhâ, governor of Jezayr, or Algiers, took Tunez from the Arabs, and annexed it to the Othmân empire; while Duelet Ghierar Khân of the Krim Tatars, aſſembling all his hords, entered Ruſſia, and penetrated to the metropolis, ravaging the country, and ſlaying or carrying off all who could not ſave themſelves by flight. *Tunis taken.*

Theſe victories were followed by the greateſt blow which the Othmâns ever received ſince the defeat of Ilderîm Bâ-yezîd; by which fortune ſhewed that no empire, though extenſive, and firmly eſtabliſhed, is out of her reach. Ali Pâſhâ having taken Cyprus, left the flower of the army to garriſon the towns, and diſmiſſed the European forces, fatigued with twelve months toil; but as he was returning with the reſt of the forces, he was ſuddenly attacked by the enemy's fleet (T), ſtrengthened, as ſome ſay, by the aſſiſtance of the Germans and Spaniards. The admiral, ſcorning to fly, bravely engaged with the few forces he had, and rendered the ſucceſs of the battle for many hours doubtful; at laſt, after repelling the enemy ſeveral times, he was ſlain, whilſt diſcharging the part ſometimes of a general, ſometimes of a common ſoldier. Upon his death the Othmân ſhips immediately took to flight, when the enemy purſuing, ſunk and captured almoſt the whole fleet [e]. *Great naval overthrow.*

Although this is a full confeſſion of the Turkiſh loſs, yet as other matters are extenuated, and ſo great an engagement deſerves a more explicit account, we ſhall relate in brief what the Chriſtian hiſtorians have written about it. While Moſtafa was engaged in the ſiege of Famaguſta, the pâſhâs, Parteu and Ali, joined by Kilij Ali, viceroy of Algiers, with the Turkiſh fleet, June 13th, landed twelve thouſand men at Suda, in the bay of Kandia, where, after having ravaged the country, they were attacked by Juſtiniano, who ſlew a great number of them, and forced the reſt to their gallies. From thence, ſailing by Cytherea, Zant, and Cefalonia, from which iſlands they carried off ſix thouſand people, they put into Dul- *Dulcigno taken.*

[d] Ricaut. ibid. [e] Cant. p. 222, & ſeqq.

(T) At Lepanto.

cigno in Dalmatia; which was quickly surrendered to them, as were also the towns of Antivari and Budua; but the town of Katharo bravely withstood their attacks.

Remarkable exploit.

Mean time Kilij Ali and Kârakoja, a famous pirate, departing with sixty gallies, for ten days, to ravage the Venetian isles, arrived at Karzola, about eighty miles to the east of Ragusa, and assaulting the town of the same name, Contareni, the governor, and the inhabitants, fled out by night, leaving behind about twenty men and eighty women. These all unanimously, with arms in their hands, resolved to die rather than fall into the hands of the enemy; but while with stones, fire, and other weapons, they bravely opposed the assailants, these latter were so incommoded by a violent storm, which came suddenly from the north, that they gave over the assault, and went to other places.

Turkish ravages.

Happening at length to take a ship bound from Messina to Korsû, they found on board letters to the governor of that place, giving him an account of the above mentioned league concluded between the Christian princes against the Turks. These letters were immediately sent to Selîm, who thereupon having ordered his admirals to commit all manner of hostilities in the dominions of the confederate princes, they ravaged not only the coasts of Dalmatia and Istria, but that of Italy, in such a manner as made the Venetians fortify their capital and other places with the utmost diligence, for fear of an attack. At length the whole fleet, leaving the Adriatic, sailed for the gulf of Lepanto; and, by the way, paid an unwelcome visit to Korfû [f].

The Christian fleet put to sea.

While the Turks were thus employed, the Christian preparations went on but slowly. At last, after long expectation, Don John of Austria, natural son of the emperor Charles V. about twenty-four years of age, with admiral Doria and the Spanish fleet under his command, consisting of eighty-one gallies, whereof three were from Malta, arrived at Messina. There he found the Venetian fleet of a hundred and eight gallies, six galleasses, two tall ships, and a great many small galliots, under admiral Venieri; likewise twelve of the pope's gallies, commanded by admiral Colonna, his kinsman. On board this fleet, besides seamen, were reckoned twenty thousand good soldiers, and among them several persons of great quality, who went as volunteers in this expedition, particularly

[f] Ricaut in Selimus.

Alessandro

Aieſſandro Farneſe, prince of Parma, who afterwards became the greateſt general of the age, Franciſco Maria, prince of Urbino, and Paolo Jordano Urſino of Rome.

When it came to be debated in council, whether they ſhould give the enemy battle, or beſiege ſome town, Requiſenez, great commandery of Caſtile, the vice-admiral and director of all Don John's affairs, adviſed beſieging Durazzo, or ſome other maritime city, rather than fighting; but it being carried in behalf of the latter meaſure, the fleet ſet ſail to Meſſina. At Paxo the whole expedition had like to have miſcarried by diſcord; for Don John, finding the Venetian gallies but ill manned, put on board them four thouſand Spaniards and one thouſand Italians. Of the former, Tortona, a captain, beginning a mutiny without cauſe, and likely to do miſchief, the Venetian admiral cauſed him to be hanged at the yard-arm. This execution his countrymen, and chiefly Don John, took ſo ill, as thinking it entrenched upon his authority, that all the arguments uſed by admiral Colonna could ſcarce appeaſe him; nor would he afterwards impart his counſels to Venieri.

Being informed at Cefalonia where the enemy lay, they ſailed directly for Lepanto. On their approach the Turks, whoſe fleet conſiſted of three hundred and thirty-five ſail, conſulted whether they had beſt fight the confederates, or lie ſecure in their harbour. Mohammed Beg, otherwiſe named Chiroche, or Sirok, a perſon of great years and experience, was againſt a battle; urging, among other things, that there was no neceſſity for it. Parteu, the admiral pâſhâ, ſeemed indifferent in the matter; but Ali Pâſhâ, who was of a fiery temper, and the great champion of the Turks, was for engaging without delay. In this opinion he was not a little encouraged by the report of Kârakoja, who viewing the Chriſtian fleet in a ſwift galliot, by ſome means miſtook the number; ſo that their advice prevailed, contrary to the information given by two other fly-boats of the great ſtrength of the confederates. *Comes to Lepanto.*

A battle being thus agreed on, Parteu Pâſhâ took on board twelve thouſand janizaries and ſpahis, draughted out of the neighbouring garriſons, beſides four thouſand other ſoldiers; then ſtanding out of the gulf, the fleet ſteered their courſe for the iſle of Corzalotes, of old Echinates, half way between Lepanto and Patras. Parteu and Ali Paſhâ commanded the center; Mohammed Beg, with fifty-ſix gallies, was in the right wing; and Kilij Ali with ninety-five gallies in the left; while Morâd Dragut *The two fleets meet.*

with thirty gallies, and several other small vessels, brought up the rear. Mean while, the Christians moving towards them, both fleets came in sight October the 7th, in the afternoon. Hereupon Don John, having ordered the great ensign of the confederates, which was the signal for engaging, to be hoisted, he went in his long-boat to encourage the several squadrons of the center under his command; while Doria visited the right wing, and Barbadico, the Venetian proveditor-general, followed their example in the left.

They fight with great obstinacy.

The day was now far spent, when both fleets were ready for the battle, which was one of the most considerable that ever happened at sea. The signal was no sooner given than the Turks, with a hideous cry, fell on six galeasses which lay at anchor near a mile a head of the confederate fleet; but those ships fired so briskly on them, first from their forecastles, and then, as they passed by, so galled their gallies with whole broadsides, that several of them were sunk, while the rest stood farther off. The wind likewise chopped about to the west, and incommoded the Turks with the smoke. However, they soon made good their disordered squadrons, and came on with surprising resolution. Ali Pâshâ, observing the admiral's galley, ran upon her with such violence, that both their beaks were broken off, and fell into the sea. Here ensued a most terrible fight between these two great commanders, and the other ships which seconded them; but as there were in Don John's galley four hundred men picked out of the whole army, consisting mostly of officers, they entered the enemy's gallies three times to the very main-mast, yet were as often repulsed.

Venieri hastened to the general's relief; but in his way was encountered by Parteu Pâshâ with his gallies. Here the Turks behaved so bravely, that, notwithstanding the example and amazing courage of that admiral, now seventy years old, they entered the prow of his galley, and must have taken it, had not two brave Venetian captains flown to his relief, and saved him at the expence of their own lives. At length Venieri's ship took two of the Turkish gallies, while Parteu Pâshâ fled out of the danger in a long boat. Not far from thence Colonna, the pope's admiral, being furiously engaged, made great slaughter of the enemy, and took one galley. Ligni, the Genoese admiral, had the same success, on board of whom the prince of Parma, with the other volunteers, gained immortal honour.

At

At the same time Mohammed Beg falling on the galeasses with the right wing, and being much damaged by them; to avoid this inconvenience, as also the shelves lying between him and the shore, sent Ali, a Genoese renegado, with great part of his gallies, round about on the right, to fall on the rear of Barbadico, who presently tacked about to receive him: but, as he had no fewer than five gallies at a time upon his own, he, in this terrible fight, grappling with the enemy, and shunning no danger, was struck in at the left eye, and almost through the brain, with an arrow; of which wound he died three days after. This incident encouraged the Turks so much, that the galley must have been lost, had not she been speedily relieved by Nani and Portia. These presently cleared her of the Turks, among whom they made a great slaughter; but were themselves dangerously wounded, and would have been lost if more gallies had not come to their assistance; with which reinforcement they took one of the principal gallies of the enemy. Not far from thence the noble Giovanni Contareni had a terrible engagement with Mohammed Beg, whose galley at length being taken, and all the men either slain or forced over board, he was found half dead, and dispatched out of the way [s]. *Death of Barbadico and Mohammed Beg.*

Don John, who had been three hours engaged with Ali Pâshâ, finding himself in much danger, notwithstanding the assistance from Bacianono in the rear, on a sudden called forth his four hundred select men, before mentioned, from under the hatches, by whose valour that admiral's galley was soon taken. The pâshâ himself being mortally wounded, and all over bloody, was slain outright; and his head, being cut off, held aloft on the point of a spear by Don John, as a trophy of his success. This sight, with the cry of victory through the Christian fleet, so discouraged the rest of the gallies which were still valiantly fighting, that they fled towards the shore, about a mile distant; but several of them were taken by Canalis, who commanded the gallies of Candia. Among the slain was Kârakoja, the famous renegado pirate; while Ahmed and Mohammed, the two sons of Ali Pâshâ, and nephews of Soltân Selîm, were both taken aboard their galley. *Ali Pâshâ slain.*

Notwithstanding all this success, the fortune of the day was still doubtful in the right-wing, where Doria was engaged with Kilij Ali, a valiant and expert commander. *Kilij Ali Pâshâ put to flight.*

[s] Ricaut, ubi supra.

The Spaniſh admiral at firſt ſeemed to keep off, while the Turkiſh extended his wing as if to hem him in; yet offered not battle, expecting ſome advantage. This he ſoon obtained, by incloſing twelve of the Venetian gallies, ſeparated from the reſt, which he boarded and took; only Superantio, a nobleman, rather than fall into the enemy's hand, blew up himſelf and his galley. The noiſe of the firing in this part of the fleet brought Pietro Juſtiniani, admiral of Malta, to Doria's aſſiſtance; but coming up ſingly, he was preſently attacked by ſix Turkiſh gallies, which plied him ſo cloſe that he was on the very brink of being loſt. But two of the other Malteſe gallies, which were engaged with three of the enemy's, ſeeing the danger their admiral was in, came preſently and reſcued him. Kilij Ali by this time underſtanding that the center and right-wing of the fleet was overthrown, thought it beſt to make his eſcape; which with ſome difficulty he effected, with twenty-five gallies and ten galliots, into the gulf of Lepanto.

Loſs of the Turks. The number of Turks ſlain in this famous naval fight could not with certainty be known. An author, who wrote an account of this war, makes their number thirty-two thouſand, beſides priſoners, who were about three thouſand five hundred. The gallies taken from them amounted to one hundred and ſixty-one. Forty more were ſunk or burnt; and of galliots, with other ſmall veſſels, about ſixty were taken. The Turkiſh admiral's galley was exceedingly rich and beautiful. In it was found Ali Paſhâ's caſket, containing ſix thouſand ducats. This with a yearly penſion of three hundred ducats was given in reward to a Greek of Macedonia, who ſlew that admiral. He was likewiſe knighted for that exploit by Don John; and had the barrel of the Turkiſh ſtandard (U) beſtowed on him. This barrel, on his return to Venice, he ſold to a goldſmith; and the ſenate bought it of the goldſmith, paying a ducat for every ounce, to repoſit it among the other trophies of that victory.

Korân divination. The news of this great defeat being carried to Venice, it was celebrated with the utmoſt joy. All priſoners were ſet at liberty, and Juſtina's day, on which it was gained,

(U) It was all of maſſy ſilver gilt, and engraven round with Turkiſh letters. On one ſide the inſcription was, "God conducts and adorns the faithful in worthy enterprizes; God favours Mohammed." On the other ſide, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet, or meſſenger."

was

was made a feſtival for ever; a great quantity of money alſo was coined, with Juſtina upon it, and an impreſſion of the battle [h]. But while Venice was filled with gladneſs on this occaſion, we may conceive the deepeſt melancholy reigned at Conſtantinople. The emperor Selîm, otherwiſe of an invincible mind, was ſo ſtruck with the news of this great loſs, that, for three days, he neither eat nor drank, nor ſuffered any body to approach him; praying night and day, that the God and protector of the Muſulmans would have compaſſion on his people, and remove the diſhonour brought on them by this defeat. On the fourth day, he took up the Korân, and accidentally opened the book at this paſſage: "In the name of God, clement and merciful! I grieve for the victory which the Europeans obtained over the inhabitants of the earth; gladneſs ſhall not be given them any more for victory hereafter." Selîm, admoniſhed by this oracle, that the overthrow of his fleet had not happened without the finger of God, returned him thanks for his fatherly correction, and recovered his ſpirits. This calamity ſeemed to be foretold, according to the interpretation of the wiſe men, by the fall of the wooden roof of the temple at Mekka; which Selîm ordered to be rebuilt with brick, that it might be a more ſtable emblem of the empire.

Venetian ſucceſſes.

The Venetians, ſtill grieved for the loſs of Cyprus, were not content with deſtroying the Turkiſh fleet; but repairing their navy with thirty gallies, wherein were embarked ſix thouſand ſoldiers, they took the caſtle of Margarita, in Epirus; and recovered the town of Suppoto, which the Turks had taken from them the ſummer before. The gallies of Kandia, under Canalis, intercepted many of the Turkiſh veſſels, laden with the priſoners and ſpoils of Famaguſta. Martinengo likewiſe, who beſieged Caſtel Novo, had taken the ſuburbs, and reduced the town to great extremity; but was obliged to withdraw, on the approach of the beglerbeg of Greece, with a conſiderable power to its relief. In ſhort, the Venetian ſucceſſes this year were crowned with the relief of Cattaro, beſieged by the Turks both by ſea and land, preſently after the reduction of Cyprus. The enemy, to diſtreſs the place, having built a ſtrong fort on the bay leading to it, Superantio, who commanded then as admiral at Korfû, ſailed thither with twenty gallies; and coming by night before the mouth of the bay, left one half of his fleet at anchor before the fort, while

[h] Ricaut, ibid.

with the other he bravely entered farther into the bay. This he did with small opposition; so that battering the fort and landing his men on both sides at once, it was presently taken by assault, and all the garrison were put to the sword. They found there seventeen pieces of great cannon, much armour, and abundance of provision, besides seven galliots which lay at anchor under the fort.

Hejra 980. A.D. 1572.

A new Turkish fleet.

Next year Kilij Ali Pâshâ, a man of great valour, and an excellent seaman, who had succeeded as kapudân pâshâ, or *high admiral*, repaired the fleet with such expedition, that the following summer he had ready two hundred and fifty gallies; with which setting sail, he infested the coasts of Christendom. At length, the enemy's fleet appearing near Evarin (W), the pâshâ, desirous to wipe out the late disgrace, vigorously attacked it; but, night coming on, retired to Koron. Four days after, the Christian admirals thought to surprise him, by lying concealed with their ships behind the high rocks which surrounded that port; but being informed by his scouts of their intention, he sailed out of the harbour; and, when they thought him still at anchor, they found him ready to receive them. They advanced as if they intended to fall on him; but perceiving they were likely to meet with a rough reception, tacked about, and suffered the fleet, laden with spoil, to return to Constantinople [i].

Venetian preparations.

The Turkish historians are both defective and partial in their account of this enterprize; which is related by the Christian writers as follows. Superantio, having relieved Cattaro, as before related, returned to Korfû; where Tuscarini had lain for some time, waiting for the confederates, who were to have joined him in April. The admiral, impatient at their delay, sent Superantio, with twenty-five gallies to Messina, to hasten their coming; but after many excuses made by Don John, particularly the apprehensions of a French invasion of Spain from Rochelle, all that could be at length obtained from him were twenty-two gallies, under the command of Lilly of Andrada; with whom went Colonna, the pope's admiral.

Their naval force.

On their arrival at Korfû, Fuscarini, though it was now the month of August, sailed to fight the enemy. The whole fleet consisted of one hundred and fifty-five gallies,

[i] Cant. p. 225, & seqq.

(W) This must be Navarin, because there is no other port in the Morea which answers to that name.

six

ſix galeaſſes, and twenty tall ſhips. In the right-wing was Superantio; in the left, Kanalis; and in the centre Colonna, Fuſcarini, and Lilly; Quirini bringing up the rear. In this order, having ſailed beyond Cerigo, they diſcovered the Turkiſh fleet, conſiſting of one hundred and ſixty gallies, ſixty galliots, and four great ſhips; who did all they could to decline fighting; for although Kilij Ali made a ſhew as if he intended to engage, yet, on the approach of night, he ordered all his artillery, charged with powder only, to be fired off, and retreated under cover of the ſmoke towards Cape Metapan; leaving boats behind with lights in them, to make a ſhew as if the fleet had ſtill been there.

Three days after, the confederates coming up with them, the Turks put out to ſea, with their fleet divided into three ſquadrons; the left extended a great way into the ſea, the right kept near the ſhore; and Kilij Ali, who commanded in the middle, advanced ſwiftly, ordering both his wings to fetch a compaſs on the right and left, aloof from the galeaſſes, which he was much afraid of, and ſo attack the wings of the Chriſtians. But the confederates, perceiving his deſign, tacked about alſo, drawing up in form of a half-moon, their main-body ſtill facing that of the Turks; whoſe wings, being thus ſeparated from the reſt, ſeemed to offer great advantage to the Chriſtians. Hereupon Fuſcarini, without ſtaying for the heavy ſhips and galeaſſes, propoſed attacking the enemy's main body; which muſt have been overthrown before the wings could join them. This propoſal however both Colonna and Lilly rejected; but for what reaſon is uncertain. *They meet and fight the Turks.*

The wings of the confederates having been a little diſordered in tacking, the Turks, with fifteen gallies, moved to fall on their ſtraggling ſhips. But Superantio, to prevent them, made up with four gallies; and, after a ſharp fight, was ſeaſonably relieved by twenty gallies and two galeaſſes, which ſo galled and tore eighteen of the Turkiſh veſſels, that they were glad to ſheer off. Both fleets falling into order again, without any farther action, the Turks ſailed away to Koron, while the confederates retired to the iſland of Cerigo. Here they received notice from Don John, forthwith to meet him at Zant; which order Fuſcarini much oppoſed, reſolving firſt, if poſſible, to fight the enemy. Mean while the Turkiſh fleet appearing in the Fret of Cerigo, it was agreed to paſs by them, in ſuch order as if they offered them battle; but finding that the enemy lay ſtill, more inclined to defend themſelves than

to

to fight, they made the best of their way to Korfû; where Don John was then arrived with fifty-three gallies and eighteen ships of war.

Retire to Navarin. The whole fleet at length being assembled, to the number of two hundred gallies, nine galeasses, and thirty-six tall ships, it was agreed to go in quest of the enemy, who then lay at Navarino; but failing to surprise them for want of timing matters, the Turks ran into the harbour of Modon, whither the confederates followed them. Being come to the mouth of the bay, the Venetian admiral endeavoured to prevail on Don John to enter with the whole fleet, and there destroy at once all the naval strength of the enemy; which he represented as a thing very easy to perform; but Don John urging many reasons to the contrary, refused, and returned with his fleet to Navarino.

Attack Modon and Navarin in vain. Here they held a council to consider what enterprize they should next undertake. Concluding at last, after much consultation, to besiege the castle of Modon, they sailed thither again, and landed seven thousand of their best soldiers to attack the place by land, while the galeasses were to batter it by sea. To do this the more conveniently, they fastened two of the greatest gallies together with masts and ropes; then, boarding them clear over, made a floor or platform, on which they placed their gabions filled with earth, and planted great guns between them. But this engine proved quite ineffectual, and the castle being reinforced with some horse, they abandoned the siege.

However, resolving to do something before the season was quite spent, they agreed to besiege the castle of Navarino, the ancient Pylos, and birth-place of Nestor. This business was intrusted to the care of the prince of Parma; who landing two thousand Italians, one thousand Spaniards, and five hundred Germans, began to batter the place with twelve great pieces of cannon; and must soon have carried it: but neglecting to secure the passes through a thick forest, the enemy, while the besieged made a sally, threw in a great number both of horse and foot on that side; whereupon the confederate forces immediately raised the siege.

Venetians make peace with the Turks. Notwithstanding all these repulses, they might have succeeded tolerably well, had they continued to block up the harbour by sea, since the Turkish fleet, which was still in the bay, now consisted of no more than one hundred gallies, and forty galliots. These were likewise so weak, and slenderly manned, by reason of the plague and famine that raged among the crews, that their largest gallies had scarce

one

one hundred and twenty men left in them, all so meagre and faint, as scarce to be able to hold their arms; but after many consultations and debates, the Spaniards insisted upon returning home, contrary to the intreaties of the Venetian admiral; who thereupon steered his course for Venice. The senate, made sensible how little they could depend on their confederates, began to think of preserving their state, by suing to the enemy for peace; which at length was, in February, 1574, concluded on these conditions; that they should pay Selîm three hundred thousand ducats; one third down, and the rest in two years; that the merchants goods should be restored on both sides; and that such places as the Turks had taken from the Venetians should remain in their possession; but that those which the republic had taken from them, should be forthwith restored [k].

Let us now return to the Turkish records. The Germans, imagining all the Othmân forces to have been destroyed in the last year's defeat at sea, and that they might without difficulty recover what they had lost, laid siege to Nova, a city of Bosnia; but the governors of that and the neighbouring countries, hastening with united forces, surprised the enemy, intent on the blockade, and put them to the rout. The damages sustained by the late defeat being thus amply retaliated, Selîm repaired the injuries done by time to the temple of Sancta Sophia, erected four minâreh, or *towers*, of different shapes, at the four corners; and demolishing some private houses near it, founded two madreseh, or *academies*, of excellent workmanship. A D. 1573. *Germans defeated.*

The same year Selîm, to keep his word with the Musulmans of Spain, and curb the boldness of the Spaniards, in revenge for the blow given him by their fleet at Lepanto, sent his wazîr and high admiral, Piala Pâshâ (X), with a fleet against them. This armament arriving at Messina, destroyed the adjacent country with fire and sword; and as no army appeared to relieve that city, they doubtless would have taken it, had not the sudden tempestuousness of the sea obliged them to retire. The fleet returning home thus ineffectual, the king of Spain, with the forces he had designed for the relief of Messina, sailed to Africa, and surprised Tunis; where, having killed and made prisoners all the Musulmans, he strengthened the city with new fortifications, and left a good garrison [l].

[k] Leuncl. & Ricaut. in Selimis. [l] Cant. p. 219. Vide Hist. of Spain.

(X) Different from him in Solymân's time.

Selîm,

A.D.1574. Selîm, having made peace with the Venetians, turned his arms againſt John, the vayvod of Moldavia. This John, who was the natural ſon of the vayvod Stephen, lived as a merchant among the Turks; and, having embraced their religion, was at length by his intrigues made vayvod in the room of Bogdân, who, for his amity with the Poles, was depoſed. John, ſoon after his advancement, renouncing Mohammediſm, and the vayvod of Leſſer Walakhia applying to the Porte in behalf of his brother Peter; Selîm ſent to him, either to pay an unreaſonable ſum of money, which he demanded, or give place to another. The nobles having oppoſed this tyranny, John told the meſſenger, that the people would not pay the money, and then endeavoured to make a league with the king of Poland againſt the Turks, but failing in that point, he took a body of Poliſh Koſaks, under the command of Sujercevius, into his ſervice.

Affairs of Moldavia.

The vayvod's ſucceſs.

The ſoltân, having received John's anſwer, diſpatched thirty thouſand Turks, and two thouſand Hungarians, to the palatine of Leſſer Walakhia, to ſecure John, and make his own brother Peter vayvod. The palatine, on this encouragement, with theſe forces joined to his own, amounting in all to above one hundred thouſand men, ſwam over the river Moldaw; and, through confidence of ſucceſs, kept no diſcipline in his army. Hereupon John, with Sujercevius, fell upon them ſo unexpectedly, that, not having time either to recover their horſes, or their arms, few or none of that great multitude eſcaped the ſlaughter, excepting the palatine and his brother, who ſwam over the river to the caſtle of Brahilow. The victor followed; and, having ravaged the country, without ſparing either age or ſex, ſummoned the governor of the caſtle to deliver up the fugitives; but a rough anſwer being returned by four meſſengers, the cruel vayvod cauſed firſt their lips, noſes, and ears, to be cut off; then their feet to be nailed to a long piece of timber, and ſo, with their heads downwards, to be expoſed to the view of the citizens. Preſently after he attacked and took the city, with ſuch horrible ſlaughter, that not ſo much as the very dogs were ſpared. Then giving the ſpoil, which was exceeding rich, to his ſoldiers, he razed the place to the ground.

Betrayedly his general.

In the interim, news being brought, that fifteen thouſand Turks advanced to relieve the caſtle, he diſpatched Sujercevius and his Koſaks, with eight thouſand light Moldavians, who ſlew near fourteen thouſand of the enemy,

enemy, while the reſt fled to the caſtle of Teina. The vayvod preſently beſieged the town; and, having taken it, left not one ſoul alive. Seîm, on advice of theſe proceedings, was ſo much afraid of being diſpoſſeſſed of Walakhia, that he ordered public prayers to be made for his better ſucceſs. Mean while, John, being inclined to diſband his army for a ſeaſon, left part of it with his old friend Jeremiah Czarnieviche, general of the horſe, to defend the paſſes over the Danube; but this officer, ſuffering himſelf to be corrupted with a preſent of thirty thouſand Hungarian ducats, withdrew his troops, under pretence of foraging, and gave the pâſhâ, who was on the other ſide, liberty to croſs the river with an army of two hundred thouſand men: then, poſting with this news to the vayvod, he pretended he wanted force to oppoſe the enemy; but ſaid they were not numerous, and might be eaſily overthrown, if he advanced with ſpeed againſt them.

John, raiſing the ſiege of Teina, marched forwards; and, being come within three miles of their camp, ſent Sujercevius and the faithleſs Jeremiah, with forces, to view it. The Koſaks, who had long before ſuſpected the latter, judging the enemy's army to be very formidable, by the great number of their ſcouts, at their return adviſed the vayvod not to truſt him too much; but John, giving no way to ſuſpicion, advanced with all his power againſt the Turks. He divided his horſe, amounting to thirty thouſand, into thirty troops; before each of which he placed ſome field-pieces. His foot, which were numerous, and very faithful, though a rude people, and but indifferently armed, he poſted by themſelves. Being arrived at a hill, from whence he could diſcern the army of the enemy, he ſent for Czarnieviche, whoſe treachery he now ſuſpected; but the traitor excuſing himſelf, becauſe of the nearneſs of the enemy, ſent word that he ſhould ſoon ſee him in the field as forward as any againſt him. John believed him in earneſt, when upon the ſignal of battle he ſaw him advance with thirteen thouſand of the beſt troops; but as ſoon as he drew near the enemy, he cauſed his colours to be lowered, and his men, with their caps on the points of their ſwords, to bow their bodies, in token of ſubmiſſion. The Turks, with their lances lifted up, joyfully received them; but obſerving theſe revolters, as men pricked in conſcience, to ſhrink back in the battle, they forced them on to blunt their countrymen's ſwords, ſlaying ſuch as did not go forward.

The

Czarnievieche defeated and taken.

The traitors being by these means almost all destroyed, the Turks maintained a most obstinate fight for a time, and then retreated, with a view to draw the Moldavians into an ambush; but their design being suspected, they attacked with greater fury than before, and, after a most terrible conflict, at length prevailed, by numbers, over the Moldavians, most of whom were slain, and of the Kosaks only two hundred and fifty left. However, the vayvod, who had still twenty thousand foot, and some horse remaining, retreated to the ruins of a town, which he had razed but a little before, and there fortified himself the best he could. Next day, which was the 11th of June, the Turks having fired briskly into his camp to no purpose, sent to advise him to yield before they came to extremities. Hereupon it was agreed, that the Kosaks should have leave to return home; and that the vayvod should receive no manner of violence, but be sent to Selîm to answer for himself: as for the Moldavians, it was represented as needless to make any terms for them, since any injury done to them would hurt the soltân, and the vayvod whom he should appoint.

Perfidiously slain.

These articles having been sworn to seven times by the Turkish officers, the vayvod divided what money and jewels he had among his men, and then went like a suppliant to the Turkish camp, where he talked for above four hours with the chief commanders of the army. At last, the kapuji pâshâ, either offended at his words, or unmindful of his oath, struck him first on the face, and then on the belly with his scymeter. On this signal the janizaries smiting off his head, held it up for every body to see it; and with the like perfidy fell upon the Moldavians, whom they slaughtered like cattle. The Kosaks, expecting no better usage, rushed into the thickest of their enemies, and, valiantly fighting, were all slain, excepting the brave Sujercevius, and a few other officers, reserved for ransom. The Turks, after this massacre, overran all the country of Moldavia, put all the nobility to the sword, and carried away great numbers of the people, for settling remote colonies. Thus was the whole province subjected, and a passage opened into Podolia[1].

Turks African expedition.

To resume the affairs of Africa. As the blame for the loss of Tunis fell on Piâla Pâshâ, because he returned in too great security, without leaving part of the fleet to

[1] Ricaut. ubi supr.

guard

guard the African coaſts, he was diſmiſſed; and Sinân Pâſhâ, the wazîr, being put in his room, was ſent, in the year 982, to recover Tunis. The wazîr, having landed his troops, inſtantly ordered the city and a neighbouring fortreſs, called Khalkulvadi, to be attacked; both which, after ſeveral aſſaults, he took, and ſacrificed the garriſon to the ghoſts of the Muſulmans ſlain there by the Chriſtians the year before. Then he razed the fortreſs to the ground, and, repairing the walls of Tunis, left a ſufficient garriſon in the place [m].

Hungarians defeated.

While the expedition to Tunis was going forward, one thouſand five hundred Hungarians aſſembling with a deſign to ſurpriſe Sigeth, Jaffer Pâſhâ, governor of Ghiula, who was informed of it, lay in ambuſh for them with five hundred janizaries; and, attacking them as they marched careleſly along, routed and took many of them priſoners. Towards the end of this year, the ſoltân built a large and moſt elegant bath, in that part of the palace which looks to the eaſt. Whilſt the mortar yet exhaled virulent ſteams, the emperor firſt entered the bath; and, if ſome writers are to be credited, drank a large doſe of wine to expel the noxious vapours. This exceſs was followed by a ſlight head-ach, then a giddineſs, and at length a ſort of apoplexy; which, on the 11th day of his diſtemper, and 28th of Shâban, carried him out of the world.

Selim dies.

Reign and character.

Soltân Selîm lived fifty-two years, and reigned eight years, five months, and nineteen days. He was a prince of great valour (Y), but not always ſucceſsful; of an invincible mind in all circumſtances; in councils ready and ſecret; a lover of juſtice, and a good man: liberal; and ſo merciful, that nature ſeemed to have endued him with a gentler diſpoſition than his predeceſſors. He was familiar and facetious in talk with his domeſtics; extremely fond of the learned, and of mimics; very conſtant in his devotions. However, ſome hiſtorians, who either had a better opportunity of knowing what paſſed in the inner ſeray, or ſought to pleaſe their readers with novelties, ſay, that, under pretence of devotion, he gave himſelf up entirely to wine and luſt in the ſecret apartments of his palace. It is certain, that he put on a great appearance of religion in public; and if at any time his actions ſeemed to deviate

[m] Cant. p. 227.

(Y) The Chriſtian authors ſay, he had leſs valour than any of his predeceſſors, and therefore was leaſt regarded.

from

from reason, they were ascribed rather to divine inspiration than the vice of drunkenness. As to his person, the Christians say, he was of a middle stature, and of a heavy disposition; that his face was rather swollen than fat, and much resembled that of a drunkard [n].

SECT. XIII.

The Reign of Morâd III.

Hejra 983. A.D. 1575. SELIM being dead, his son Morâd, in the beginning of Ramazân, in the year 983 of the Hejra, and thirty-first of his age, repaired to Constantinople, where he was immediately saluted emperor by all the great men, who testified their grief for his father's death in elegant orations; after which ceremony, soltân Selîm was buried in a turbeh, or turret, near Sancta Sophia.

Soltân Morâd III.

We are informed by the Christian historians, that his first care was to appease the janizaries; who, besides the usual largesses, required an augmentation of their pay, and the privilege that their sons, as soon as they arrived at the age of twenty, should be inrolled among the younger janizaries, and enjoy their immunities. Having granted these demands, he, in order to comply with a political custom, rather than from inclination to cruelty, caused his five brothers, Mostafa, Solymân, Abdo'llah, Ozmân, and Jehân Ghîr, to be strangled in his presence. This execution so much affected the mother of Solymân, that she stabbed herself to the heart; at which tragical sight, it is said, Morâd let fall some tears.

Invades Poland.

These previous steps being taken, the soltân dedicated his whole attention to enact wholesome laws, alter the coin, and make the poor sensible of his bounty. Then, in prosecution of the wars which his father had begun, he sent the Krim Tartars to invade Podolia; which they entered in October, 1575, and committed great ravages; but while they were dividing the spoil with Peter, the new vayvod of Walakhia, the Polish Kosaks broke into their country, in order to make reprisals. Mean while Morâd, understanding that the Poles, on the abdication of Henry de Valois, duke of Anjou, were about to choose a new king, and that even the emperor Maximilian, and the great duke of Muscovy were candidates; he by letter recom-

[n] Cant. p. 227, & seq.

mended

mended to them Stephen Battori, vayvod of Tranſilvania. To this they paid ſuch great regard, that they actually elect- *Makes Stephen king.*
the princeſs Anne of the Jagellonian family to be their queen, on condition that ſhe ſhould marry the vayvod, whom ſhe accordingly eſpouſed. So that Morâd would often boaſt, that he had given a king to Poland; and ſoon after he found the benefit of it, ſince Stephen entered into a league with him, whereby he became ſecure on that ſide, while he proſecuted his deſigns againſt Perſia, which were favoured by the diſtractions that aroſe on the death of king Tahmâſp, in May, 1576°.

Morâd having ſpent three years in ſettling the public affairs, and making military preparations, reſolved, in 986, to undertake the Perſian expedition. To this end he ſent Moſtafa Pâſhâ, who commanded in the Cyprian war, with the troops of Arzerûm and Diyârbekr, to attack their frontiers. That general firſt repaired the caſtles on the borders, and fortified the city of Kârs, almoſt demoliſhed by ſeveral ſieges; where he built magazines for laying up ſtore of corn, that the want of grain might not obſtruct his enterprize. After this precaution, he cloſely beſieged Khaldirân, a ſtrong town of Perſia, which he took after ſeveral aſſaults. Then ſending part of his forces, under the pâſhâs of Arzerûm and Diyârbekr, againſt Tokmak Khân, who was coming with a conſiderable army to relieve that place, they ſurpriſed that general, and put his forces to flight. The reward of this victory was Tiflis, a noted city of Armenia; which, being taken immediately after, was deſtroyed. From thence Moſtafa marched towards Shamakhiya; but, being ſtopped by the rains, he left Ozdemîr, Othmân Pâſhâ, and the beglerbeg of Erzerûrrumi, to guard the ſubdued places, and returned to Europe.

Hejra 986. A.D. 1578.

Invades Perſia.

Arriving at the Kanak, he ordered a bridge to be thrown over it; which having croſſed, Sahamal, a Georgian prince, came and ſubmitted to Morâd. At length he entered the country of Alexander; and being come to Zaghen, that prince ſent him abundance of refreſhments, but did not wait on him on account of his infirmities. From thence he marched to Teflis: then, in paſſing over rough and woody mountains, he encountered with infinite difficulties, and loſt many men, who were cut off by the Georgians. At length he arrived at Altûnkâla, the palace

Georgian princes ſubmit.

° Minadoi's Wars between the Turks and Perſians. Ricaut. in Morad III.

of prince Dedesmit's widow, who made her feigned submission, and delivered him her elder son Alexander; whom, with his brother Manujeher, Mostafa sent to Constantinople as soon as he reached Arzerûm, where he disbanded his army [p].

Turks slaughtered.

According to the Turkish historians, Manujeher, who had till then been subject to the Persians, came to Mostafa, while he was at Tiflîs, and delivered him the keys of the towns under his command. Some time after, he turned Mohammedan; for which step he was rewarded with the sanjâk of Akhiska in Anatolia, and made beglerbeg of Tiflîs itself. As the winter became so severe, that the Othmân soldiers, not used to the cold, daily perished in the camp, Ozdemîr Ogli, Othmân Pâshâ, sent his forces into winter-quarters, at some distance from one another; because there was no city, in those desert and ravaged parts, capable of receiving the whole army: this disposition coming to the knowlege of Euris Khân, the Persian general, he unexpectedly fell on the Turks, thus dispersed, and made a great slaughter.

Persians routed.

Othmân Pâshâ, otherwise an able general, troubled lest this misfortune should be imputed to negligence, assembled his army in the midst of winter, and, with doubtful fortune, fought the Persians above twenty times in different places. At last thirty thousand of them, under the conduct of Imâm Kuli, furiously attacked him; but at the end of four days, during which the battle raged, were repulsed, and almost all slain. Ozdemîr Ogli, after this action, repairing the walls of Samakhîya, retired with part of his weakened forces into Europe [q].

Soon after Mostafa Pâshâ's departure from Eres, the khân, who had fled from Shamakhîya, for fear of the Turks, resolved, with the other governors of Eres and Sekhi, to return into their country; but when he was near that capital, and understood by intercepted letters from the Tartars, who were newly arrived, to Ozmân Pâshâ, how strong they were, he retired towards the Kanak. There Abdo'l Gheray, the Tartar general, and brother of the khân, surprising him, defeated his army; and taking him prisoner, he was hanged at Samakhîya, by Ozman's order, before one of the apartments of his late palace. After this execution, the Tartars went and sacked Ganjeh.

Shirwân recovered.

In the mean time, Amîr Hamzeh Mîrza, the king of Persia's eldest son, with twelve thousand new-raised troops,

[p] Minadoi, ubi supr. lib. iii. Ricaut. ibid. [q] Cant. p. 231.

arrived

arrived in Shîrwân, and recovered Eres from the Turks; with all the booty taken by them, after a fierce battle with Kaytas Pâshâ, the governor; who was there slain, with all his followers: then, marching toward Shamakhîya, he surprised the Tartars negligently encamped, made a great slaughter of them, and took many prisoners, with their general. Approaching that city, he summoned Ozmân Pâshâ to surrender, on condition of having his life and effects. The pâshâ agreed to the proposal, and desired three days to get things ready to march out; but distrusting the sincerity of his enemy, he, in the night, escaped with his effects to Dârbend. Next morning, the Persian prince, entering the city, took vengeance on the inhabitants for their want of fidelity: he likewise severely punished those of Eres and Sekhi: then he returned in triumph to Kasbîn, with Abdo'l Gheray; who being young and handsome, the queen of Persia fell in love with him. The court lords, offended at this amour, which was prosecuted with too little reserve, but more at king Mohammed's intention to marry his daughter to that general, with a view to gain the Tartars over to his interest, one morning entered his apartment, and slew him. It is thought they likewise made away with the queen, for she never after appeared in public.

Ozmân Pâshâ flies to Dârbend.

Ozmân Pâshâ arriving at Dârbend, which was now the only place in Shîrwân possessed by the Turks, with a view to secure that country to the soltân, married the daughter of Sahamal, a Georgian lord: but finding soon after by his wife, who doated on him, that her father was underhand engaged with the king of Persia to ruin him, Ozmân invited him to a banquet, and there slew him, with his attendants. Thus ended the war for this year, in which the Turks lost seventy thousand men [r].

Krîm Tartars rebel.

The greater part of the Turkish army being thus detained in Persia, the khân of the Krîm Tartars attempted to throw off the Othmân yoke. Hereupon Mostafa Pâshâ being ordered to extinguish this flame in its birth, that general marched over Mount Kaukasus, by the streights of Demur Kapi (Z); and, crossing the Don, or Tanais, in boats, surprised the khân, who feared nothing from a

[r] Minadoi, ubi supr. cap. 3.

(Z) Demur, or Temur, Kapi, signifies *the Iron Gate.* So the Turks call Dârbend, or Derbent, which, in Persian signifies *the Shut Gate.*

quarter never before traverſed by man; and cutting off his head, ſent it to the Porte [a].

Affairs of Georgia.

Morâd thinking it beſt, in making conqueſts, to ſecure his own borders firſt, and then encroach by degrees upon his neighbours, ordered Moſtafa to prepare materials for building forts on the roads leading from Arzerûm to Georgia. For this purpoſe the pâſhâ prepared great forces, with twenty thouſand pioneers: nor were the Perſians idle on their ſide to oppoſe the encroaching enemy. Imâm Kûli Khân, governor of Ganjeh, on this occaſion offered to defend Shîrwân, and hinder Ozmân Pâſhâ from either making conqueſts or building forts in that province. At the ſame time, Simon, a valiant Georgian prince, thinking this a proper opportunity to recover his territories uſurped by his younger brother David, or Dawd Khân, undertook to ſecure againſt the Turks that part of Georgia where Teflîs ſtood. Hereupon the king made him khân of the whole country, and ſent Ali Kûli Khân with five thouſand men to ſupport his deſign.

A.D. 1579.

Kârs fortified.

On the approach of ſpring, Moſtafa marched from Arzerûm, in twelve days to Khârs; and having, in twenty more, fortified the place by the hands of the unwilling ſoldiery, he detached about nineteen thouſand men to Teflîs, under the command of Haſſan Pâſhâ, ſon of the grand wazîr Mohammed, a very brave officer. At the famous ſtraits of Tomanis, he was, in his paſſage through the woods, attacked by Ali Kûli Khân and Simon; where he loſt a great many men: but as ſoon as he was clear of the forests, he made a halt; which the Perſians miſtaking as the effect of fear, attacked him a ſecond time, and fell into an ambuſh laid for them; where moſt of them were ſlain, and Ali Kûli Khân was made priſoner. Haſſan afterwards relieved Teflîs; but in his return was way-laid a ſecond time at Tomanis. From this danger, however, he was freed by the advice of Ali Kûli Khân, on promiſe of liberty for that piece of ſervice; yet he broke his word, under pretence, that it was not in his power to perform it. Simon fretted much at this diſappointment; but ſtill purſued him ſo eagerly, that he deſtroyed the rear of his army, and took all his treaſure. Haſſan, in eight days march, reached Khârs, whither Moſtafa returning not long after with his army, much weakened and diſcontented, diſbanded them, and finiſhed this year's campaign.

Teflis relieved.

[a] Cant. p. 231.

To

To favour the expedition, and open an eaſier paſſage into Georgia than that by land, Morâd had ſent Kilij Ali, with a great fleet, into the Euxine ſea, to erect ſome forts in Mingrelia; which were preſently after his departure demoliſhed by the inhabitants. Haſſan was nobly rewarded by the ſoltân for his ſervices: but Moſtafa was diſgraced, and Sinân Pâſhâ, his enemy, made general. He was likewiſe ſoon after advanced to the wazîrſhip on the death of Mohammed; who was ſtabbed in the open divân by a ſoldier, whom he had deprived of his pay [t]. *Mingrelia curbed.*

Morâd, being intent on carrying on the war, the prime wazîr was ſent, in the year 988, with a great army againſt the Perſians; who ſeeing their whole nation threatened with deſtruction, ſued for peace. For that purpoſe they ſent Ibrâhîm Khân, a man of great ſubtilty; who, by his ſpeeches and preſents, ſo moved the wazir, who had actually paſſed the Perſian borders, that the army was immediately ordered to march back, and the ambaſſador ſent with recommendatory letters to the Porte: but Morâd thinking it too early to grant peace till the enemy was exhauſted, as well as diſhonourable for his arms to be diverted by deceitful propoſals, refuſed Ibrâhîm's petition, and deprived Sinân Pâſhâ of his poſt; advancing Ferhâd Pâſhâ in his room [u]. Hejra 988. A.D. 1580. *Perſian embaſſy.*

Sinân Pâſhâ was now made grand wazîr; and Mohammed Pâſhâ, nephew to Moſtafa, the late general, ſent to relieve Teflîs againſt the wazîr's advice. Having gathered twenty-five thouſand men at Arzerûm, he was joined by Haſſan, Pâſhâ of Kâra Amîd, and Manujeher, the Georgian prince, now turned Mohammedan, and called Moſtafa. When they had advanced as far as Gori, within thirty miles of Teflîs, they diſcovered a great army of Georgians, mixed with Perſians in Georgian habits; becauſe the peace was then depending. Next day, the Turks having croſſed a river which parted the two armies, the Georgians, with great fury, fell on them before they could draw up in order, made a great ſlaughter of them, and took the military cheſt, with moſt of their proviſion: ſo that when the Pâſhâ, with the reſt who fled, got to Teflîs, he was forced to raiſe forty thouſand ducats among the officers to pay the garriſon, and ſent to Zaghen for proviſions. *Affairs of Georgia.*

Mohammed, having ſtaid only two days at Teflîs, marched back by the way of Tomanis; and being come *Manujeher's bravery.*

[t] Minadoi, lib. iv. [u] Cant. p 231, & ſeq.

to Altunkala, the castle of Mostafa the Georgian, he invited that prince to a council of war, with a design to cut him off. Mostafa, who had notice of this plot, with fifty choice men, went to the general's tent, where a sham mandate from the emperor was read. This Mostafa promised to obey: but when he was about to take his leave, the hapiji bathi came up; and, pulling him by the sleeve would have forced him to sit down. At the same instant, the Georgian prince unsheathing his sword, killed the general's lieutenant, cut off the pâshâ of Kara Amîd's ear, and desperately wounded Mohammed himself in several places. This affair caused great confusion in the army; but Mostafa immediately gave the soltân notice of the conspiracy against him, and was honoured with a vest [w].

Turkish artifice.

Morâd laid all the fault of these misfortunes on the prime wazîr, for not staying in the East to command the army; while Sinân retorted the blame on the emperor himself for employing Mohammed against his advice. He added, that they ought not to proceed in the war by erecting forts, since there was not money enough in the treasury to support the garrisons; and that if the soltân expected a good issue of his designs, he ought to go to the war in person: but this advice was so disliked by the effeminate emperor, that he banished Sinân Pâshâ, and made Shaus Pâshâ, his own brother-in-law, wazîr. At the same time, being resolved to carry on the war, he appointed Ferhâd, a man of great courage and experience, general of the forces; proposing at first to employ him no farther than to secure the passage to Tessis, and destroy the country of Mostafa, the Georgian: but when he heard of the troubles arising in Persia betwen the king and his youngest son Abbâs Mîrza, he ordered Ferhâd to build a fortress at Rivân, and secure the passage from Khârs thither, so to open the way to Tauris. As for Mostafa the Georgian, he directed the general to dissemble with him for the present, and make use of him to convey succours to Tessis.

A.D. 1582.

Hejra 991. A.D. 1583.

The new wazîr, in 991, with numerous forces, entered the Persian borders, and repaired the walls of Rivân; but either through cowardice, or corruption, did nothing else worth notice. What is worst, he lost Tibrîs; and, after some defeats, returned towards winter with his army.

Persian war renewed. Simeu defeated.

The king of Persia understanding that Ferhâd would next year invade Nakshivân, with a mighty army, marched

[w] Minadoi, lib. iv. v. & vi.

with

with all his forces to Tauris. Hereupon Ferhâd encouraged the report of his going to the firſt place, while he advanced to the caſtle of Lori, within two ſtages of Teflis, and ſtrongly fortified it. He afterwards built a ſtrong fort in the ſtrait of Tomanis, and then ſent twenty thouſand men, under Reſuan and Kâra Amîd, pâſhâs, to put ſuccours into Teflîs: but Simon, the Georgian, ſeeing Reſuan encamped with only ſix thouſand men at the foot of a hill, believing that to be his whole force, charged him boldly with four thouſand men: but was preſently hemmed in by the Turks, who came from the other ſide of the hill. Here enſued a terrible battle, in which Simon had his horſe ſlain under him, and had like to have been taken, at ſuch time as there appeared in view ten thouſand men ſent to reinforce Reſuan: but he, taking them for Perſians, was put to ſuch a ſtand that it gave the brave Georgian, and his ſurviving troops, an opportunity to eſcape.

After this action, Ferhâd reſolved to go and ravage the country of Manujeher; but the year being far ſpent, when they reached Arkhelek, the ſoldiers mutinied, and, abuſing the general, inſiſted on his returning to Arzerum. At length he pacified them; but proceeding to Gliſka, and propoſing to build a fort there, they flew to arms, and in a trice overturned the tents of all the commanders; telling the general, with threats and ill language, that they were neither maſons nor bricklayers. Ferhâd, perceiving there was no other remedy, marched to Ardekhân; and there diſbanding the army, returned to Arzerûm, hated by every body [x]. *Janizaries mutiny.*

Neither was Morâd himſelf pleaſed with his conduct, but particularly exaſperated againſt him, for letting Ali Kûli Khân eſcape; whom he took for his guide in the expedition. At the ſame time having conceived a great opinion of Ozmân Pâſhâ, then in Shirwân, he ſent for him, in order to make him general: but Shaus, the grand wazîr, being jealous of that pâſhâ's abilities, wrote to Mohammed Khân at Kâffa, to way-lay him. The khân, fearing Ozmân would complain of his not having ſent the promiſed ſuccours, detached twelve thouſand Tatars; who ſurpriſed Ozmân, with only four thouſand choice men, on the ſhores of the Euxine ſea: but yet were defeated by him with great ſlaughter. Morâd, being informed of this affair, ſent Kilij Ali, his admiral, with a *Revolution in Krîm.*

[x] Minadoi, lib. vi. Ricaut in Morad III.

fleet to assist Ozmân; who, sailing to Kâffa, put the khân to death, and set up his brother Islân in his room [y].

Morâd's frolick. In the course of this summer, Morâd diverting himself on horseback, among his mutes and buffoons, was suddenly seized with a fit of the falling sickness, and taken up for dead. The janizaries believing him to be so, according to custom, raised a tumult; which ended, as usual, in the death of some of the mutineers. Morâd recovering, thought proper, in order to quash the rumour, to ride from his palace to Sancta Sophia. The same year an accident happened, which had like to have caused a war between the Turks and Venetians. The widow of Ramadân Pâshâ, late governor of Tripoli, being bound thither with three gallies, and driven by a storm into the Adriatic, Pietro Emo, a Venetian senator, who then commanded in the gulf, took them, and committed horrid barbarities. He slew two hundred and fifty of the men, and Ramadân's son in his mother's lap: then caused the women to be ravished, their breasts to be cut off, and afterwards thrown into the sea, not sparing even the Christians. Among the rest, there was a beautiful virgin, whom Emo's brother first deflowered, and then, notwithstanding all her intreaties, drowned. These barbarities so enraged the Turks at Constantinople, that they had much ado to refrain killing the Venetian baillo, there resident. However, on Morâd's demanding satisfaction, the senate begged pardon, and not only put Emo to death, but also restored the gallies [z].

Emo's barbarity.

The Durzi invaded. About this time, both Syria and Egypt were embroiled in domestic troubles. Hassan, the eunuch, pâshâ of Kayro, having by his exactions greatly oppressed the people, they petitioned for his removal. Morâd thus solicited, sent thither Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, whom he had before designed to gratify with that employment, as he designed him for his son-in-law: but the new governor, more greedy of wealth than the old, and taking more unjust methods to amass treasure, was in a short time recalled to accomplish the intended marriage with the soltân's daughter. He was ordered to return through the country of the Drusi (A), to settle matters among them. They were

[y] Minadoi, &c. ubi supr. [z] Leuncl.

(A) Rather Durzi, a people not descended from the Druids, the Truski, or from the Franks, in the time of the Crusade, as hath been idly asserted by the Christian historians. The native inha-

were at this time governed by five amîrs, or commanders; three of them, Ebn Frek, Ali Ebn Karfus, and Mohammed Ebn Manfûr, having been always friends, came and fubmitted themfelves to Ibrâhîm; who, in July, 1585, arrived at Damaſkus, with twenty thouſand horſe. Sharîfo'ddîn, the fourth amîr, who was poor, thought fit likewiſe to tender himſelf, with preſents, to the pâſhâ, by whom he was impriſoned.

Ibrâhîm's cruelty and rapaciouſneſs.

But Ebn Mân, called by the Turks Mân Ogli the fifth, excuſed himſelf by letter for not waiting on him, on account of his enemies. Hereupon Ibrâhîm ravaged his country, burning twenty-four towns, and then encamped on Mount Libanus. However, the Druſi defeated one thouſand five hundred of his rear, under Weïs Pâſhâ, killing five hundred, and taking their camp. Ibrâhîm finding the artifices and preſents he made uſe of, ineffectual to inſnare Mân Ogli, who was warned by his father's fate not to truſt to fair words, ravaged the remainder of that amîr's country, and burned Andrea, the place of his reſidence, ſeated on a hill, with nineteen other towns. He afterwards enticed the makadem, or *agent*, of Man Ogli at Andrea, with three hundred and fifty ſoldiers under his command, to come to him, by a promiſe to make him a ſanjâk: but as ſoon as Ibrâhîm had him in his power, he ordered Ebn Frek to put the men to the ſword, and the covetous makadem to be flayed alive; which cruel puniſhment he bore with great bravery, reviling the pâſhâ for his perfidy.

Not content with theſe barbarities, Ibrâhîm ordered one hundred of Sharîfo'ddîn's followers to be ſlain; and, with four thouſand men from his gallies at Sidon, ravaged all the coaſts as far as Cæſarea of Paleſtine, whither Mân Ogli's territories extended: deſtroying a multitude of people of all ages and ſexes, together with towns and caſtles, and carrying away three thouſand perſons into ſlavery. When he had atchieved theſe exploits, he appointed Ebn Karfus Pâſhâ of the Druſian country, after getting what he could out of him and others; carried off Ebn Manſur priſoner, contrary to his faith; and then

inhabitants take their name from one Durzi, the author of their religion, under Hakim, third Faremite Khalîfah of Egypt, 1020, whom he taught to be God incarnated. Their ſacred books in four volumes 4to, are in the king of France's library, and were tranſlated by M. Petit de la Croix, interpreter to Lewis XIV.

failed

sailed for Constantinople, with so vast a treasure, that, according to Minadoi, he presented the soltân with a million of gold, over and above the revenue of Egypt, amounting to six hundred thousand ducats, and other rich presents both to him and the court ladies; which last, as Leunclavius writes, were valued at twenty thousand soltanîns [a].

Affairs of Persia. To return to the affairs of Persia. Ozmân Pâshâ being arrived at Constantinople, Morâd made him prime wazîr, in the room of Shaus, and likewise general of his army against the Persians. The new general, wintered his forces in Kastamoni, and in spring, 993, recovered Tibris; to secure which more effectually, he built a castle on a neighbouring hill, which commanded the city; and with such dispatch, that, on the 30th day, the walls were in a condition to withstand assaults. Mean while some of the janizaries being slain in a fray with certain inhabitants, who had affronted them, Ozmân Pâshâ ordered all, except the women and children, to be put to the sword, and their effects to be distributed among the soldiers. Then peopling the city with new colonies, he placed Jâffer Pâshâ over it, with the title of wazîr [b].

Hejra 993. A.D. 1585.

The Turks defeated. With this account of the Turkish authors, the Christian writers in general agree: but add many particulars, and are more circumstantial. Ozmân Pâshâ, who set out from Arzerûm in August, being come to the plain of Kalderan, famous for the battle between Selîm and Ismael, reviewed his army, consisting of one hundred and eighty thousand men, and then marched towards Tauris. The van guard having advanced near the city to discover the enemy, at the Bridge of Salt Water, where they halted, they were suddenly attacked by Amîr Hamzeh at the head of ten thousand men, with such fury, that he quickly broke them, slaying seven thousand, and taking a great number of prisoners, horses, and standards, which he carried to his blind father Shâh Mohammed, who lay twelve miles off with fifty thousand men. As soon as Ozmân was informed of this defeat, he detached fourteen thousand troops to pursue the prince; who, facing about, engaged them for two hours till night parted them.

Tauris taken. Next morning, the Turks encamped within two miles of Tauris, where Ali Kûli Khân commanded: but having a garrison of no more than four thousand Persians, after he made two furious sallies, he retired to the king's

[a] Minadoi, lib. vii. [b] Cant. p. 232.

camp.

camp. The citizens, although thus left to ſhift for themſelves, gallantly defended their gates, and killed multitudes of the enemy, who attempted to force them; yet at length, being obliged to give way to numbers, the Turks broke in and made great ſlaughter; to which the general put a ſtop. Then pitching on a garden, on the ſouth ſide of the city, for its delightfulneſs called Sekes Jenet, or the *Eighth Paradiſe*, he employed his men in building a fort; which in thirty-ſix days was finiſhed. Meanwhile Ozmân fell ſick; and eight janizaries, with ſome ſpahis, having been found ſtrangled in a bath, he gave the city up to the ſoldiers, who, for ſeveral days, committed the moſt horrid barbarities. Amîr Hamzeh was ſo incenſed at this brutality, that he ordered his army to march, and ſent five hundred horſe before to provoke the Turks; who, thinking the whole Perſian force was coming, to the number of forty thouſand, under the command of Sikala Pâſhâ, and Mohammed, pâſhâ of Kâra Amîd, advanced to fight them; and were drawn forward, by ſkirmiſhing, about eight miles, to the place where Hâmzeh, with twenty thouſand forces, met them. The pâſhâ of Kâra Amîd was ſoon put to flight, while Sikala ſtill bore up againſt the enemy; but at laſt he was forced to follow his colleague, after eight thouſand of his men had been ſlain. *Cruel ſlaughter.*

The Perſian prince, flushed with this ſucceſs, marched to attack the whole Turkiſh army; and, coming up with them, fell on with incredible fury. Piercing into the thickeſt of the enemy, and hewing down all before him, he ſingled out the pâſhâ of Kâra Amîd, who commanded inſtead of the ſick general; and, ſtriking off his head, gave it to be carried at the end of a lance: the Turks were ſo confounded at this ſpectacle, that they gave way and fled with precipitation. They loſt on this occaſion twenty thouſand men, with the pâſhâs of Trapezond, the ſanjâk of Pruſa, and five more, beſides Morâd, pâſhâ of Kâramania, who was taken priſoner [c]. *The Turks routed.*

Ozmân Pâſhâ, having nothing more to do in thoſe countries, ſet forward on his return, with the greater part of the forces; but at Sofiyân, he was met by Hâmzeh Mîrza, the braveſt general the Perſians then had, who attacked him with a great army. Both ſides fought obſtinately from ſun-riſe till midnight. Hâmzeh Mîrza ran like *Ozmân attacked.*

[c] Minadoi, lib. viii. Ricaut.

light-

lightning from rank to rank; one while he charged in front, another while he rallied his disordered troops in the rear, and both by words and actions performed the duty of a great general. On the other side, Othmân Pâshâ being sick, rode on a mule, encouraging his men by his voice and gesticulations. At length the Persians were obliged to give ground; and the night after, Othmân, exhausted by the labour of the foregoing day, breathed his last, and so crowned a life which he had rendered illustrious by his exploits [d].

Upon his death the army chose Sinân Pâshâ for general, and pursued their march. But Hamzeh Mîrza followed them close; and though unable, by reason of his late loss, to attack the Othmâns in the field, yet he harrassed them with continual skirmishes, lay in ambush at narrow passes, and did them more damage than if he had defeated them in open battle. Having thus weakened their army, and assembled more forces, he at length attacked them at Salmâs, and furiously assaulted their camp; but whilst he was bravely leading on his men, he fell among the foremost, and by his death freed the Othmâns from great danger; for the Persians, struck with the loss of their general, immediately retired, and left the Musulmâns an open passage to Wân [e].

The Turkish historian seems to have anticipated the death of prince Hamzeh. According to Minadoi, prince Hâmzeh, being informed of Ozmân's death, followed the Turks in their retreat, then commanded by Sikâla Pâshâ, and bravely attacked them again, though not with such success as before. His design was to have decoyed them into a deep march, by feigning to retire; but this being discovered by the rebels, Masud, and Dawd Khân the pâshâ, caused a great wing to be formed, in order to charge the enemy. The prince, perceiving by this disposition that his intentions were traversed, resolved to retire in earnest, as he did; but not without the loss of three thousand men. After this attempt, the Turks met with no interruption in their march, by Salmâs, to Wân, where they were disbanded: only succours were first sent to Teflis, under the conduct of Dawd Khân, who for that service was made pâshâ of Marâsh, as Masûd was of Hâlep [f].

A.D. 1586. Hejra 994. The Othmân forces being thus obliged, through weakness, to quit their conquests, the Persians, next year, be-

[d] Cant. p. 232, & seqq. [e] Ibid. p. 233. [f] Minadoi, lib. 8.

sieged

sieged Tibrîs; but as Ferhâd Pâshâ was sent with numerous forces to its relief, he compelled the enemy to raise the siege, and built a new castle between that city and Revân; about which places, as strong bulwarks, he kept his army four whole years. In summer he fought the Persians, and, that he might be nearer their borders, passed the winter at Arzerûm. *Persians defeated.*

The Persians, unable to bear the thoughts of the fortress built at Tauris, the king engaged ten thousand Turkmâns in his service; but they, to revenge the death of their commander Amîr Khân, desired Tahmâsp, the shâh's youngest son, for their leader, with design to embroil the state by setting him up for king. Their request being granted, they undertook the siege of the castle; but when they had carried their trenches to the very ditch, so that all things were ready for the assault, they suddenly marched away in the night for Kasbîn, giving young Tahmâsp the title of king, and reviling his father as well as brother. Prince Hâmzeh, boiling with indignation at this atrocious affront, with twelve thousand men, and the king's usual guards, followed the rebels; and having overtaken them, a day's march from Kasbîn, quickly routed them; for the greater part of them, disliking the conspiracy, would not fight: so that prince Tahmâsp, with Mohammed Khân, their general, and soltân Khalîfah, being taken, the two latter were beheaded on the spot. *The Turkmâns revolt.*

Jaffer Pâshâ, governor of Tauris, fearing prince Hâmzeh would soon return to renew the siege, sent for aid to Sigâla Pâshâ, who presently advanced with his troops; but understanding in the way by some Persians, that their king was on his march with an army towards Sankazân, he, through fear, retreated to Wân. Nevertheless, Jâffer had the good fortune to be supplied by the succeeding general, before the Persians, engaged in their domestic broils, could come to attack him; for it was July, 1586, before prince Hâmzeh could bring an army to besiege Tauris; nor did he stay long there; but, understanding that Zeniel, pâshâ of Salmâs, who had deserted the Persian interest, lay encamped before that city, he marched thither suddenly with twelve thousand men, and, routing him, took Salmâs, which was miserably sacked. He likewise defeated the pâshâ of Reivân near that city, and then retired to his father's camp, where the rest of the army, to the number of forty thousand men, were assembled. *Salmâs taken.* A.D. 1586.

In the mean time Ferhâd Pâshâ, the Turkish general, having passed Wân, the prince detached Ali Kûli Khân, with *Hâmzeh Mirzah treacherously slain.*

with his eight thouſand ſoldiers, from Heri, or Herât, and part of the Turkmâns, under Imâm Kûli Khân, to infeſt the enemy at all the advantageous paſſes in their way to Tauris; but the latter being wholly influenced by the former, and he a traitor, they were ſo far from executing their orders, that the Turks relieved that city without any impediment. Diſappointment having broken the prince's meaſures, and, being now informed of Ali Kûli Khân's conſpiracy with other lords to betray him into the hands of the Turks, he was obliged to abandon his enterprizes againſt the foreign enemy, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt the domeſtic traitors: theſe, at length, he chaſed out of the parts about Tauris, and then marched in haſte to Ganjeh, with deſign to intercept the ſuccours which the Turks intended for Teflis. As he had always found Imâm Kûli Khân faithful to him, he here communicated to him his reſolution; but while this gallant prince waſted the proper time for putting it in execution, he was murdered in his ſleep, by one of his eunuchs; but on what occaſion, or by whom ſet on, could not with any certainty be known [z].

Affairs of Hungary. But it is now time to return to the tranſactions of the Turks in Europe. Notwithſtanding the league between the emperor Rodolphus II. and Morâd, many ſharp encounters happened between the Turks and Chriſtians on the frontiers, particularly in December, 1586, when the former, making an inroad into Kroatia, were defeated, and the pâſhâ of Boſnia with his brother ſlain. The Hun-

A.D. 1587. garians alſo, in February following, provoked by the frequent ravages of the Othmâns, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Koppan, near the lake of Balaton, and obtained a conſiderable booty. The Turks, waiting an opportunity to revenge the injury, in Auguſt, deſtroyed ſeventeen villages about Limbach, and carried off all the country people, with their effects; but George count Serini, governor of Kaniſia, being informed of this inroad, ſpeedily aſſembled ſome troops, and, being joined by the counts Nadaſti, Bathiani, and others, ſeized the paſſes between the Drave and Mora, through which the Turks were to march, and made a horrible ſlaughter of them. Among them fell the ſanjâk of Five Churches; and he of Mohatz, ſticking faſt in a marſh as he fled, was ſhot through the head. The ſanjak of Koppan was ſome time after taken alſo, with thirteen hundred ſoldiers, and fifteen hundred horſes; be-

[z] Minadoi, lib. ix.

ſides

sides two thousand men slain, and all the prisoners with the spoil recovered.

This service was performed with no more than fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse, of whom there were only eleven slain, but most of the rest were wounded. When Morâd heard of these transactions, he ordered Ali Pâshâ of Buda to be strangled for violating the league, and Sinân Pâshâ to take his post. Yet this pâshâ, in September, broke into the Christian territories, and burned Saxo: but Claudius Rüssell, general in those quarters, defeated and slew two thousand five hundred of the Turks, besides two hundred that were drowned in the river Schayo. The Christians soon after, in their turn, took some forts from the enemy in Upper Hungary; but Sinân was at length displaced for what he did, and Ferhâd, the general in the Persian expedition, put into his post [h]: to whom now it is time to return. *The Turks worsted.*

This pâshâ, having acted on the frontiers of Persia, as before has been related, at length penetrated into Ghyurjestan, or Georgia, and subduing the castles of that province, built two towns, Luri and Ghiunje. Afterwards, joining battle with Kâradâghi Mehemed Khân, general of the Persians, he put him to flight, and so effectually dispersed his army, that the forces of the Kezilbâsh, or Red Heads, dared not from that time appear in the field. *Georgia over-ran.*

The shâh, discouraged by so many defeats, and the loss of the provinces of Revân, Ghiunjeh, and Hârabâg, began to think in earnest of suing for peace. But as Morâd did not seem very forward to grant it, he promised to relinquish claim to all the countries subdued by the Othmâns, and send his brother Hayderjân to the Porte, as a pledge that no Persian army should ever enter the Othmân dominions, or make any private or open attempt against that empire. On these conditions, sworn to on both sides, a peace was at last concluded, and an end put to a long and bloody war. *Peace concluded.*

But the troops who had reduced the foreign enemies of the empire soon became its intestine foes. For the janizaries, being excited by the enemies of the defterdâr, or *high treasurer*, whom they accused of debasing the coin, flocked together, and threatened to kill him in his palace. That officer, informed of the danger, fled to the imperial throne, and begged Morâd's protection. The rebels surrounded the palace, and insolently demanded the treasurer. Hejra 997. A.D. 1589. *The janizaries mutiny.*

[h] Ricaut. in Amurat III.

On

On the emperor's refusal to deliver him, they grew more insolent; and, guarding the avenues, threatened death to the soltân and all his court.

In this distress, Morâd, thinking it proper to proceed to extremities, left the imperial majesty should fall into contempt, first armed all his chamberlains and baltâji (B); then ordered the gates to be opened, and the janizaries to be attacked, as infidels and disobedient. His commands were vigorously executed; for his domestics rushing like lions on the disorderly mutineers, killed one hundred and seventeen at the first onset, before they could come together, and dispersed the rest. Of these Morâd intended to make examples; but, by the intercession of Sinân Pâshâ, the prime wazîr, he pardoned all but the ringleaders, who, by his command, were thrown into the sea[i].

Kosâk invasions.

In the course of the same year the Polish Kosâks, according to custom, made an inroad into the dominions of the Turks and Tartars, surprised Kosian, and did much mischief. The Tartars, by way of reprisal, breaking into Podolia with forty thousand men, committed great ravages, which had like to have embroiled the Poles with the Turks; but matters were accommodated, by the mediation of Elizabeth, queen of England, and the league was renewed[k]. As we meet with nothing in the Turkish historians for the next four years, although many considerable actions happened in Europe, we shall supply that chasm out of the Christian writers.

A.D. 1590.

War declared against the emperor.

Morâd, being now at peace with all the world, his pâshâs endeavoured to excite him to a new war, but were much divided in their opinions, with regard to the nation against whom they should employ their arms. Some were for breaking the peace with the Persians, in order to confirm their late conquests by making more. Others were for subduing Morokko, in order to extend their footing in Africa, as well as commerce. A third sort were for invading Malta, to revenge their daily injuries, and former disgraces received from the corsairs of that island. Many were for attacking the Spaniards, whose power was a bar to the Othmâns attaining universal monarchy; and, as Spain was then embroiled in the Low Countries, this counsel had like to have prevailed. Some again were for

[i] Cant. p. 233, & seqq. [k] Ricaut. ubi supr.

(B) The baltâji, for this service, are called to this day in the imperial palace, khaskuller, *pure and faithful servants*. Cant.

turning

turning their forces againſt the Venetians and Italy; while others propoſed carrying the war into Poland.

At length it was reſolved to fall upon the emperor of Germany; to which ſcheme Morâd was moſt of all inclined, by the perſuaſion of Ozmân, the grand wazîr, and Haſſan, pâſhâ of Boſnia. Theſe, under pretence, that the Uſkokki (C), and other of the archduke's ſubjects, infeſted the Turkiſh territories, as well by ſea as land, obtained leave to make incurſions into Kroatia, and ſeize the trading ſhips of Venice. Hereupon both the emperor and the republic complained by their ambaſſadors at the Porte, and demanded redreſs: but although Morâd made profeſſion of keeping the eight years truce with Rodolph II. yet he ordered the pâſhâ of Boſnia to enter Kroatia with an army of fifty thouſand men; who, laying ſiege to Wihitz, the capital of that country, took it, upon articles [1]. A D. 1591. A.D. 1592.

While the emperor was ſoliciting the princes and ſtates of Germany, the Turkiſh army daily increaſed in Kroatia; where they hemmed-in ſix thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, moſt of whom were ſlain. The iſland of Turopolis, in the Kulp, was deſtroyed alſo with fire and ſword by Haſſan Pâſhâ; who, being encamped between that river and the Save, paſſed over to it in the dead of night. Seven thouſand troops, ſent by the emperor, to oppoſe the incurſions of the enemy, having been miſinformed by the ſcouts ſent to diſcover their ſtrength, were by the Turks ſuddenly ſurrounded in their camp, where they lay negligently ſecure, and were almoſt all ſlain, after a moſt gallant reſiſtance, which they made, although they were deſerted by their officers. Theſe afterwards paid for their cowardice with the loſs of their heads; but the ſoldiers ſold their lives very dear, having ſlain twelve thouſand Turks in that deſperate action. The night following, the Othmân forces ſurpriſed the caſtle of St. George, and ſlew all, except one hundred and fifty perſons, without reſpect to age or ſex. They likewiſe took a great many priſoners about Siſeg, beſides three hundred waggons, with proviſions for the relief of the garriſons. *Succeſſes in Kroatia, and in Hungary.*

During theſe tranſactions in Kroatia, the Turks, in September, ſuddenly attacked the caſtle of Tokay, and the Leſſer Komora, or Shut, in Hungary; but failing in

[1] Ricaut. in Amurat III.

(C) A ſort of banditti, who had formed a kind of ſtate towards the Venetian frontiers.

thoſe attempts, the pâſhâ of Ziget alſo pitched his tents between that city and Rodeſto. The Turkiſh army, now reported to be about one hundred and ſixty thouſand ſtrong, committed great ravages, and carried off a multitude of people. Theſe hoſtilities induced the Chriſtians to haſten their preparations, while the Turks, being informed that they had thrown a ſtrong bridge over the Drave, withdrew into their own territories; and the rather, as the plague, which raged at Conſtantinople, had now infected their army.

A.D. 1593. But in the beginning of the next year the enemy renewed their incurſions. The garriſon of Petrina, a fort newly built by the Turks, contrary to the peace, on the Kulp, entering into the iſle of Turopolis, burnt the town and caſtle of Bech-Vocobinam; and, having made a great ſlaughter, carried away four hundred priſoners. The ſame garriſon took alſo the town of Martenize, and another caſtle near the Kulp. The caſtles of St. Hedwig and Iſna fell likewiſe into the hands of the enemy; but they failed in Hungary, where three thouſand of them thought to have ſurpriſed Nuhuſel.

Farther advantages.

The pâſhâ of Boſnia outwitted and ſlain.

The emperor Rodolph, being convinced of Morad's reſolution for war, as well by theſe hoſtilities as the ſtrict confinement of his ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, wrote both to the ſoltân and Sinân Pâſhâ, the prime wazîr, upon the occaſion; and was anſwered by the latter nothing to the purpoſe. Mean while, ſummer approaching, the Pâſhâ of Boſnia reſolved to be revenged on the governor or abbot of Siſeg, who had affronted him in the following manner: the pâſhâ having the year before ſent a chauſh, or *meſſenger*, to require him to ſurrender the caſtle; the abbot, after he had civilly entertained him, coming to underſtand that his ſteward had plotted to betray the caſtle, threw both him and the meſſenger out at a window into the Save. The pâſhâ ſending to know why the chauſh did not come back, was anſwered, that he had been diſmiſſed ſome days before; adding, that if the pâſhâ would, to ſave his credit, ſend ſome men of quality to receive the monaſtery, he was ready to yield it up.

Three days after, certain troops of horſe with the noblemen arrived; but as ſoon as the latter and five hundred others were admitted, the port-cullices were let down, and the Turks cut to pieces. Their companions having fled with this ill news to the pâſhâ, he wrote to acquaint the abbot, that he ſhould raze his monaſtery, and pull his ſkin over his ears. In order to perform his promiſe, after he had

had taken Trenſchin, he with an army of thirty thouſand men, in June, ſat down before Siſeg; and, after beating down the new tower, continued to batter the town for ten days, without intermiſſion. On advice of theſe proceedings, the biſhop of Zagrabia, with Eygenberg, the imperial general, joined by count Averſberg, governor of Carolſtad, marched to Gradiſca, with four thouſand troops, there to wait for count Serini; but receiving notice from the beſieged of their great diſtreſs, they were prevailed on by count Averſberg to proceed to their relief. When they had arrived within a mile of the enemy's camp, and the Turks had brought all their forces over the Kulp, the Kroats and Huſſârs, who were poſted in the van, began the charge; but being overpowered by numbers, they, after a long conflict, began to retreat; when Averſberg coming on, reſtored the battle, and put the pâſhâ to flight. Then getting to the new bridge before the Turks, he cut off their paſſage; ſo that they were all, to the number of eighteen thouſand, either ſlain, or drowned in the Kulp, or Oder; among whom was the general. Thoſe who remained at the ſiege, ſetting fire to their powder and proviſion, fled; leaving their tents, artillery, and much ſpoil behind them [m].

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the Chriſtians failed to take Petrina; nor could the emperor procure a peace from Morâd; who at length denounced war againſt him, and gave the command of his army, conſiſting of forty thouſand men, of whom five thouſand ſix hundred were janizaries, to Sinân Pâſhâ. While this general marched towards Buda, in Hungary, the beglerbeg of Greece, with a greater force, entered Kroatia, and laid ſiege to Siſeg; which was exceedingly well defended till September, when it was taken by ſtorm, and all the garriſon put to the ſword. *Siſeg taken.*

In the mean time Sinân Pâſhâ inveſted Weiſbrun; but the garriſon, perceiving that it could not long be defended againſt ſo great a power, placed barrels of powder in mines under the walls, with trains to them, and ſo, in the night, endeavoured to eſcape; but being diſcovered, moſt of them were ſlain. However, the Turks haſtily entering the city, many of them were blown up by the mines, and the place was much damaged by the exploſions. The caſtle of Palotta was ſurrendered to the pâſhâ, on condition, that the garriſon might depart with their baggage; but they were all ſlain, contrary to his oath, excepting the com- *Weiſbrun reduced.*

[m] Ricaut, in Amurat III.

mander and two more. The consequence of this success was, that all the adjacent country near the lake of Balaton was easily subdued.

The Turks slaughtered. The Christians having at last drawn together eighteen thousand men, count Hardeck, governor of Raab, about the end of October, laid siege to Alba Regalis; and, after some sharp assaults, raised it again, in the beginning of November. But being informed by a spy, that twenty thousand men, under the pâshâ of Buda, were at hand, he advanced towards them; and, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, bravely mounted the hill where the enemy were posted, fought and routed them, killing about eight thousand, and taking all their cannon, waggons, and provision, with many standards. After this exploit he burned the suburbs of Alba Regalis, and returned to Raab.

Filek taken. Count Teffenbach, with twenty-four thousand men, laid siege to Sabatzka, in Upper Hungary; which he took the 19th of November, and put all the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to attack Filek; which the pâshâ of Temeswar came to relieve, with an army of eighteen thousand men. Hereupon the general, taking with him seven thousand choice soldiers, suddenly fell upon the Turks in their tents, routed them, and slew six thousand; then taking all their cannon and baggage, returned to the camp before Filek; where, being joined by six thousand men under count Palfy, they renewed the siege with such vigour, that they took and burnt the city on the 24th of the same month. In two days more they forced the castle, in spite of the obstinate resistance of the enemy, and put all to the sword, excepting eight hundred; who, having retired to the most inward part of the fortress, capitulated for their lives [n].

Castles abandoned. Upon these successes the Turks abandoned the castles of Diistein and Somoske, with the towns of Setschine, Blavenstein, and Sallek; while the severity of the season hindered the general from prosecuting his advantages. The sanjâk of Palotta also was defeated by Peter the Hussâr; and five thousand Turks more from Petrina were routed by count Graswin, and most of them drowned or slain.

A D. 1594. Hostilities began early next year, notwithstanding the severity of the season; but two thousand Turks, having made an inroad in the middle of January into the country about Filek, were set upon by count Teffenbach, and fif-

[n] Ricaut, in Amurat III.

teen

teen hundred ſlain or taken priſoners. The archduke Mathias, whom the emperor had appointed general of his forces, being informed by a Turkiſh ſoldier, that Novigrade had only eight hundred men in garriſon, he uſed ſuch diligence, that by the 8th of March he came before it with his whole army. The caſtle, which was ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature, had been battered with much fury; but not being attended with ſucceſs, the battery was renewed; and, the principal gunner of the place, a renegade German, happening to be ſlain, the Turks were ſo diſcouraged, that they agreed to ſurrender, on condition of departing with their cloaths and ſcymeters only. This loſs was reſented ſo much, that the ſanjâk who delivered up the place was hanged on a tree near the gate of Buda, by order of the pâſhâ of that city. *Novograde ſurrendered.*

About the ſame time count Serini poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtles of Breſenza, Sigeſt, and Baboſtche, which were abandoned by the Turks, and left a paſſage open to Sigeth. In Upper Hungary count Teffenbach, the archduke's lieutenant-general, with an army of twenty thouſand men, in April laid ſiege to Hatwan, a ſtrong town, ſix miles from Buda. The pâſhâ of this laſt place marched with thirteen thouſand choice men, to paſs the Sagijwa at Jaſprin, where there is a bridge and ford, in order to fall on the rear of the beſiegers. But the count, perceiving his deſign, croſſed the river with much difficulty, and, coming up with the pâſhâ, firſt diſordered his rear with his cannon, and then fell furiouſly on their whole body. The Turks for a long time ſuſtained the charge with wonderful reſolution; but being at length routed, fled, and were purſued almoſt as far as Buda. In this action they loſt two thouſand five hundred men; for no quarter was given to priſoners; alſo thirteen field-pieces and twenty-four colours. They at the ſame time deſerted Jaſprin, and the fort of Zabola. Then the count renewed the ſiege of Hatwân. *Other ſucceſſes.*

Mean while the archduke, with an army of forty-four thouſand men, on the 6th of May, ſat down before Gran, for ſome time the metropolis of Hungary; and burned St. Adelbert's Tower, the church, and great part of the town. Next day the beſiegers, having made a breach in the caſtle wall, made a fierce aſſault; but could not carry it. However, the Raſcians in the old town offered to the general to deliver him that city, provided he would aſſault the new town, in order to draw the Turks thither; a ſervice which was accordingly performed. After this the battery was carried on vigorouſly, eſpecially againſt the caſtle, and the *Gran inveſted.*

assault renewed; but with greater courage than success. However, the besiegers took a hill, which in some degree commanded the castle, and had been fortified by the Turks, putting all they found to the sword, and turning the cannon upon the castle. Some companies also in the night attacked the lower town, and with much difficulty got over the wall; but meeting with a strong countermure, were so dismayed, that, in endeavouring to get back over the ditch, where many stuck fast, they lost in this attempt one thousand men.

The siege raised.

On the 4th of June five hundred Turks made shift to get into the town, a reinforcement which made the besieged more obstinate than before; so that in five assaults the Christians lost five thousand men. On the 14th the archduke ordered the town to be assaulted in three different places; but after six hours conflict, the besiegers retired. At the same time count Palfi erected a fort, which prevented the besieged from receiving succours by the river, and took another in an island on the farther side. From these places the castle and lower town being severely battered, the Turks made two desperate sallies upon the new fort, seconded by the admiral of their gallies on the river; but without success. At length, on advice that Sinân Pâshâ was on his march with a great army, to relieve the place, the general raised the siege, towards the end of October; after he had fired the old town and razed St. Nicholas' fort. The siege of Hatwân was still carried on with great vigour, and count Tessenbach slew five thousand men brought by the pâshâ of Buda to relieve it; yet the Turks proved so obstinate in defence of the place, and the count was so weakened by his losses, that he also thought fit to relinquish his enterprize.

Rascians, their exploits.

In the midst of these transactions, the Rascians, a poor oppressed people, who dwelt on both sides of the Danube, being weary of the Turkish thraldom, first took thirteen of their vessels upon that river; and then drawing together a body of fifteen thousand men between Buda and Belgrade, twice defeated the pâshâ of Temeswar with a body of fourteen thousand Turks. They afterwards took Baczkerek, four miles from Belgrade, and the castle of Ottadt; then laying siege to that of Beche, on the Theyssa, the old pâshâ of Temeswar marched to relieve it with eleven thousand men; but the Rascians encountering them, slew near ten thousand, and took eighteen pieces of cannon. The consequence of this victory was the reduction of Wersetza and Lutz. Then, sending to the archduke for aid and gunners,

gunners, they offered to put themselves and their country under the emperor's protection [x].

Sinân Pâshâ besieges Raab.

Affairs were in this distracted state in Hungary, when Sinân Pâshâ approached with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men; forty thousand of them Tartars, who, with much difficulty, had made their escape through Podolia and Upper Hungary from the Kossâks, after they had lost thirty thousand of their first number. The pâshâ, having passed the Gran, came, on the 21st of July, to Dotis, which was surrendered in three days. He likewise took the castle of St. Martin, not far off, and then marched to Raab, or Javarin, a city about fifty miles from Vienna, and reckoned the chief bulwark of it; whose governor was the valiant count Hardéck, with a garrison five thousand strong.

Defeats the Imperialists.

Sinân began to batter this place on the 2d of August, and ran his trenches within musket-shot of the walls; while four thousand Tartars and six thousand Turks, crossing the river, took a fort from the Christians, and turned the cannon thereof upon the archduke's camp, which lay a little beyond, but they were forced back again through the river, and most of those who escaped the sword, were drowned. They were defeated on a second and third passage, with great slaughter. Eight thousand Tartars likewise were slain by the Hussars, in two attempts to take an island in the river, and they lost two thousand more, in assisting the Turks to attack the Christian camp. At the same time their army was diminished also by the flux and want of provisions: yet Sinân, the general, could not be persuaded to raise the siege; while the Imperialists were so successful as to take Castrowitz, Petrina, Siseg, and Gara, whereby the whole country of Kroatia was secured.

At the end of August twenty thousand Christians, passing over out of the island and joining the besieged, fell on the Turkish camp, and penetrated so far as to spike some of their cannon; yet were repulsed with considerable loss on both sides: but the besieged, sallying a second time, slew two thousand of the enemy, with the loss of only four hundred on their own side, and took seventeen colours. No day passed without some action, when on the 9th of September, ten thousand Turks, having landed on the isle of Schut, or Sclut, suddenly fell upon the too secure Christians, and slew two thousand of them; while the

[x] Ricaut, ubi supra.

archduke Mathias narrowly escaped with the rest, leaving all their artillery, money, and baggage behind them: so that, reckoning the waggons, boats, and gallies, that were also lost, the damage was computed at five hundred thousand ducats.

The city yielded. The pâshâ, encouraged with this success, on the 23d, gave a general assault upon the city, which was continued from morning to night, and renewed the two following days with all the desperate resolution imaginable. In these actions twelve thousand Turks were slain: but a few days after, the ditch being almost filled with the ruins of one of the bulwarks, they with all their force attempted thrice in one day to enter the breach, but were repulsed. In short, they repeated their batteries and assaults so often, that at length they gained two of the bulwarks. Then count Hardeck, having gotten an instrument under the hands of the principal officers, to certify the impossibility of defending the place any longer, he surrendered that strong and well provided fortress to the enemy; for which surrender afterwards he had his right hand cut off, and was beheaded.

Komorra invested. Sinân Pâshâ, flushed with this good fortune, laid siege to the strong city of Komorra, in the isle of Schut, both by land and water. For some time the place was vigourously attacked, and as vigorously defended: but the archduke having in the interim drawn together a considerable body of men, encamped at Nitria, within five miles of the city; and the Tartars having quitted the Turkish camp, in order to return home, the pâshâ immediately raised the siege; and, passing the Danube, returned to Dotis; from whence his army was sent into winter quarters. When the Tartars reached the borders of Transilvania and Moldavia, several of them were cut off by count Palfi; and the rest, finding the passes beset by prince Segismond, vayvod of Walakhia, fell to burning the towns and villages about Tokay: then, crossing the Danube at Gran, wintered at Weisburn Palotta, and other places near Raab, living on the spoil of the inhabitants on the frontiers of Austria, as far as Minesdorf.

Affairs of Transilvania, and of Walakhia. These Tartars, when they first came to aid Sinân Pâshâ, not only did a world of mischief in Transilvania, but conspired with some of the principal lords to seize and depose the prince, who was become suspected at the Porte. The design of the traitors was to get Balthazer Batori, the vayvod's near relation, advanced in his room; but Sigismond, eluding all their designs, managed matters so well,

well, that he ſecured and executed all the conſpirators at Clauſenburg. After this detection, entering into ſtrict alliance with the emperor Rodolph againſt the Othmâns, he prevailed on Michael, vayvod of Walakhia, to revolt from them; and had no ſmall influence over Aaron, palatine of Moldavia, to do the like. Michael, having, with conſent of the ſtates, joined the emperor with two thouſand choice Hungarians, firſt ſlew one thouſand janizaries, who had without his leave ſettled in the country; and then maſſacred the reſt of the Turks, with the Jews who were found there. After which exploits, he took and burnt Dzîurdzowa, a great town on the Danube, belonging to the Turks.

As he all this while ſeemed ſtill to retain his obedience to Morâd, the Turks, who ſought to be revenged on him, ſent a kâzilaſker, with a proper force, to Bukhoreſt, with a deſign to ſurpriſe him. That officer, who knew the vayvod lay in his palace near the monaſtery, without the city, upon the Dembowiz, went thither, with one thouſand men, under pretence of paying him a viſit: but the prince, ſuſpecting the matter, repaired to his camp of Hungarian mercenaries. The kâzilaſker diſappointed of his prey, ſent to know, why he entertained ſo many Hungarians in time of peace; and promiſed, in caſe he diſbanded them, to lend him a tun of gold to pay them off. This Sigiſmond ſeemed thankfully to accept of, yet commanded the Hungarians to be ready, while drawing together ſome other troops in the valley, he ſuddenly ſurrounded the Turks in their lodgings, which were fired; and notwithſtanding the bold reſiſtance they made, they were all either burnt or ſlain, not excepting the kâzilaſker, who offered vaſt ranſoms for himſelf and ſome others.

Sigiſmond's ſucceſſes.

The vayvod, encouraged by this beginning, not long after ſurpriſed and ſacked Phlokh, a very large open town beyond the Danube, ſlaying all the inhabitants. Not long after, croſſing that river, then frozen, to ſurpriſe Herſowa, a walled city, only one ſtage from Brailowa, he by the way defeated a great body of Turks on the ice, and then took that rich city, which he rifled and burnt; but the caſtle was too ſtrong to be reduced. Croſſing the Danube again, and having in a great battle routed the Turkiſh garriſons, he took Siliſtria, a great city of Bulgaria, which he plundered; and ſlaying moſt of the inhabitants, burnt it to the ground [y].

[y] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

Morâd

Morâddies. Morâd died on Friday, the 6th day of Jemaziolawel(D), after he had lived fifty years, and reigned twenty and eight months. He had twenty sons, nineteen of whom were strangled by the eldest, his successor.

His character. Prince Cantemir observes, that all the Turkish historians whom he had seen, strangely pass over in silence the character and manners of this emperor, contrary to their constant custom [z]. But this silence cannot be owing to any thing very odious in the manners of Morâd, since the Christian authors speak much in his commendation. According to them, he was of a manly stature, and corpulent, but of a pale complexion, wearing his beard long and thin. He had not the fierce aspect of the Othmân monarchs, and was of a peaceful disposition, a lover of justice, and very zealous in his religion. He reformed the riot and excess of his father's reign by his own temperance, and by severe punishments inflicted on notorious drunkards; though some say he would drink plentifully himself of wormwood wine. He was rather too penurious, and more swayed by the counsels of his mother, wife, and sister, than by those of his great pâshâs [a].

SECT. XIV.

The Reign of Mohammed III.

Sol'ân Mohammed III. THE first step Mohammed took on his arrival at Constantinople, was to secure himself in the throne by the slaughter of his nineteen brethren. The Christian historians say, that he invited them all to a feast, where, for their entertainment, they were strangled: that he was reported also to have caused ten of his father's wives and concubines, by whom any issue was to be feared, to be drowned in the sea: that a mutiny, raised by the janizaries, being appeased, there was a tent set up before Sancta Sophia, in which was placed the body of Morâd, with those of his murdered sons beside him; and after this cere-

[z] Cant. p. 235.

[a] Ricaut. in Amurat III.

(D) According to the Christian writers, on the 18th of January, 1596, after he had lived fifty-one, or fifty-two years as others say, and reigned nineteen. They add, that his death was attended with so sudden and terrible a storm at Constantinople, that many thought the world was at an end.

mony,

mony, there was another tumult of the janizaries, which might have coſt the new proclaimed emperor and all his court their lives, had not it been appeaſed by the prudence and credit of the prime wazîr.

Confederacy againſt him.

The emperor Rodolph II. having entered into a confederacy with the princes of Tranſilvania, Walakhia, and Moldavia, made divers ſucceſsful incurſions into the Turkiſh dominions. The Imperialiſts recovered Weitze; defeated four thouſand Turks near Raab, or Javarin; the Walakhians ſeized upon all the treaſures of Sinân Pâſhâ; in conjunction with the Tranſilvanians, took from them Pondeſia, Nikopolis, Killa, and Rebnikhi; routed twelve thouſand Tatars, and afterwards ſlew eight thouſand of them, as they were on their march to join Bogdân, who was ſent from the Porte to diſpoſſeſs the old vayvod. As for Aaron, vayvod of Moldavia, he defeated the Tatars in three battles, ſlew twelve thouſand of them, and drove the reſt out of his country. Soon after this expulſion, he took Bender, Schinitz, Tigna, Mekhnis, and other places, with the country of Bobraga, from the Turks, and ſlew eight thouſand of them under Janicula, the ſon of Bogdân.

Calamities in Turkey.

The Porte uſed all their artifices to break this confederacy among the Chriſtian princes, at the ſame time that they made great preparations for war. At this juncture moſt places in Hungary poſſeſſed by the Turks laboured under a grievous famine, inſomuch that the Tatar women who followed the camp were forced to eat their own children. This famine was attended by a terrible plague, of which daily great numbers died: ſo that of eighty-five thouſand Tatars, who the year before came into Hungary, ſcarce eight thouſand were left alive. As an addition to theſe calamities, the Turks continually ſuſtained freſh damage from the confederates. Michael, vayvod of Walakhia, entering their frontiers, ſurpriſed Schimele, with its caſtle, the port of Oroſiga, where were the Turkiſh magazines full of proviſions, Kilek, Galempe, with the ſtrong caſtle of St. George, and then beſieged Laganok.

The emperor's forces

While the emperor endeavoured to gain the Poles to his ſide, two Turkiſh ambaſſadors, ſent to croſs his deſigns, were ſlain in Walakhia, without the privity of the vayvod. Rodolph at length, with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral other princes, brought into the field an army of ſeventy thouſand five hundred men, fifteen thouſand five hundred whereof were cavalry, under the command of the archduke Mathias, and many other brave generals. At the

ſame

same time a great body of Turks, commanded by the pâshâ of Buda, was overthrown near Temeswaer. Ferhad Pâshâ, entering Walakhia with another body, was routed by the lord Nadasti, and eight thousand slain. In the interim Sigismond, prince of Transilvania, having, by intercepted letters and otherwise, just grounds to suspect that the vayvod of Moldavia not only held intelligence with the Poles, and cardinal Bathori, his rival, but also endeavoured clandestinely to make a peace with Mohammed, caused him to be seized, with his wife and son, whom he sent prisoners to Prague, placing in his room Stephen Rozwan.

Sigismond's fidelity.

During these troubles, three Chaush arrived in Transilvania, as ambassadors to Sigismond, exhorting him to return under the protection of the Porte, and give the Turkish forces a passage through his country into Hungary. On these conditions the soltân promised to forgive all past injuries, and that the vayvod should enjoy the three principalities of Transilvania, Walakhia, and Moldavia, as his own inheritance, free from tribute: but his future behaviour shewed that the offers were not accepted. The Turks were in general so discontented with this war, that it is said Waswode Giezi, one of the old janizaries, had the boldness to tell the soltân, that his ministers had imposed on him, and made him dishonourably violate the peace; that the conquest of Christendom was so far from following the taking of Raab, which Sinân Pâshâ had bought, he said, with money, not reduced by force, that Transilvania, Walakhia, and Moldavia, the granaries of the Othmân empire, were shut up, so that no provisions could come as usual, either from the East or West by the Danube, while his mighty army would perish in Hungary for want of bread [b].

Gran invested.

But to return to the war. On the first of July, count Mansfield, by making a feint to besiege Dotis, came suddenly, and encamped with his army under the walls of Gran, before the garrison knew any thing of his march. Hereupon the Turks burnt the suburbs, and St. Thomas's fort under the hill, which the count repaired; besieging the city so straitly, that the pâshâ of Buda failed in three attempts to throw in supplies. On the other hand, the Germans were repulsed several times at the breaches. However, the count, having built a fort on St. Thomas's hill, greatly annoyed the upper town from thence; while

[b] Ricaut. in Mahomet III.

count

count Palfi took Gokaza, on the Danube, oppoſite to Gran, after a ſtout reſiſtance. The prince of Tranſilvania had for ſome time prevented the pâſhâ of Temeſwaer from going to its relief, by making a ſhew of beſieging that city: but on the 2d of Auguſt, came the pâſhâ of Buda with twenty thouſand men, and encamped within four miles of the Chriſtians.

The Turks defeated.

The Turks, encouraged by ſome ſmall advantages in ſkirmiſhing, reſolved to force their way into the city, while the Chriſtians, drawing up in order of battle, gave them leave to advance to their very trenches. Mean while Palfi, with his Hungarian horſe, and Swertzenburg with his men, fetching a compaſs, ſo incloſed the Turks behind, that they could not retreat without danger. Hereupon a fierce battle began, in which, though it laſted but half an hour, ſeveral thouſand Turks were ſlain, and the reſt flying, were almoſt all cut off by Palfi and Swertzenburg; ſo that they loſt fourteen thouſand men in this action, and twenty-ſeven colours, with great riches, beſides great ſtores in their camp. The pâſhâ himſelf with great difficulty eſcaped to Buda.

Gran ſurrendered.

The batteries being renewed, the lower town was, on the 13th of Auguſt, taken by aſſault, and all put to the ſword, except Ali Beg, the governor, and ſome others. This lord, while the Hungarians fell to plunder, got into the upper town and caſtle, againſt which the beſiegers turned their batteries; and the archduke coming to the ſiege, on the death of count Mansfield at Komorra, ſeveral aſſaults were given; but not with ſucceſs. However, the old governor being ſlain, and the pâſhâ of Buda defeated a ſecond time by a detachment of eight thouſand men, the pâſhâ of Anatolia capitulated for the garriſon to march out with their ſwords, and as much goods as they could carry on their backs.

Other ſucceſſes.

In September following Vicegrade was taken by eighteen thouſand forces. Neither was the prince of Tranſilvania idle all this while: for the prince of Alba Julia, or Weiſenburg, being to be married to Maria Chriſtina, daughter of the late archduke Charles, the Turks drew thirty thouſand men together, with a deſign to be unwelcome gueſts at this wedding. Sigiſmond, who was aware of this, having made due proviſion for their reception, fell upon, and ſlew moſt of them; then taking Fagiat, he put all to the ſword. About the ſame time the Tranſilvanians routed ten thouſand Turks, who were marching to relieve that place, and ſo purſued the victory, that the

pâſhâ

pâshâ was glad to escape with five hundred men only. Lippa also fell into their hands; while the Turks and Tatars were baffled in their design upon Batoska, and defeated in battle.

Sinân Pâshâ defeated.

Soltân Mohammed, vexed at these successes of his enemies, put Ferhâd Pâshâ to death, and sent old Sinân to reduce the three revolted countries, who, passing the Danube with a puissant army, was immediately attacked. The Transilvanians were obliged thrice to retire; but being reinforced, maintained the battle from morning till night, when the Turks retreated, after the loss of many thousands, besides the spoil; Sinân himself escaping with great difficulty. About the same time the pâshâ of Bosnia, with twenty thousand men, invading Kroatia, was overthrown, and most of his soldiers were slain by the Imperialists; who, pursuing the chace, took fifteen villages and the castle of Varvivar. After this exploit, their forces increasing, they returned; and, on the 15th of September, besieged Petrina, or Petrowina; but met with such loss and opposition in the assault, that they resolved to return to Siseg. In the interim a horseman, flying from the enemy to the camp, informed the Christians, that Rustan Beg, the governor, was dead of his wound, and the garrison so discouraged, that, in case they returned, the Turks would on sight of them abandon the town; a piece of intelligence which accordingly proved true [c].

Kroatia invaded.

Sinân retreats.

Luckily about this time the Zakulians, who dwell to the north-east of Transilvania, throwing off the Turkish yoke, put themselves under the protection of Sigismond; obliging themselves to bring into the field forty thousand men in their own pay. The young prince, being now eighty thousand strong, advanced to oppose Sinân Pâshâ; who having passed the Danube over a bridge of boats, with seventy thousand choice soldiers, marched to Tergovista in Walakhia. The Turks were so discouraged at his approach, that, leaving their tents, ordnance, and baggage behind, they fled to Bukhoreſt (E). Sigismond hereupon storming the place, took it, with the castle, and put the garrison of four thousand men to the sword, excepting Hassan Pâshâ, the governor. A reinforcement of four thousand Turks arriving, in expectation of finding Sinân with his army, were cut to pieces.

Tergovista stormed.

[c] Ricaut, ubi supra.

(E) Capital of Walakhia.

From

From hence the prince marching to Bukhoreſt, found it abandoned by the enemy; who, endeavouring in haſte to repaſs the Danube, were ſlain or drowned in vaſt numbers: then laying ſiege to Zorga, he took it, with the loſs of about two hundred and fifty Chriſtians; whereas of the Turks and Tatars, between the 18th and laſt of October, there periſhed above twenty-ſix thouſand; after which ſucceſs the prince returned to Alba Julia. At the ſame time that Sinân was ſent to attack Tranſilvania, the khân of Krîm Tartary was ordered to invade Moldavia, and make Sudriak vayvod; but being come to the frontiers with ſeventy thouſand troops, his paſſage was oppoſed by Zamoſki, the great chancellor of Poland; who, after the khân, by agreement with him, had returned home, out of envy to Sigiſmond's good fortune, entering Moldavia, quickly poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole country, expelled the vayvod Stephen, and placed Jeremy, under the protection of Poland, in his room. However, he at the ſame time ſent a meſſenger to Sinân Pâſhâ, then at Tergoviſta, promiſing that Moldavia ſhould ſtill remain tributary to the ſoltân, and the arrears be paid by the new vayvod; who immediately opening three ways for the Tatars into Tranſilvania, Sigiſmond ſent the late vayvod Stephen, with ſome forces, to drive out the Poles; but he was overthrown by them in a bloody battle, and being taken priſoner, was afterwards put to death.

Bukhoreſt abandoned.

Moldavia reduced.

Beſides the events already related, many other actions of leſs importance happened this year between the Turks and confederates, almoſt every where to the diſadvantage of the former. To augment their uneaſineſs in Aſia, the Georgians took up arms againſt them, and the old king of Perſia being dead, they were not a little apprehenſive of the reſentment of his ſon and ſucceſſor, on account of paſt injuries.

Affairs of Aſia.

In the beginning of the year 1596, while the prince of Tranſilvania was at Prague in Bohemia, to confer with the emperor about the management of the war, the Zakulians, or Siculi, whoſe privileges had been infringed in an aſſembly of the ſtates, which met in December, took up arms in defence of their rights; but ſeveral of the ringleaders being taken and put to death, the reſt were obliged to ſubmit. About the ſame time ten thouſand Raſcians revolting from the Turks, engaged in the ſervice of Sigiſmond.

The Zakulians revolt.

Mean while the plague and famine beginning to ceaſe at Conſtantinople, Mohammed ordered war to be proclaimed

War proclaimed.

claimed there for three days succeſſively againſt the emperor and prince of Tranſilvania; declaring, that he would march in perſon with his army into Hungary: but before he got thither, many actions paſſed between the Turks and Imperialiſts. Lippa was beſieged by forty thouſand Turks and Tatars; but ſix thouſand Hungarians from Lugos, ſent out to plunder, having ſet fire to the ſuburbs of Temeſwaer, in the abſence of the pâſhâ, who commanded at the ſiege, the flame being ſeen in the camp before Lippa, ſo terrified the Turks, that they preſently raiſed the ſiege, leaving all their baggage behind them. However, they had the good luck to recover Kliſſa, in Dalmatia, through the negligence of the Chriſtians, who but a little before had taken it from them. On the other hand, the Heydûks took Plenia, a little town not far from Nyſſa; and count Palfi the caſtle of Sambok, between Buda and Alba Regalis.

Lippa beſieged.

Temeſwar beſieged.

By this time the prince of Tranſilvania, having raiſed a good army, laid ſiege to Temeſwaer; but on the approach of forty thouſand Turks and Tatars to its relief, he roſe and met them with his forces; whence enſued a terrible battle, for a long time doubtful; but at length the Othmâns were routed; yet coming to relieve the place a ſecond time with greater force, the ſiege was raiſed.

Hatwan taken.

At length the imperial army, amounting to ſixty thouſand, being come to Komorra, on the 24th of July, advanced towards Vakhia, which the Turks abandoned; and on the arrival of Maximilian of Auſtria, the captain-general, in the camp, laid ſiege to Hatwan in Upper Hungary, about the middle of Auguſt. They were much incommoded by the vigorous ſallies of the garriſon; but at length, having attacked the town at five ſeveral breaches, they, after three hours ſharp conflict, entered by force, and ſlew all they met for four hours together, amounting to four thouſand Turks, while the Chriſtians loſt only three hundred. The Walloons were ſo barbarous as to rip children out of their mothers wombs, and flay people of both ſexes alive, to make thongs of their ſkins [d].

Hejr. 1003. A.D. 1595.

Soltan Mohammed beſieges Agra and takes it.

The Turkiſh hiſtorians before us omit all the foregoing tranſactions of Mohammed's reign, paſſing at once from the ſlaughter of his nineteen brothers to the ſiege of Egra, or Agria, which preſents itſelf next to our view. They tell us, that as ſoon as the ſoltân had eſtabliſhed his em-

[d] Ricaut. ibid.

pire

pire by that fratricide, he turned his thoughts to finish the war in Hungary, with a view to give himself up to repose, of which he was very fond. Accordingly, next year he marched with a great army into Hungary, and besieged Egra, in vain attempted by his predecessors; and so harrassed the garrison with frequent assaults, that, despairing of relief, they at length surrendered the town; from whence he got the name of Egra. A.D. 1595.

The Christian writers more particularly inform us, that Mohammed arrived early in September at Buda, with an army of about two hundred thousand men, and three hundred field-pieces. The garrison of Hatwan, lately taken, were so terrified at the number of the enemy, that they deserted the place; nay, they were not without apprehensions for Vienna, and therefore employed all hands in fortifying it; but Agria, called also Erlau, being the city which Mohammed had his eye upon, after detaching forty thousand men to Temeswaer, he sat down before it on the 21st of the same month, and presently raising five mounts, battered it with great fury. The besieged finding, after six days assault, that they could keep the town no longer, set it on fire, and retired with their effects into the castle. This had a strong bulwark adjoining to it, which the Turks assaulted twelve times in one day, and took, though with incredible loss.

The soltân being informed that the Imperial army approached, used double diligence to fill up the ditch of the old castle; which aim, having at length, with no small difficulty, effected, the Turks, on the 10th of October, made four desperate assaults upon it, but were still repulsed; however, in a fifth attack, they entered, and put all to the sword. There now remained only the new castle, which the Turks began to undermine in several places. Hereupon the soldiers mutinied against their governors, and deserted, many of them to the enemy; so that this important place was given up, on condition that the garrison, amounting to about two thousand men, might depart with their baggage, and swords by their sides. However, they were in their march set upon by the Turks, and cut to pieces. Some of them were flayed alive, and others dismembered, their executioners reproaching them, and saying, that no faith ought to be kept with miscreants, who had so cruelly dealt with the people of Hatwan. However, it was reported, that the soltân ordered some of the chief authors to be put to

death, and the prisoners to be set at liberty by proclamation [e].

His camp forced.

Let us now return to the Turkish historians. The soltân, unable to make any farther progress, as winter approached, returned with his army; but on his route an army of Christians suddenly appeared, and so furiously attacked the camp of the Othmâns, that, not able to stand the shock, they were forced to give ground. The Germans penetrated as far as the tents where the royal treasures were kept, and broke open the coffers; but here, surprised at the immense riches, they sacrificed their glory to their avarice; for the soltân perceiving them intent on the spoil, attacked them first with only his courtiers, and slew upon the very treasures those who had imagined the Othmâns entirely routed. The rest of the army, admonished by the emperor's example, rallied; and so bravely charged the enemy, that not a man of those who had entered the camp escaped the sword [f].

Battle of Karesta lost through covetousness.

This is the Turkish account, but that of the Christians robs the soltân of all his glory; for they tell us, that the Imperialists, having routed great part of his army near Karesta, and taken one hundred and ninety pieces of cannon, Mohammed was so terrified, that he fled with Ibrahîm Pâsha to Agria. The enemy, not being vigorously pursued, rallied again, and came on with fifty thousand men; but they were charged so furiously by the Imperialists, that most of them were slain, and the rest put to flight. The like success the Christians had elsewhere; but pursuing the enemy into their very camp, and beginning to plunder, contrary to orders, met with a strong squadron surrounding the tent which contained the soltân's treasure. Here meeting with great opposition, and Sigâla Pâshâ coming on with his fresh troops, they were seized with such a panic, that they fled full speed different ways, though none pursued them, nor could be rallied by all the art of their commanders. Thus one of the greatest victories that ever the Christians obtained, was snatched out of their hands by the covetousness of the Hungarians, and cowardice of the German horse. In this famous battle, the Imperialists lost twenty thousand men, and the Turks sixty thousand. They lost seven thousand more in their way home by the Transilvanians and Walakhians, who attacked them at difficult passes.

[e] Ricaut in Mahomet III. [f] Cant. p. 236.

The

The Turkiſh hiſtorians ſpeak of nothing more in Mohammed's reign, but of his peace with the Imperialiſts; which they ſeem to make the immediate conſequence of his ſucceſs in Hungary, although it did not take effect till ſeven years after this campaign, that is, a little before his death; wherefore we muſt fill up the chaſm wholly from the Chriſtian hiſtorians.

Walakhia revolts.

While the ſoltân was engaged in the reduction of Agria, the pâſhâ of Boſnia beſieged Petrinia in Kroatia; but the lord of Herberſtein, defeating firſt ſix thouſand and then eight thouſand troops, came and relieved it. Nothing was done in the year 1597 worth notice, only in Auguſt the Imperialiſts took Pappa (F); and ſoon after the caſtle of Dotis was reduced by the Turks. The confederacy alſo was weakened by the defection of Mikhael, vayvod of Walakhia; who, to prevent farther ravages made by the enemy, ſubmitted once more to the ſoltân; yet, under pretence that he could not truſt the Tatars, ſtill kept garriſons in his frontier places, and ſent no aid againſt the emperor ε.

A.D. 1598.

Tranſilvania ſurrendered.

Next year, Sigiſmond, the brave prince of Tranſilvania, finding himſelf deſerted by his neighbour, and fearing the growing power of the Turks, made a voluntary reſignation of his country to the emperor, who beſtowed on him the duchies of Oppel and Ratibor, in Sileſia, a penſion, and ſome other conſiderations. The Tatars alſo made peace with Rodolph, on payment of forty thouſand ducats yearly penſion. Mean while two Italian priſoners, eſcaped from Raab, having diſcovered the ill ſtate of that city to lord Swartzenberg at Komorra, he, in conjunction with count Palfi, ſet out on the 27th of March, with a good body of horſe and foot, towards Raab; and, approaching ſilently in the night, found the draw-bridge down, and the port-culliſſes up, waiting for ſome waggons with proviſions. Then having ſoon battered down the gate, and ſome part of the wall, they boldly entered.

Raab ſurpriſed.

They were firſt oppoſed by two hundred Turks, and then by the pâſhâ with two thouſand more; who fell on with extreme fury, and fought for two hours, till being ſlain, his men began to retire; but then Jâffer Paſhâ advancing with one thouſand ſoldiers more, and the

ε Ricaut. in Mahomet III.

(F) A ſtrong place to the north-weſt of Alba Regalis, and ſouth-weſt of Raab.

inhabitants of the place, forced the Imperialists back to the very gate by which they entered. Yet disdaining to be driven out again, they here most valiantly renewed the fight; and this pâshâ happening also to fall, most of his followers retreated farther into the city. However, three hundred of them creeping under one of the bulwarks where there were some barrels of powder, desperately set it on fire, and, together with themselves, blew up three hundred of their foes, who had not lost above two hundred before. The slaughter continued all that day till night, and the victors got a very rich booty, besides ninety pieces of cannon, with great store of ammunition and corn.

Buda attempted.

The march of the Othmân forces being delayed by a dissension which happened between the janizaries and spahis, count Palsi, in October, took St. Gerard's Fort, and then battered Buda with sixteen pieces of cannon; which soon obliged the Turks to retire out of the city into the castle. This the besiegers vigorously assaulted, but in vain. They next attempted mining; but being countermined, gave over, and made a general assault; but they were repulsed with the loss of two hundred men; while the Turks, making a sally, were almost all cut off. However, the count being informed that relief was coming to the place, thought fit to withdraw from before it.

Turks besiege Waradin.

The Turkish army, being now arrived in Upper Hungary, under the command of Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, laid siege to the strong town of Waradin, whose garrison made several successful sallies; but were at length reduced from two thousand to seven hundred men. Hereupon lieutenant-general Basta marched with some forces, and advanced briskly towards the besiegers, as if he really intended to fight them; but while they were busy in ranging themselves in order of battle, he, by another way, dexterously threw eight hundred men into the city, and presently retreated to his trenches. The Turks were so discouraged by being thus outwitted, and with the foul weather, that they soon after raised the siege; while the Imperialists ravaged their territories in Lower Hungary as far as the gates of Buda.

Their fleet at sea.

During these transactions by land, Mohammed sent Sigâla Pâshâ, his admiral, with a great fleet to sea. Sigâla being arrived on the coast of Sicily, and desirous to see the lady Lucretia, his mother, who lived in Messina, requested the viceroy to send her on board, promising to remit her safe back, and to depart without committing any hostilities; which engagement, after entertaining her a whole day with great honour, he punctually performed. There

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is nothing elſe memorable in relation to the Turks this year, either by ſea or land, only Mikhael, the vayvod of Walakhia, who was now come over again to the emperor's ſide, being reſolved to attempt the reduction of Niſſa, in Bulgaria, ſet men to work to make a bridge over the Danube for the paſſage of his troops. Herein being diſturbed by the pâſhâs of Siliſtria and Badoua, the vayvod overthrew them. Then paſſing the river with all his forces, Niſſa ſurrendered to him as ſoon as he inveſted it. In the beginning of the ſucceeding year he made ſeveral inroads into the Turkiſh territories, and carried off a vaſt booty. *Niſſa taken.* A.D. 1599.

Mean while, the free Heydûks of Walakhia, paſſing the Danube, defeated the pâſhâ of Anatolia with great ſlaughter: another pâſhâ with three thouſand men, ſent to reinforce the caſtle of Buda, was likewiſe overthrown by a detachment of Hungarians. After this tranſaction, the pâſhâ himſelf, going out of the city to protect a convoy of proviſion, was ſurpriſed by ſome Heydûks, and taken priſoner, after a ſharp conflict, wherein his ſon and the aga of the janizaries loſt their lives. Hereupon the pâſhâ of Boſnia marched at the head of ten thouſand Turks, in order to open the paſſes by driving from thence the Heydûks, who diligently guarded them: but theſe latter, meeting the enemy in an advantageous poſt, routed them with great ſlaughter, the pâſhâ himſelf being ſlain. However, the Tatars held on their way to Buda, with a deſign to ravage the country, and draw the Imperialiſts farther from the city; which they in a manner blocked up; but were quickly defeated by Swartzenburg's ſingle regiment, and moſt of them either ſlain, or drowned in the Danube [h]. *Heydûks ſucceſsful.*

By this time Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, the Othmân general, arrived at Solnokh with fifty thouſand men, whereof ten thouſand were janizaries; but hearing that Baſta had advanced to Kaſſova, he retreated again to Belgrade; there to wait for a great fleet of ſhips coming up the Danube with proviſions and ſtores for the army, Buda, and other diſtreſſed places, under the guard of five thouſand Turks. Palſi being informed of this convoy, ſent a body of ſoldiers to intercept them; which they did, and, ſinking the ſhips, took a booty computed to be worth a million of gold, including one hundred thouſand dollars, which were divided among the ſoldiers. The Chriſtians, on this ſucceſs, over-ran the enemy's country every where; while the Turks in Buda were ſo terrified, that they abandoned the city, and re- *Exploit of Palſi.*

[h] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

tired into the castle. At length, towards the end of summer, Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, arrived at Buda, and made some overtures of peace; but insisting on unreasonable terms, the treaty broke off, and the war continued to rage, though nothing farther of moment passed this year.

Transilvania recovered.

We must however observe, that Sigismond, breaking his late agreement with the emperor, returned about the beginning of the year to Transilvania, and insisted on new terms, which were granted; yet at the same time he made an agreement with cardinal Bathori to resign the possession to him, under the protection of the soltân, to whom he became tributary. Mikhael, vayvod of Walakhia, alarmed at this change, which foreboded no good to him, with the assistance of the emperor, under whose protection he was, in October entered Transilvania with sixty thousand men, overthrew and killed the cardinal, aided by thirty thousand Turks, and recovered the country from the hands of the Othmâns.

Rebellion in Asia at length suppressed.

This disaster aggravated the uneasiness given the Porte by the rebellion of Kusahin, pâshâ of Karamania; who, with three thousand musketeers, and five thousand horse, defeated ten thousand troops under four sanjâks; and, having subdued almost the whole province, at length took Ikonium. Upon this success he gave out, that before it was long he would besiege Constantinople itself, and reform the government; charging the soltân with cowardice, and his ministers with corruption. Hereupon Mohammed, son of Sinân, one of the wazîr pâshâs, was sent against him with all the force that could be raised; but not choosing to hazard a battle with so resolute a man, he endeavoured to corrupt the enemy's infantry; and so far succeeded, that Kusahin fled with the horse, and those belonging to Simeon the Georgian, who had joined him,

A.D. 1600.

into Arabia. Mohammed followed him as far as Hâlep, where he wintered. Mean while, Kusahîn, having assembled a considerable force, returned next year, and prepared to give the pâshâ battle; but the latter resolving to try first what could be done by artifice, published a general pardon for all who would submit. This had the desired effect on the rebels, who, now enriched with booty, for the most part returned home to enjoy in safety what they had obtained with so much hazard; so that at length their leader was taken and put to death at Constantinople with exquisite torments.

To

To return to the war in Hungary. While the emperor was making preparations, one thouſand two hundred French and Walloons, in garriſon at Pappa, mutinied for want of pay; and even agreed to deliver the place to the Turks, provided they would diſburſe the money; but they were at laſt forced to abandon it, although the brave count Swartzenburg was unfortunately ſlain in the ſiege. As yet, neither the Turks nor Chriſtians had no conſiderable army in the field: however, many little incurſions and ſkirmiſhes happened between them. Among the reſt the free Heydûks ſurpriſed Giula, and ſet it on fire; in which confuſion the Turks, flying into the caſtle, thruſt one another over the bridge into the ditch, where a great number were drowned. *French and Walloons mutiny.*

At length Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, towards the latter end of Auguſt ſetting out from Belgrade with an army of two hundred thouſand ſtrong, marched towards Kaniſſia; and, having taken the fortreſs of Babotſka in the way, laid ſiege to that ſtrong town, in order to prevent the troubleſome incurſions of its garriſon, and open a free paſſage into Auſtria. The place ſtanding in an iſle encompaſſed with a marſh, the Turks began to fill up the latter with faggots and earth, a work which they effected at length in ſpite of the cannon; but endeavouring to get into the iſland, they met with ſuch a reception from the garriſon, as conſtrained them to retire with loſs. Next day, as they prepared to renew their attempt, the Imperial army, conſiſting of forty thouſand men under the command of duke Mercury, appeared in their rear; which they cannonaded. Hereupon, Ibrâhîm drawing up his forces, a bloody fight enſued; but while victory ſeemed to incline to the Imperialiſts, the night came on, and interrupted the action. *Kaniſſia beſieged and taken.*

Next day the Turks would have renewed the battle, but the Chriſtians, now at variance among themſelves, kept their trenches; and being afterwards diſtreſſed by the loſs of proviſions, which, in coming to their camp, fell into the hands of the Tatars, they marched off in the night; yet not ſo ſilently, but that the Turks, perceiving it, cut off three thouſand of them, and took ſome cannon, with moſt of their baggage. The Turks returned with more vigour to the ſiege, and the garriſon, finding themſelves out of all hope of relief, obliged Paraliſer and ſome other officers to capitulate. Accordingly the town was, on the 22d of October, ſurrendered; and the garriſon ſafely conducted over the Murr.

The country ravaged.

After this success, the Turks ravaged the adjacent country; on which occasion the inhabitants having fled, Ibrâhîm invited them to return, with a promise that they should pay no tribute for three years. He wrote also to count Serini, who was a great sufferer on this occasion, exhorting him to recover his losses by the soltân's protection; but receiving no answer, he returned to Belgrade. Mohammed was so well pleased with this important service, that he sent the general a robe of cloth of gold, and a truncheon set with precious stones; though he did not long enjoy that honour, for he died in the beginning of the next year. However, the soltân's joy was allayed by news from Asia; for after Kusahin's death, Skrivano, an intimate friend of his, took the cause upon him, and in a short time became very formidable. Against him Mohammed Pâshâ, marching with all his power, received a total overthrow. Neither was the soltân less mortified with his ill success in Persia; where his ambassador, having required one of the king's sons in hostage for the peace, was severely bastinadoed for that insolent demand, and hardly escaped being put to death.

Affairs of Asia.

A.D. 1601. The emperor having at length, in 1601, assembled a considerable army in Hungary, under the command of duke Mercury, the campaign was begun with the siege of Alba Regalis. Being informed by a deserter, that the broad lake on the other side that city was fordable, whatever the Turks and others thought to the contrary, he sent Rosworm with one thousand soldiers, who, with each a faggot on his back, got over the lake, though with incredible difficulty from the mud, flags, and height of the water. Of this passage the duke being apprised by a signal, with great vigour attacked the other side; and while the Turks flocked thither to defend the place, Rosworm, scaling the walls, got into the suburbs; from whence without resistance the Turks fled into the city, with the Imperialists at their heels, making a great slaughter. At the same time the duke took the suburbs which lay next to him; and next day the city itself by storm. The enemy retired to their houses, many of which they had undermined, and blew themselves up, with such Christians as were near them; so that the church, palace, and most of the houses, were ruined. The pâshâ after this assault surrendered; and the Walloons got most of the booty, to the great vexation of the Germans [i].

Alba Regalis taken by the Germans.

[i] Ricaut, ubi supra.

In

In the mean time, Haſſan, the new Turkiſh general, continued his march towards Alba Regalis, which he hoped to find unprovided for defence. But being met by the duke with twenty thouſand men, he was defeated, though much ſuperior in number, with the loſs of ſix thouſand; among whom were the pâſhâ of Buda, ſix ſanjâks, and ſeveral other officers of note. The victory would have been more complete, had not a great body of Tatars appeared in the rear of the Imperialiſts, and given the Turks an opportunity to reſtore their diſordered ranks. *The Turks defeated.*

At the ſame time that duke Mercury ſat down before Alba Regalis, the archduke Ferdinand, with an army of thirty thouſand ſtrong, laid ſiege to Kaniſſia. Notwithſtanding the marſh, which ſurrounded the place, they carried their trenches cloſe to the ditch, and then ſummoned the garriſon; who, though preſſed with want, refuſed to ſurrender, eſpecially the renegade Walloons. In conſequence of this refuſal, the Imperialiſts prepared for the aſſault; but the bridge proving too ſhort to paſs the ditch, they were obliged to defer it. In the interim, the Italians, murmuring for want of pay, marched off; but on the 4th of November, Roſſworm arriving from duke Mercury, with a reinforcement of eight thouſand men, they renewed their attempts, and muſt have carried the place at laſt, had not the north wind, at the end of that month, blown ſuch a quantity of ſnow into the camp, that the whole army ſeemed buried in it, and no fewer than one thouſand five hundred men were frozen to death, beſides three hundred horſes; whereupon it was thought fit to raiſe the ſiege. *Kaniſſia beſieged.*

Let us now ſee how matters ſtood with the Turks in Aſia. The ſkrivano, having by his actions laſt year grown into great credit with the people, appeared again in the field againſt Mohammed Pâſhâ; who attacked him with an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, but was overthrown with great ſlaughter. After this victory, the rebel ravaged the country to the gates of Hâlep, cauſing himſelf to be proclaimed the true defender of the Mohammedan faith, and liberty of thoſe countries aſſociated with him. At length, Mohammed being furniſhed with a greater army than he had before, the ſkrivano, preſuming upon his former ſucceſſes, met him, and was at the firſt obliged to give way; but having rallied his troops, he returned a ſecond time to the charge, and put the pâſhâ's troops into confuſion, with great ſlaughter. However, not thinking proper to venture too far, *The Aſian rebel gains a victory.*

far, he retired to the mountains, content with what he had done for that time.

Janizaries mutiny. The plague raged severely this year at Constantinople, and in other parts of the Othman empire; at which time the janizaries having been affronted by some of the soltân's favourites, obliged their aga to go to the palace and demand their heads. Mohammed, offended at this insolence, ordered the spahis to cut him in pieces; which execution the janizaries revenged on them. This broil would have proceeded much farther, had not Sigâla Pâshâ appeased their fury with a great sum of money.

Alba Regalis besieged. Besides the rencounters in Walakhia between the vayvods Radol and Jeremy, with which last the Turks sided, and were worsted, they also received several small losses in Hungary; but at length, on the 10th of August, Hassan Pâshâ, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, invested Alba Regalis. As the arch-duke Mathias had notice of his coming from Ali Pâshâ, who was taken by the Heydûks, the governor Ysolan got thither in
A.D. 1602. time. The Turks having battered the walls with incredible fury, and filled the marsh and the ditches, they attacked and took the counterscarp, though with great loss of men. The Imperialists, returning soon after, drove them out again, with the slaughter of most who were in it; but the noise piercing to the Turkish camp, they poured down in such multitudes, that the besieged, fatigued with the slaughter of them, abandoned the place.

Mean while the governor sent to the arch-duke for speedy relief; but before it could arrive, the pâshâ, on the 29th of the same month, gave a terrible assault; with which the besieged were so weakened, the governor himself being dangerously wounded, that they capitulated, to be convoyed with the baggage and arms half-way to Raab. But the garrison beginning to pilfer the citizen's goods, that they might carry off the more with them, thirty thousand Tatars, followed by the Turks, immediately entered at the abandoned breach, and took that business out of their hands. Then, when there was no more spoil to be had, they drew their swords upon the inhabitants, nor ceased the slaughter till the pâshâ came in person to stop it. There were slain three thousand soldiers, besides citizens; and the captains, with the brave Ysolan, who were saved out of the massacre, led prisoners to Constantinople, whither the Turkish general, after ravaging the country, marched with his army.

Not

Not long after his departure, the Imperialiſts, to retrieve their diſgrace, to the number of thirty thouſand, deſcending the Danube towards Buda, broke down the bridge over the river from that city to Peſt, by running a ſhip againſt it: while the Turks ran in crouds out of the Water-city to defend it, count Schultz, by land, with a petard, blew up one of the gates of Lower Buda; then, entering and ſlaying all before him, fell on the backs of the Turks at the bridge, who were all ſlain or drowned. By a like device they took Peſt alſo; and, having garriſoned it, returned to beſiege the caſtle and upper city of Buda, whither all the Turks had fled. The Imperialiſts went on briſkly, both with battering and mining; but the news coming to Haſſân Pâſhâ's ears, he haſtily returned from Belgrade, with what forces he had then with him, and ſat down before Peſt; yet was not long there before he was obliged, for want of proviſion, to march back again. Preſently after, count Nadaſti, with five thouſand men, went down the Danube, and without much difficulty took the towns of Adom and Feldwar. *Peſt taken.*

In the mean time the beſiegers, having intelligence that the Turks had aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand men to relieve the place, drew together into the Water-town. Upon this motion, the Turkiſh garriſon took poſſeſſion of their trenches and tents; but, after holding them for two hours, were beaten back into the city. Mean while a ſtrong tower next the Danube being battered down, the beſiegers prepared to enter the breach a little before night; when ſuddenly there aroſe ſuch a ſtorm of wind and rain, that they could not uſe their arms. This, with the ſallies made by the Turks after the ſtorm, gave the beſieged an opportunity to repair their breaches; and advice arriving at the ſame time, that the Tatars had paſſed Temeſwaer, in order to relieve Buda, the Imperialiſts thought fit to raiſe the ſiege. They likewiſe abandoned Adom, and left a garriſon of ten thouſand men in Peſt. *Buda beſieged.*

While theſe events happened in Hungary, the ſkrivano, growing ſtronger and ſtronger, over-ran a great part of the Othmân dominions in Aſia. However, happening to die this year, a younger brother of his, no leſs warlike, took the command, and proſecuted the war with much vigour. Againſt him the ſoltân ſent Haſſan Pâſhâ, with a great army; but, coming to a battle, he was, after a bloody fight, ſlain, with moſt of his forces. Hereupon, the rebel ranging the country, ſeized the tribute of it, and exacted three hundred thouſand ducats from the city of Anguri, *Affairs of Aſia.*

guri, or Ancyra, and the adjacent territories; by which methods he raised a great fund for support of his war, while the Tatars in Europe ravaged the frontiers of the emperor's dominions.

A.D 1603. The year 1603 was ushered in by so intense a frost, that the Danube seemed to be wholly converted into ice: yet the Turks, having drawn eighteen thousand men out of the garrisons, prepared to make incursions: but Colonitz, the emperor's governor in those parts of Hungary, assembled a good body of men in the suburbs of Quermany, and made such preparations every where else for their reception, that they seemed to be over-awed by his vigilance and activity. About this time the garrisons of Gran and Komorra took two hundred waggons with provisions going to Alba Regalis; and, though inferior in number, cut all the convoy of six thousand Turks to pieces. The garrison of Buda, understanding what had happened, and that the provision designed for their relief was lost, animated with hunger and revenge, fell upon the victors with such fury, that they put them to flight, and recovered the waggons. But see the vicissitude of human affairs: the Turks had not been long masters of their store, before two thousand of the garrison of Pest, having way-laid them near a forest, unexpectedly charged them, and made them quit their possession, after a smart conflict. Several other adventures happened between the garrisons of Pest and Buda, who, though the frost continued, frequently cannonaded each other; on which occasion the powder in the latter place happening to take fire, blew up part of the city wall.

War in Hungary and Walakhia.

While Radul, the vayvod of Walakhia, plundered the town of Silistria belonging to the Turks, Colonitz, who had lain in ambush three days for the convoy bound to Kanisia, at length discovering about six hundred men going from that garrison to meet it, inclosed them so suddenly with his soldiers, that scarce four of them escaped the sword: but three of their horse, for the rest fled, bravely ventured to pass by the Imperialists, to give the convoy warning of the enemy's approach. In consequence of this information, it returned to Babotz, which Colonitz resolved to attack; but although the assault was carried on with great bravery, yet for want of petards, scaling-ladders, and other necessary instruments, he was obliged to relinquish his design, and made a safe retreat to Komorra, notwithstanding the attempts of the enemy to cut off his communication with that city [k].

[k] Ricaut. ubi supr.

When

When Haſſan Pâſhâ, the prime wazîr, arrived at Conſtantinople, after the reduction of Alba Regalis, he was magnificently received by Mohammed, and reverenced by the people: but while he expected to be farther honoured with the marriage of the ſoltân's ſiſter, the janizaries and ſpahis, with the other guards, to the number of twenty-five thouſand, ſuddenly appeared in arms before the diwân, and demanded audience. As ſoon as their ring-leaders were admitted, they required that Haſſan ſhould be delivered up to them. The pâſhâ, hereupon ſtrangely diſmayed, paſſed through the raging multitude, in order to go to the ſaray, proteſting his innocence as he went along; but they, ſtopping him, with many reproaches, aſked him how it came to paſs, that, while he was in Hungary, the rebels in Aſia were neglected, ſo that now they were come within three days march of Conſtantinople? Haſſan anſwered, trembling, that, for his part he had done his duty in both places, and that the rebellion in Aſia was owing to the ill government of the ſoltân's mother and the kâpi aga. *The janizaries muting.*

The mutineers, being in ſome meaſure ſatisfied with this defence, ſuffered him to go to the palace, in order to obtain leave for them to ſpeak to the ſoltân, and prevail on him to ſend them the heads of the two parties whom he had thrown the blame upon, threatening otherwiſe to make him feel their reſentment. Mohammed, at the wazir's perſuaſion, accompanied by the mufti, ſome other eccleſiaſtics, and ſeveral pâſhâs, ſhewed himſelf to the ſoldiery; whoſe chief, ſtepping forward, deſired to know, why he did not reſcue the empire from the danger it was in; and whether he would not take care of the government, or leave every man to cut out for himſelf. Mohammed, though full of indignation, having anſwered mildly, that he had before reſolved to reform matters, and remove all cauſe of diſcontent, they demanded the heads of the queen-mother and kâpi aga; whom Haſſan, on farther interrogatories, again accuſed. At laſt, Mohammed being neceſſitated to give way, the kâpi aga, and other officers, were delivered up to them, whom they beheaded on the ſpot. As for the ſoltâna, they were content ſhe ſhould be confined; a meaſure which, for form's ſake, was promiſed, though not performed. *Officers ſacrificed.*

While theſe things paſſed at Conſtantinople, the rebels in Aſia made great progreſs. Their forces being grown numerous, they laid ſiege to Anguri; from which the citizens, in the abſence of the governor, ranſomed themſelves *Aſian rebels ſubmit on terms.*

ſelves for two hundred thouſand ducats. A new governor and other officers arriving from court, they, farther to fleece the inhabitants, would have imputed this compoſition with the rebels, as a crime worthy of death. Hereupon they, ſuddenly taking up arms, fell on the ſoldiery; and, after a great ſlaughter of them, drove the reſt out of the city. This broil encouraged the rebels, who being now forty thouſand ſtrong, under the command of a brother of the khân of the Tatars, laid ſiege to Burza (G), a great and rich city, as well as a magazine for military ſtores, which they took. Upon this ſucceſs, the governor of Bâghdâd joined their party, and the ſhâh of Perſia took Korbery, a frontier town; ſo that Mohammed, under all theſe diſaſters, was forced to ſue for peace to his rebellious ſubjects; which at length he obtained, by granting them all their demands, and making Zel Ali, one of their leaders, pâſhâ of Boſnia.

Conſpiracy diſcovered. But, in avoiding one danger, the ſoltân ran into another: for the ſoldiery, incenſed at this diſhonourable peace, and the preferment of ſeveral rebels, joined to his miſconduct and cruelties, conſpired to depoſe him. With this view, they engaged in their party the ſoltâna, mother of the young prince, whom they propoſed to ſet up in his father's room; but a letter ſent to her by an eunuch, relative to that affair, having been intercepted by the ſoltân, he put to death the young prince, his mother, and fifty of the conſpirators; together with the aſtrologer who had prognoſticated a fortunate iſſue to their enterprize.

Affairs of Hungary. In the interim, the Tatars, being refuſed paſſage by the Poles into Hungary, forced their way thither through Walakhia; and though they were frequently worſted, yet did great miſchief in that and the neighbouring provinces. The Imperialiſts, now under the brave Colonitz, took the caſtle of Loqua from the Turks; who alſo, deſerting that of Boulouvener, were ſurpriſed and overthrown. In Tranſilvania, they were forced to give up the caſtle of Solomoſe to Baſta, the emperor's lieutenant in that country; where the war went on with various fortune, till Zakel Moſes being defeated and ſlain in battle againſt the Walakhians, his death put an end to that diſpute; and ſoon after the troubles, in which that country had been involved, were brought to a period.

(K) This ſhould ſeem to be Burſa, or Pruſa, there being no other city in Anatolia, which hath any reſemblance of that name.

The

The Imperial forces under Ruſſworm being now arrived at Peſt, the Turkiſh army, one hundred thouſand ſtrong, came up and encamped in ſight of them on the other ſide of the Danube. About the ſame time a Turkiſh captain, flying from Alba Regalis to Raab, informed the governor, that he could put them in a way how to plunder the ſuburbs of that place, if not to take the town itſelf. Hereupon, the garriſons of Raab and Gran joining together, marched under the guidance of the deſerting officer, and ſurpriſed the ſuburbs, where they flew all who made any reſiſtance; and, having rifled the place, ſet it on fire: but, to counterpoiſe this good fortune, the Heydûks in garriſon at the caſtle of Adom, hearing that a great army of Turks were marching that way, ſet it on fire, and abandoned it. *Alba Regalis fired.*

The ſoltân finding that, notwithſtanding all the conceſſions which he had made to the rebels in Aſia, they could not be reduced to due bounds of obedience, and that the wars in which he was engaged greatly interrupted his pleaſures, reſolved to make peace with the emperor upon reaſonable terms. As the French ambaſſador was then treating about the liberty of count Yſolan, who had been taken laſt year at Alba Regalis, Mohammed ſet him at liberty, and gave him inſtructions to treat with the emperor about a peace, on condition, that if he did not ſucceed, he ſhould return to his captivity, for which the ambaſſador became his ſurety. At the ſame time, Ahmed Pâſhâ wrote to Colonitz, the Imperial general, to the like purpoſe; which letter being tranſmitted to the emperor, Colonitz was appointed, with others, to treat with the enemy; but the latter demanding the reſtitution of Tranſilvania, Gran, and Peſt, in lieu of Agria and Kaniſia, the treaty broke off. *Peace in agitation.*

The Imperialiſts reſolving to prevent the relief of Buda, which was ſorely diſtreſſed for want of proviſion, the general, on the 22d of Auguſt, attacked Morâd Pâſhâ, encamped near Mohatz with eight thouſand men, whereof two thouſand were janizaries, and forced them to retreat to their main army. However, the victors falling preſently to plunder, the Turks returned, and attacked them with ſuch vigour, that they muſt certainly have been defeated, had not the Heydûks left their boats on the river, and come to their aſſiſtance, by which means the enemy was repulſed a ſecond time, and ſeven hundred ſlain, beſides the loſs of three cannon, Morâd's red ſtandard, and Saſhar Beg, who was taken[1]. *The Turks worſted.*

[1] Ricaut, ubi ſupr.

At

At length the Imperial army, under the lord Russworm, rendezvoused early in September; and, left the pâshâ should encamp between Vicegrade and Buda, in which case he might victual that city at pleasure, he raised a strong fort half way, and another in the isle of Vicegrade: then, having built a bridge of boats over the river from his camp to the isle, passed over to Vaks, or Vakkia. Not long after, the pâshâ, with ten thousand men, having attacked the first fort in vain, threw a bridge over the Danube, in order to annoy the Imperialists, and began to cross it. They were decoyed by some light irregular troops to an ambuscade of six thousand foot: these seeing in what disorder they pursued, when about ten thousand of them had gotten over, the Walloons, posted covertly along the river, played on their flanks with four culverins, while the rest charged them on every side; and, having killed two thousand, put the others to flight: but not being able to recover the bridge, five thousand more were drowned or slain, and the rest taken prisoners, with their field-pieces, colours, horses, and arms.

Other ill successes.

Neither did matters succeed better elsewhere with the Turks; for their fleets were about this time wrecked at sea; and although Zel Ali, one of the Asiatic rebels, had submitted, as before mentioned, yet the chief rebel was still in arms, and the pâshâ who had been sent against him, on being displaced by the soltân, went over to his party. On the other side, the king of Persia, taking advantage of the troubles in which the Othmân empire was involved, laid siege to Tauris, which he quickly recovered.

Avoid a battle.

But to return to the affairs of Hungary. The Imperialists, fearing lest the Turks should besiege Pest, as they had given out, and finding they were gone to encamp near Buda, in the isle of Vicegrade, went and pitched their tents before St. Andrew, in sight of the enemy. These a few days after detached five thousand men, with design to draw the Germans into an ambuscade of ten thousand, but missing of their aim, were forced to retire with some loss. About the same time general Colonitz, thinking to surprise the Turkish army, landed on the 2d of October, with six hundred Heydûks, in the isle of Vicegrade; but being discovered too soon, was forced to retire, after two hours engagement, with the loss of four hundred men. Count Trantmestorf had better success in Stiria; for the Turks having made a bridge of boats at Lamascin, to give them passage into that country, and secured it with

with two forts, the count attacked them with ſuch bravery, that at laſt he took them, and deſtroyed the bridge. Lugaze alſo, a place of great importance to the Turks, was at the ſame time ſurrendered to Baſta by the Tranſilvanians.

All this while the Imperialiſts could not draw the Turks to a battle; but after the latter had ſupplied Buda with proviſion, they ſilently marched off by night, and retired out of Hungary. Upon their departure, the Imperialiſts beſieged Hatwân, which was ſo well fortified as to endure a long ſiege. They made their approaches by taking the water-mill; in which action Graſold, general of the Italians, was ſlain: after this, having cut off the water of the beſieged, and made large breaches, the garriſon capitulated for their lives, and the 29th of November were convoyed to Zolnok. Before the year was out, the Imperialiſts had ſeveral rencounters with the Turks and Tatars, generally to the diſadvantage of the two latter. Beged Pâſhâ, thinking to ſurpriſe Baſta as he lay with his troops diſperſed about Lippa (H), was attacked by that old experienced general in a place of diſadvantage, and overthrown, with the loſs of eleven hundred Turks ſlain, out of five thouſand, who being alſo driven into a marſh, moſt of them periſhed. Twenty captains and other priſoners were taken, beſides a rich booty. But about the ſame time Bethlem Gabor, an able commander, becoming head of the revolted Tranſilvanians, created Baſta and the Imperialiſts no ſmall trouble in that country, as will be ſeen in the next reign.

Hatwân caſtle taken.

In the interim Zel Ali, before mentioned, after he had ſerved this campaign in Hungary, with twelve thouſand of the late rebels, brought over from Aſia, retired to Boſnia, the government of which had been promiſed him, and encamped near Bâghnaluk. But Jâffer Pâſhâ, who reſided there as governor, taking this as an encroachment on his right, drew all the force he could out of the garriſons, with an intent to fall upon him. The crafty Zel Ali, knowing his own weakneſs, cauſed ſeveral great fires to be lighted up in his tents, and ſuddenly retreated. Mean while the pâſhâ with his troops haſtening to the place, and finding the camp deſerted, they began to pillage: but while the ſoldiers were loading themſelves with the plunder, Zel Ali, returning with three thouſand choſen

Zel Ali enters and poſſeſſes Boſnia.

(H) A ſtrong town on the river Maroſk, to the north of Temeſwaer.

horſe, ſurpriſed the unſuſpecting pillagers, and cut ſix thouſand of them to pieces, the pâſhâ himſelf with difficulty eſcaping. After this the victor quickly obliged all the chief places in the province to ſubmit to his obedience; and having amaſſed a great deal of wealth, entered Bâghnaluk in triumph, crowned with laurel, amidſt the ſoldiers ſigning his praiſes. At the ſame time he gave out that he was reſolved to join the emperor of Germany, in caſe any of the pâſhâs ſhould endeavour to croſs his deſigns. Mohammed being informed of theſe proceedings, attempted, under pretence of honouring Zel Ali, to inveigle him to court: but the crafty rebel, thanking the ſoltân, declined the invitation; ſaying, he deſired no other reward than the government of the province, which his majeſty had promiſed him, and of which he was now in poſſeſſion.

A.D. 1604. *Mohammed's death.*

The Turks having often during this year, made propoſals of peace, in the beginning of the next, commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides, to treat of it. Thoſe of the emperor went from Peſt to Buda on that account, at the requeſt of the Pâſhâ of that city, and agreed on a truce for twelve days, which was notified immediately to the Turkiſh governors on the frontiers. But while all men's minds were filled with the expectation of peace, Soltân Mohammed died, amidſt all his pleaſures. As ſoon as the news were brought to the pâſhâ of Buda, he ſent notice of this event to the Imperial officers at Peſt, and gave them to underſtand that he was commanded by the new ſoltân, Ahmed, to continue the negociation [m].

The Turkiſh hiſtorians employed by prince Cantemir omit all the tranſactions above related from the Chriſtian writers, which ſucceeded the reduction of Agria. After this victory, they only tell us, that he marched to Conſtantinople in triumph; and, content with what he had acquired, made peace with the Chriſtians, that he might enjoy, what he was naturally inclined to, eaſe and pleaſure: that accordingly he lived in profound peace till the year 1012, in which he died, after he had reigned nine years and two months: but that how long he lived was not mentioned in hiſtory, farther than that he died in the vigour of his age, without performing one memorable action more than what has been related [n].

Hej. 1012. A.D. 1603. *His character.*

The Chriſtian hiſtorians ſay, he was a prince of no great ſpirit, and yet exceeding proud; whence it hap-

[m] Ricaut. ubi ſupr. [n] Cant. Oth. Hiſt. p. 236.

pened

pened that he was neither much beloved nor feared: that he neglected the affairs of government, which he gave up to the management of women; and was wholly addicted to pleasure and voluptuousness, the signs of which appeared in a foul, swoln, and unwieldy body, that his debaucheries shortened his days, and that he died unlamented by his subjects. He had four sons, and three daughters, married to three of his pâshâs. His eldest son Mohammed was strangled, as before mentioned. The second died young, and the fourth, called Mostafa, a youth, was strictly confined in the palace [a].

SECT. XV.

The Reign of Ahmed I.

AHMED ascended the throne on the 9th of Rajeb, in the year 1012, when he was yet scarce fifteen years old: and this was the first time that the reins of the Turkish government were given to a prince under the age of maturity. But he demonstrated in the first years of his reign, that the sceptre was not unworthily put into the hands of a youth. The Asiatic soldiery, whom the Persian wars had always kept employed, became so insolent under his father's indolent reign, that they presumed to pillage not only travellers but whole provinces. The generals sent to suppress those rebels, being either allured with the hope of prey themselves, or negligent of their duty, were so far from putting a stop to their progress, that, the number of plunderers increasing, all Anatolia was miserably ravaged. *Soltân Ahmed I.*

Among the rebels there were chiefly two, Kalender Ogli and Tavil, who attacked the Othmân troops, and did most mischief. Ahmed judged, that if they were once quelled, the rest would be easily suppressed, and peace restored to the East. To this end therefore, he sent the prime wazîr Koja Morâd Pâshâ, with his guards, to winter at Hâlep, with orders in the spring to lead them, in conjunction with such of the Asiatics as remained faithful, against the ravagers. These commands were executed by the wazîr with such success, that, after several bloody engagements, Kalender Ogli was vanquished near Marâsh, in the mountains of Kioykiesen, and driven alone, *Asian rebels defeated.*

[a] Ricaut in Mohamet III.

all his common soldiers being slain, into Persian Irâk. Then the wazîr turning his arms against Tavil, who advanced to assist his companions, he defeated him likewise, and forced him to fly into the same country.

Hej. 1013. A.D. 1604. The shâh having refused to deliver up the two rebels, Ahmed, to be revenged for that contempt offered to his government, sent the wazîr Morâd, with a numerous army, towards the Persian borders: but arriving too late at Tibrîs to effect any thing this year, he resolved next spring to invade the enemy's country; yet died when he was on the point of marching. His office was conferred on Nasuh Pâshâ, who, after a year's stay there to as little purpose, led back his army, weakened by sickness and fatigue, to Constantinople: where, on his arrival, he was beheaded for sloth and negligence. Mehemed Pâshâ, being made wazîr in his room, departed in 1015, with a very numerous army, amd laid close siege to Revân, which he furiously assaulted for forty days; but repulsed by the bravery of the garrison, was forced at last to raise the siege: for which ill success, he was at his return to Arzerûm, strangled by Kâpiji Pâshi, and his post conferred on Halil Pâshâ, a brave and prudent general: but, whilst he prepared to humble the pride of Persia, the soltân was seized with a sudden fever, which, though slight at first, increased every day, and at length carried him off[p].

War against Persia unsuccessful.

A.D. 1605.

A.D. 1606.

Hej. 1026. A.D. 1617.

Turkish history defective.

This is in effect all which the Turkish authors, consulted by prince Cantemir, have given us relating to the reign of Ahmed I. The transactions of which being wholly confined to his war against the Persians, a person who had not read the Christian historians would be apt to imagine, that he was at peace all the time with the rest of his neighbours, and never had any contest with the Imperialists: but that this was not the case, we are informed by the Christian writers, to whom we must now have recourse.

Removes the soltâna.

Ahmed having, to prevent the insolence of the soldiery, given the spahis, by way of largess, ten crowns a man, and every janizary thirty, was crowned with great solemnity. This first act of his authority was, to remove his grandmother, a proud ambitious woman, from the prime administration of the government, which she managed at her pleasure in the late soltân's reign. He likewise set the Persian ambassador at liberty; and continued the negociations of peace in Hungary. On this occasion, the Imperial commissioners made a splendid entertainment

[p] Cant. p. 238, & seqq.

for

for the Turks at Peſt; whither ſix hundred of the better ſort repaired. Mean while thoſe of Buda had formed a deſign to ſurpriſe that city during the feaſt: but, finding the garriſon as much on their guard as at other times, the Turks returned without ſucceſs.

This treachery being complained of next day, the pâſhâ of Buda diſavowed it with many proteſtations. However, the emperor's commiſſioners would not accept of his invitation to a feaſt the day following, but returned to Gran; yet left Gieſberg at Peſt, to treat with the Turks, in caſe he found them diſpoſed to accommodation. Inſtead of that, a meſſenger came ſoon after from the ſoltân, to order the pâſhâ to break off the treaty. In effect they had ſo little diſpoſition to peace, that as ſoon as they had ſupplied Agria, Alba Regalis, and Buda, with neceſſaries, they laughed at the Imperialiſts for their credulity, and renewed their incurſions with more cruelty than ever, yet not with impunity, for the huſſars repayed them in their own coin. *The treaty broken off.*

In the mean time Jâffer Pâſhâ, who had been driven out of Boſnia by Zel Âli, as before mentioned, being ſupported by the ſoltân's authority, ſuddenly entered that country with a great army, and at length expelled his competitor for that province; but died ſoon after his victory. As for Zel Ali, the miniſtry at the Porte, loth to loſe the benefit of ſo great a ſoldier, and yet not willing to truſt him with a government of ſuch conſequence as that of Boſnia, removed thither Begredet Pâſhâ from Temeſwaer, and made the other governor of this laſt place. Zel Ali, taking advantage of the broils and rancour which divided the Chriſtians more than the Turks, laid a deſign to ſurpriſe Lippa by night; but after attempting, not only to ſcale the walls, but even to force the gates, he was obliged to deſiſt. *Attempt on Lippa.*

About the ſame time ſome Turkiſh priſoners in Kaſſova, during the abſence of the governor, and great part of the garriſon, flew their keepers, with a deſign to burn the town and eſcape: but were at length ſuppreſſed, while Kaniſia ſuffered the misfortune which Kaſſova had eſcaped; for a ſoldier in the citadel having careleſly thrown fire into the powder, the whole place was in a manner blown up [9]. *Kaniſia blown up.*

Whilſt the tumults in Tranſilvania and troubles in Hungary increaſed, the pâſhâ of Buda, underſtanding *False offers of peace.*

[9] Ricaut in Achmet I.

that the Imperial forces began to draw together, wrote to the governor of Gran, to invite him to a new treaty: but his insincerity appeared no less from the reserved strain of his letter than the conduct of the Turks; who at the same time, with the united forces of several garrisons, surprised the castle of Somnin by night, and reduced it to ashes.

Affairs of Asia.

But let us leave the affairs of Europe awhile, to see how those of Asia were circumstanced. Although the rebellion there was weakened for a time, yet it broke out again with more force than ever. To suppress which, Sigâla Pâshâ, an officer of great experience, was sent with an army; but he no sooner arrived than he was met by the enemy, and, after a bloody battle, defeated. However, he quickly recruited his troops, and marched against the victors, in order to retrieve his disgrace: but the rebels, finding him much superior in force, retreated, and applied for aid to the king of Persia. The shâh immediately sent them a reinforcement under his own son; with which they marched to attack the pâshâ a second time. At first fortune seemed to incline to the arms of the soltân, till the prince of Persia with his brave cavalry falling upon them in the rear, while some of the rebel troops attacked them in the flank, they were at length totally routed, and thirty thousand of them slain. The shâh, pursuing his good fortune, reduced the country of Shîrwân, won the city of Arusta, near the confluence of the Tigris with the Euphrates, and all the adjacent territories, excepting two or three towns, which had been taken from them ever since the time of soltân Solymân.

Turks overthrown.

Make great preparations.

Ahmed having narrowly escaped death, from the small-pox, appointed Hassan Pâshâ, a man of great valour and abilities, to be his general in Hungary: but news arriving soon after, that the king of Persia had taken the field with an army of one hundred thousand men, and that Bagages Pâshâ, one of the Asian rebels, had confederated with him, the soltân recalled Hassan with his forces from before Waradin to Constantinople: yet, after holding a council, sent him back again, and appointed Sigâla once more his general in Asia. The emperor, being aware of the Turkish preparations, sent the archduke Maximilian his ambassador to Rome, to solicit aid of the pope, who granted him one hundred and fifty thousand crowns for that year, with hopes of an augmentation for the future.

Walakhia ravaged.

In the mean time the Tatars being by the Poles denied a passage into Hungary, began to ravage Walakhia. Hereupon

upon the vayvod Rodolf retired to Kronſtadt; and was received by Baſta under his protection. All this while the Turks ſeemed ſo deſirous of peace, that at length Cæſar Gallen was ſent to treat about it: but, as they inſiſted, that the former tribute ſhould be paid by the emperor, and that all the places which he had taken ſhould be reſtored, together with Tranſilvania and Walakia; the conferences came to nothing. Soon after Jagenzenter, governor of Peſt, terrified by the report that the grand wazîr Haſſan was coming with a great army to conquer Hungary, and intended to begin with the ſiege of Peſt; he with the garriſon, on the 5th of September, baſely deſerted the town, after he had firſt undermined the principal buildings, and laid trains of powder to blow them up. Accordingly, next day, they blew up, while the governor retired to Gran; where he was impriſoned, in order to be tried for his cowardice.

Gran beſieged.

The grand wazîr, being by this time arrived in Hungary, laid ſiege to Gran on the 18th of the ſame month, encamping before St. Thomas's mount: but Baſta, having raiſed a ſtrong fort near the town on that ſide, ſo annoyed them from thence, that they removed farther off, while he lay with his army between the iſle of Gran and the old town of the Raſcians, to keep the enemy from entering either place. On the 24th, the Turks aſſaulted fort St. Thomas; but count Schultz, governor of Gran, having ordered five hundred horſe and two thouſand foot to ſally out upon them, they forced the enemy to quit the mount on which they were encamped: however, purſuing them too far, they fell into an ambuſh, and after a bloody fight, were obliged to retreat.

Bethlem Ghabor routed.

As the noiſe of this ſiege drew many to the relief of the place, count Tambier, governor of Lippa, being about to march thither with ſome troops; Bethlem Ghabor, chief of the Tranſilvanian revolters, with Bakheres Pâſhâ and four thouſand Turks, entered that province, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of it, under the protection of the Turks. The count underſtanding this deſign, fell upon him ſo haſtily that he quickly put him to flight, and killed one thouſand men. The two chiefs were glad to ſave themſelves by ſwimming; and a reinforcement ſent to them from Temeſwaer was alſo cut to pieces by the count[r].

[r] Ricaut. ubi ſupr.

The siege raised. Mean while, the besiegers having been repulsed in two assaults made on fort St. Thomas, although five thousand five hundred Heydûks had deserted out of six thousand, they had recourse to mining; but their design was frustrated by counter-mines. Thus disappointed, they practised their old artifice of a parley for peace: but the Germans not agreeing to their terms, the janizaries were for giving over the siege. However, Hassan being resolved to attack the fort once more before he left it, assaulted it six times on the 10th of October: but failing in each attack, he withdrew his army, many of whom Basta cut off in their retreat. Yet he had not forces enough to put a stop to the ravages they made afterwards; but what that general could not do, was effected by Colonitz.

Troubles in Transylvania. While Hungary enjoyed a little ease from the departure of the wazîr, Transilvania was distracted with intestine troubles. The lord Istivan, surnamed Potskhay, who, under the soltân's protection, styled himself prince of that country, committed great disorders. The lord Beligiosa, Basta's lieutenant there, was sent with an army to subdue him; but Potskhay having seduced the Heydûks under his command to desert him in time of battle, the rest of his followers were almost all slain; and such as were taken prisoners cut in pieces. After this exploit, being assisted with men and money by the Turks, he took Kassova, and there established the reformed religion, of which he called himself the defender. The ensigns and prisoners taken on these occasions were borrowed by the grand wazîr, to colour at Constantinople the ill success of his campaign.

Potskhay revolts on account of popish persecutors. However that be, Potskhay was grown by this time to such a head, that Basta was forced himself to march against him, and defeated his troops, killing one thousand five hundred of his men. Nevertheless, Kassovia would not submit to him, and receive an Imperial garrison, although Esperies did: but such were the confusions and discontents of these countries, that Basta's own soldiers were ready to mutiny, if they had not been prevented by his prudence and generosity. The Heydûks had a great hand in these troubles; for they seized on divers castles, and among the rest the mine-towns; doing a great deal of mischief to the Imperialists, whom now they reckoned the worst of foes.

These distractions, which afflicted Hungary and Transilvania, had their rise from the persecuting spirit of the Romish

Romiſh clergy. Theſe, in an aſſembly this year at Preſburg, without the conſent or knowlege of the nobility, publiſhed a decree, condemning thoſe of the reformed religion in Hungary either to be burned, or to ſuffer perpetual baniſhment. Againſt this decree the ſtates of that kingdom made their proteſt; and declared that they would defend themſelves by arms, in caſe they ſhould be moleſted on account of their religion. Notwithſtanding this proteſt, Beligioſa, Baſta's lieutenant, ſeized on not only the churches, but lands and effects of the reformed at Kaſſovia. He forbad them alſo the uſe of the Bible, or to have ſermons in their own houſes; and would not ſuffer them to bury their dead in the city near monaſteries. Not content with this ſeverity, becauſe Potſkhay refuſed to lend him a large ſum of money, he ordered his ſoldiers to plunder two of his caſtles. That lord, enraged at theſe injuries, by proclamation, promiſed four crowns a month, as pay, to every Heydûk who would enter into his ſervice. Hereupon thoſe people reſorted daily to him, among the reſt ſix thouſand who ſerved under Beligioſa himſelf; but as ſoon as he took upon him the protection of the reformed religion, they flocked to him in crowds, and the people every where appeared ready to fight under his banner.

Neither were the Turks free from inteſtine commotions, the rebels being ſtill on foot in Anatolia; while, in Syria, the paſhâs of Damaſkus and Hâlep were in arms againſt each other; but the latter, having been defeated and beſieged by an army of thirty thouſand men, was obliged to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as the other impoſed. To add to theſe misfortunes, Sigâla Pâſhâ, with all his great power, was defeated by the king of Perſia; who, improving his victory, went and took Bâghdâd. Although theſe checks gave the Turkiſh miniſters great uneaſineſs, yet ſoltân Ahmed continued to enjoy his pleaſures, as if he did not mind how matters went.

Troubles in Turkey.

Bâghdâd loſt.

Baſta, finding himſelf by force unable to put an end to the troubles in Hungary and Tranſilvania, exhorted the chiefs of the malecontents, and even Potſkhay himſelf, by letters, to lay down their arms. That lord, by way of anſwer, inſiſted, that Tranſilvania ſhould be yielded to him; that an Hungarian ſhould be made lieutenant-general in Hungary; and none but Hungarians have command of the garriſons in that country; that the French and Walloon ſoldiers ſhould be ſent home; and every man have the free exerciſe of his religion: but theſe propoſals

A.D. 1605.

Potſkhay's demânds.

fals not being agreeable to Basta, nothing was concluded on. Mean while the Heydûks, joined by a body of Tatars, surprised Gokaza, over against Gran; where they slew the German garrison; and, after rifling the town, set it on fire: but were quickly driven out again by the governor of that city. The Imperialists likewise took the strong fortress of Palantwar from the Turks [c].

Gokaza taken.

Vachia yielded.

About the same time, the latter having a design to besiege Vackia, not far from Vicegrade, the Heydûks in garrison, finding themselves much stronger than the Germans, slew most of them, while the rest fled to Gran, and put the Turks in possession of that important place. The Othmâns, and their new confederates, flushed with this success, attempted to take Gran, but were repulsed. The emperor was not a little troubled to see his enemies increase, and his own troops diminish through civil dissension: yet, instead of pacifying the malcontents by redressing their grievances, he applied to other princes for aid, in order to reduce them by force: but while he received nothing from them but promises, the enemy, under the prime wazîr Hassan, taking advantage of the times, marched to besiege Vicegrade, situate on the Danube, between Buda and Gran. As soon as they appeared before it, the Heydûks opened the gates of the town, and then informed them how to attack the castle; which, after a brave defence, was yielded upon articles.

Vicegrade taken.

A.D. 1606. Basta, in the mean time lying at Esperies, published a general pardon to the revolters; but with little effect: and not long after, his own soldiers began to mutiny for want of pay. The Heydûks, in the beginning of February, besieged the castle of Sakmar, which was quickly surrendered to them. Then advancing towards Tokay, attempted to surprise the castle; but the governor being apprised of their design, caused the ice on the river to be broken forty paces over, and then covered it with snow near the place, so that the Heydûks marching on to scale the walls, were suddenly swallowed up. On the 2d of March they came before New Hausel, and having persuaded the citizens to revolt, Burbelius with his Kosaks retired into the castle; from whence afterward sallying, he drove them out of the town again: but about this time Filek, the key of that part of Upper Hungary, was given up to the Heydûks, who had for some time besieged it, by the garrison, for want of water. After this four thousand of them at-

Heydûks successful.

Besiege New Hausel.

[c] Ricaut. ubi supr.

tempting

tempting to ſurpriſe Wiglate caſtle, were repulſed with great loſs: but marching from thence, they broke into Turſon's country, and forced the ſtates to ſubmit to Potſkhay.

To remedy theſe evils, the emperor ſent two commiſſioners to treat with that lord; but he refuſed to receive them; and ſent circular letters to aſſemble the nobility and ſtates of Hungary at Gerents, there to deliberate what was to be done, when their country was ſo oppreſſed with Germans and ſtrangers. In the interim, the army under Baſta mutinied again, for want of pay, ſeverely threatened their general, and moſt miſerably ravaged the country between Eſperies and Preſburg. About the ſame time Conſtantinople was afflicted not only with a tumult of the janizaries, but alſo with a dreadful fire, wherein many people periſhed; five hundred ſhops and warehouſes, full of rich commodities, were likewiſe conſumed. This misfortune was preceded by a letter from Sigâla Pâſhâ, giving the ſoltân an account of his ill ſucceſs; and aſſuring him that without ſpeedy reinforcements, the Perſians would carry all before them. *Troubles everywhere.*

To return to the affairs of Hungary. The Heydûks took New Hauſel; and afterwards made incurſions into Moravia, where they committed intolerable ravages: but they were at length driven out by count Lichtenſtein, governor of that country. About this time Baſta, who lay at Preſburg, underſtanding that ſix thouſand Turks and Tatars had croſſed the Danube, about a mile below the city of St. George, went in the night with three hundred choice horſe; and falling on the Turks and Heydûks, who remained behind in the camp, ſlew five hundred of them, before the reſt could recover their arms, and returned with ſome booty of horſes. Mean while the garriſon of Komorra, in an ambuſcade, routed and ſlew Begedes Pâſhâ, the great fomenter of the Hungarian troubles; and took ſeventeen waggon loads of money and other things of value, which he was conveying to Potſkhay and the Tatars, under the ſon of the khân of Khrîm. *New Hauſel taken.*

To make amends for this loſs, the Turks and Tatars, in conjunction with the forces of the malecontents, in May, burnt twenty-eight villages, about the lake Neviſdier, and the town of Newſtadt; put people of all ages and ſexes to the ſword, impaled many, and led multitudes into captivity. The malecontents ſurpriſed and plundered ſix or ſeven conſiderable towns, the terror of which made the adjacent country *Potſkhay's ſucceſſes.*

country submit to them. In June the inhabitants of Wesbrun secured their officers, and put themselves under Potskhay's protection. A passage being thus laid open to the Turks for farther conquests, they wrote to the soltân to hasten the army. Indeed things daily grew worse and worse; for now the revolters broke into Stiria and Austria, and did so much harm, that the counts Serini, Nadasti, and Budiani, who had been so serviceable against the Turks, seeing all they had in danger to be lost, submitted to Potskhay. However, the Heydûks were repulsed before Odenburg, which they besieged, with the loss of many men.

New Hausel retaken. The Turks, to induce Potskhay to give up Kassovia to them, sent him three waggon-loads of money, by a convoy of four hundred Heydûks and some Turks; but being to pass by Tokay, the former joined four hundred Germans, sent to meet them by the governor, with whom they held intelligence, and slaying all the Turks, carried the booty into that place. The malecontents still increasing in strength, reduced Totis. Mean time Redesus, the lieutenant of Potskhay in those parts, with an army of thirty thousand Hungarians and Turks, besieged New Hausel; but unwilling that it should fall into the hands of the latter, he often kept them from attacking it, with design to take it by means of the Hungarians only, with whom he furiously assaulted it on the 25th of July; yet was repulsed. After this miscarriage the pâshâ of Agria arrived, with three thousand men and some janizaries; but still the besieged held out, though reduced to a few men, in want of provision and other necessaries, till the 17th of October, when the utmost necessity forced them to surrender by consent to the Hungarians.

Turks besiege Gran. In July offers of pacification were made from the emperor to Potskhay, whose chief demands were a toleration of the reformed religion, and the principality of Transylvania conferred on him for life; but the soltân coming to hear of these proceedings, diverted him from an accommodation, by promising, in a short time, to make him king of Hungary. The Turks having gained this point, and resolved to carry on the war in that country with vigour, their general Sedar Pâshâ, with an army of fifty thousand men, including Hungarians, on the 20th of August, laid siege to Gran. To deprive the city of relief by the Danube, they made a great bridge of boats over it, and placed a strong guard at each end. After they had with vast loss and charge made a breach in St. Thomas's castle, they mounted

mounted the hill in great numbers, and in ſpite of the cannon of the beſieged, came to blows with them in the very breaches. The attack laſted five hours, during which they were with incredible courage three times repulſed; but by numbers prevailing at laſt, after they had ſlain nine hundred of the garriſon, with count Ottingen their brave commander, they entered the place, and quickly diſpatched the few who remained. Then they raiſed a battery of thirty great cannon againſt the lower town, and having made a large breach in the wall, after four deſperate aſſaults, entered the city. They afterwards attempted the higher town, but being beaten off, began mining with ſuch ſucceſs, that the fortifications being blown up, the beſieged lay open to their ſhot. Hereupon the garriſon in a tumult inſiſted that governor Dampier ſhould ſurrender the place; but on his refuſing, they impriſoned him, and ſurrendered, on condition of being allowed to march out with their baggage, colours furled, and match lighted; for which piece of baſeneſs, the captains, and principal authors of the mutiny, were executed at Komorra, whither they were conducted by the enemy [t].

The city yielded.

The ſoltân's joy for taking this important place, was much allayed by the ill ſucceſs of his arms in Aſia. Sigâla Pâſhâ having advanced towards Perſia, the ſhâh, who had then a great army on foot, haſtened to meet him before the pâſhâ of Karamania joined him with the forces he was ordered to raiſe for that purpoſe; accordingly, coming on him before he was ready to engage, he quickly overthrew his army, and took all his cannon. The king purſuing his victory, followed Sigâla, who with three hundred men hardly eſcaped to Adena (I), and beſieged him there. The pâſhâ of Trapezond was ordered to march to his aſſiſtance; a circumſtance which Sigâla hearing of, he ſecretly got over the wall with ten ſoldiers, and joining the ſuccours, advanced to relieve the city: but the ſhâh, leaving part of his army to carry on the ſiege, with the reſt marched to attack the pâſhâs, whom he unexpectedly ſurpriſed before they could draw up in order; and made ſo great a ſlaughter of the Turks, that very few eſcaped, beſides Sigâla, and two or three more, who got over the river in a boat. The conſequence of this victory, was the ſurrender of the

Sigâla overthrown by the Perſians.

[t] Ricaut. ibid.

(I) A city near Tarſus, in the ſouthern coaſt of Anatolia, towards Syria.

town;

town; and Ahmed, to make himself amends for the loss, seized on Sigâla's houses and treasure at Constantinople. He ordered new forces to march against the Persians; but the janizaries refusing to go, and mutinying for their pay, the high treasurer, whom they complained of, was put to death, to appease their clamour.

Pâshâ of Hâlep grows formidable.

Nor did matters turn out better in Syria; notwithstanding the late agreement between the two contending pâshâs of Damascus and Hâlep. The former, in concert with the pâshâs of Tripoli and Gazera, at the head of sixty thousand men, marched to besiege Hâlep; but the pâshâ of this last city, meeting them with only thirty thousand, attacked them with such bravery, that he entirely routed them; and then took Tripoli, after he had a second time overthrown the pâshâ, who had assembled an army to relieve it. He now raised tribute on the Turks, in order to make himself master of all Syria, whose capital he had in his power; and to enrich the country, granted a free trade to the merchants of Persia and the Indies. Mean while, news being brought that the beglerbeg of Anatolia's lieutenant was coming against him with a great army, he seized all the difficult passes; and laying an ambuscade in the straits of the mountains, when the enemy had passed them with two thousand musketeers, and three thousand horse, he charged them in front, while those in ambush fell on their rear; and, after a sharp fight, totally defeated them. To increase his good fortune, a rich ship, with the tribute of Egypt on board, was cast upon the coast, and fell to his share. These successes being communicated to the king of Persia, he extolled the pâshâ's valour, and sent him rich presents, while the flames of this rebellion spread into Karamania and other parts of Anatolia; misfortunes which made the soltân Ahmed dispatch orders to the prime wazîr in Hungary, to make peace with the emperor upon reasonable terms. To this the Imperialists were not averse, although the king of Persia had sent ambassadors to Vienna, to engage the court to the contrary. Rodolph's commissioners having on the 6th of December received letters from the pâshâ of Buda, inviting them to a negotiation, they went thither next day; but the Turks declaring they would do nothing without the Hungarians, matters for the present stopped here; although in the course of the same month, all things were agreed on at Vienna, with Illiskascius, Potskhay's agent, excepting what concerned the toleration of religion, which was not settled till next year.

During

During this ſuſpenſe, the troubles continued in Hungary, as well as in Aſia, where the Perſians proſpered, againſt whom the prime wazir was ordered to go in perſon. Mean while the Turks attempted to ſurpriſe Raab, as the revolted Hungarians diſtreſſed Eſperies and reduced Tokay; yet there was no good underſtanding at this time between the confederates, on account of the incurſions of the Tatars in Upper Hungary; ſo that the Heydûks reſolved to join their forces together, and oppoſe both them and the Turks. Hereupon the latter went and beſieged Lippa, a town of the Heydûks, who forſaking the town, fortified the caſtle with armed men, and then placed others up and down in cellars and vaults; they likewiſe laid ſtore of gunpowder in the ſtreets. The Turks finding the gates open, entered without reſiſtance; haſted to reduce the caſtle; but the powder in the mean time blew up a great many of them; while the concealed Heydûks, iſſuing from their hiding places, fell on, and made a great ſlaughter. *Affairs of Hungary.*

At length the difficuly about religion being removed, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition made by the Romiſh clergy, and more particularly the biſhop of Vienna, peace was concluded in September with the Hungarians; whereby, among other articles, it was agreed, that every man throughout Hungary ſhould have the free uſe of his religion, and believe what he would; that the Hungarians might chuſe a governor, which title the archduke was no more to uſe, but that of viceroy; that Potſkhay, for himſelf, and his heirs male, ſhould for ever hold Tranſilvania dependent on Hungary; and that he ſhould no more ſtyle himſelf prince, but lord of part of the kingdom of Hungary. *Peace with Potſkhay and the Turks.*

This peace was a prelude to that concluded between the emperor and the Turks, on the 19th of November following, near Komorra, for twenty years, to commence in 1607. By the articles, the Tatars were to be included, and the king of Spain might accede to the treaty: Vakhia was to be reſtored to the emperor, and Gran remain to the ſoltân. The year concluded with the death of the great Potſkhay; who, having been ill all the time both treaties were going forward, died at Kaſovia on the 30th of December, very much lamented. He was a man of great ſpirit; wiſe, politic, a warm lover of his country, but an extreme enemy to the Germans, and their government in Hungary.

The Turks now reſolved to turn their whole force againſt the Perſians. But the ſoltân thinking it neceſſary firſt to procure peace at home, ſent to the pâſhà of Hâlep, promiſing A.D. 1607. *Rebellion in Aſia ſuppreſſed.*

missing him pardon and favour, provided he would submit. The answer not being agreeable to Ahmed's desire, the prime wazîr was sent over, with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, against the Asian rebels; who being suppressed by his discreet management, more than by his arms, he marched towards Hâlep. The pâshâ, with a body of forty thousand only, but most of them musketeers, engaged the wazîr in an advantageous post, within two miles of that city, and in three obstinate battles withstood his whole power; but understanding, as he prepared for the fourth engagement, that a great reinforcement from the pâshâs of Damascus and Tripoli, had joined the imperial troops, he fled with his effects towards Persia, followed by his army. Hereupon the wazîr took Hâlep by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. The pâshâ having raised new forces, had returned with design to fight the wazîr; but finding many of his old friends had forsaken him, he wrote to that minister, desiring him to obtain his pardon from the soltân, which was accordingly effected [u].

Persians successful.

Ahmed, though now at liberty to unite his forces against the Persians, yet chusing peace rather than war, employed the khân of Tartary to bring it about; but as he demanded Tauris, with all the provinces lately recovered by the Persians, the treaty did not take effect. However, nothing of moment was acted on either side, till the year 1610, when the Persians entered the provinces of Arabian Irâk, with a design to recover Bâghdâd, taken from them in a former reign. To prevent this misfortune, Ahmed sent a mighty army under Nasuh Pâshâ, who had no better success than Sigâla, for he was routed, and lost twenty thousand men. To repair this loss, new troops were dispatched under the command of the famous pâshâ of Hâlep, lately in rebellion. But whatever the reason was, he never marched against the enemy; being, by the soltân's order, slain by a kâpiji, soon after his arrival at Constantinople.

A. D. 1610.

Affairs of Transilvania and Moldavia.

In the mean time Gabriel Bathori, prince of Transilvania, put himself under the protection of the Turks, against the archduke Mathias, now king of Hungary, who pretended a title by reason of Sigismond's cession to the emperor, as king of Hungary. The prince took Hermanstadt, and having entered Walakhia drove out the vayvod Raduille; then putting another in his place, he returned to Transilvania to oppose Fortgatsi, the lieutenant of king

[u] Ricaut, ibid.

Mathias.

Mathias. Raduille, who retired to Conſtantine, vayvod of Moldavia, having inſinuated to that prince, that Bathori had a deſign to ſeize his country alſo, they joined their forces, and defeated him near Kronſtadt, while Forgatſi ſeized Tranſilvania; but Bathori, ſome time after, having received a reinforcement of Turks and Tatars, forced the lieutenant of Mathias to retire into Walakhia.

Thus the ſtorm ceaſing in Tranſylvania, a more violent tempeſt fell upon Moldavia. The ſoltân underſtanding that Conſtantine had aſſiſted the Walakhians againſt Bathori, his tributary, ſent a new prince, the ſuppoſed ſon of Thomas, alias Aaron, once vayvod there, with fifteen thouſand men, beſides orders to the Turks and Tatars in that province to aſſiſt him in his pretenſions. But as if two competitors for it were not enough, there ſtarted up a third, the ſon of Janiculo, who once commanded in Moldavia; and after many turns of fortune, arriving in England, was recommended by king James I. to Sir Thomas Glover, his ambaſſador at the Porte, in order to ſolicit his reſtitution; which he did, but without ſucceſs.

Naval tranſactions.

During theſe tranſactions by land, the gallies of Malta and Tuſcany greatly incommoded the Turks at ſea; the latter intercepted forty gallies and two galeaſſes, laden with the tribute of Egypt, ſunk five, and drove the reſt into Famaguſta, but got no booty. However, in their way home, they took a rich ſhip, valued at a million and half of crowns. About the ſame time the gallies of Malta and Naples, miſſing of this treaſure, ravaged the iſle of Longo, in the Archipelago; while the Turks flayed a Greek patriarch alive, under pretence of his exciting ſome Albanian Chriſtians to revolt. This ſummer Conſtantinople, and the adjacent countries, were afflicted with infinite clouds of locuſts; which were followed by ſhowers of extraordinary great hail, and a deluge of rain.

The ſhâh's propoſals.

During the diſtractions in the Weſt the Perſian king, having extended his dominion to the Black Sea, was content to make peace with the Porte, and ſent two different embaſſies for that purpoſe. But although the propoſals were rejected, yet the Turks attempted nothing againſt Perſia in the years 1609 and 1610. However, next year A.D.1611. Ahmed ſent an army thither of more than a hundred and fifty thouſand men, under the command of Morâd Serder, the grand wazîr; but he dying in July, before he had entered the enemy's borders, Naſſuf Pâſhâ, who had been formerly in rebellion, was appointed to ſucceed him. The new general, about the midſt of Auguſt, committing

great spoil on the frontiers, was met by the shâh, who had drawn his forces together; but finding himself overmatched, he made offers of peace again, which were accepted of, on condition that he paid a yearly tribute of two hundred camel-loads of silk, for some countries which he had conquered; that the shâh's son should be called pâshâ of Tauris; and that the judge of that city should be sent from Constantinople. Nothing farther remarkable happened this year, except that the ships of Malta, failing in their design on Nowarino, landed eight hundred men near Korinth, in the Morea; who getting to that city an hour before day, surprised and plundered it, coming off with great booty, and no loss from the enemy, who had drawn together ten thousand men to attack them[w].

Peace concluded.

A D. 1612. Neither did any matters of great moment fall out the next year. The terms of peace having been agreed on between the shâh and Ahmed, Nassuf Pâshâ returned to Constantinople without any delay, bringing with him an ambassador to conclude it. The wazîr was received with great honour at court, and the Persian ambassador highly caressed. Soon after, the soltân going to reside at Adrianople, the soldiery began to mutiny, spurning at their bread and rice; and being expostulated with on the occasion, they answered, that no soltân before carried out his men in the depth of winter. This gave great disgust to the wazîr Nassuf, who was now so much in favour with Ahmed, that none was allowed to see him in private but himself; and finding, at a great fire which soon after happened in Constantinople, that the janizaries were more careful to break open houses than to quench the flames, he severely punished them for it; sent sixteen thousand of them away into Asia, and would suffer no more of their order to be made.

Janizaries mutiny.

Treaty with Holland.

While the Persian ambassador was at Constantinople, an envoy arrived from Mathias, now become emperor of Germany, on the death of his brother Rodolph, requiring the province of Transilvania to be given up to him, according to the agreement with Potskhay, in case he died without male issue; but he did not succeed in his demand.

This year also, for the first time, an ambassador came from the States of Holland, and concluded a treaty, whereby the soltân promised to set at liberty all the Dutch slaves within his dominions; that the Dutch merchants should be free to trade in all his ports; and, that the

[w] Grimstone in Achmed, apud Ricaut.

States

States might ſend an ambaſſador to reſide at Conſtantinople.

In the end of June the ſoltân married his ſiſter and eldeſt daughter, the firſt to Mehemed Pâſhâ, ſon to the late Sigâla, the latter to Mahmûd, the kapudan pâſhâ, or *high admiral*. The ceremony was extremely magnificent, and the preſents of the ſoltân to the brides were exceeding coſtly; but all this gaiety ended in bitterneſs, for the day after Ahmed beat the ſoltâna, mother to the new married daughter, moſt unmercifully; ſtabbed her through the cheek with his dagger, and trod her under his feet, becauſe ſhe had ſtrangled a female ſlave of his ſiſter's, of whom he was enamoured. Having, to avoid the plague, removed from Conſtantinople to one of his country palaces, called Darut Pâſhâ, while he was viewing a jâmi, which he had built there, a darwiſh threw a great ſtone, with a deſign to knock him on the head, but falling on his ſhoulder, it did but ſlightly hurt him. For this crime the offender was next day beheaded. *Ahmed aſſaulted.*

Moldavia and Tranſilvania were ſtill embroiled; and though the Turks could not make an abſolute conqueſt of them, yet they ſet up princes there who were in their intereſt. For Conſtantine being driven out of Moldavia, and taken priſoner, Stephen, the pretended ſon of prince Aaron, was placed in his ſtead. As for Bathori, he was much moleſted by Bethlem Gabor, his mortal enemy; and being at length ſlain by his own ſoldiers, Bethlem was ſoon after declared prince of Tranſilvania by Serder Pâſhâ. *Affairs of Moldavia.*

Towards the end of this year the Turks drew together a great army, which they ſent into Tranſilvania next ſpring; but while they were fortifying the places which they held in theſe parts, Coſmo di Medicis, grand duke of Tuſcany, bent his thoughts on taking the fort of Agliman (K), in Karamania, to revenge the loſs of a ſhip in that port, and forty men, whoſe heads the Turks expoſed on the walls. To this intent his fleet of galliés, with ſome land forces on board, about the end of April, landed in the night near Jeronda, a ſmall town in Leſſer Aſia; but being diſcovered, embarked again, and put on ſhore a mile and a half from the port of Agliman. The fort ſtands on a little hill, and extends from thence to the ſea ſide. It is of an oval form, with ſtone walls, four fathom A.D. 1613. *The Florentines take fort Agliman.*

(K) It guards the port of Seleucia to the north-weſt of cape Bogas, of old Koricœum, on the eaſt of Cilicia.

high, and one broad, divided by a wall in two equal parts, one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt. It was fortified with eight towers, and had a garriſon of three hundred men, provided with all neceſſaries.

The Florentines, commanded by Montano, preſently marched towards it, and the earl of Candale being come within fifteen paces of the wall, was charged in front by the muſketeers of the fort; behind by the Turkiſh gallies; and in flank from the mountain. Notwithſtanding all this they advanced with their petards to force the gate; and although the enemy from their gallies came forth to attack them, yet they at laſt entered the fort, and took it, after a moſt ſharp fight; then having removed the artillery, proviſion, and ammunition, they ſet Agliman on fire. They carried off likewiſe two gallies, and eight other veſſels from the port [x].

Portugueſe take Aden. In the mean time the rebels in Aſia Minor burnt ſeveral places; and an Arab prince having revolted, ravaged the Othmân territories with an army of fifty thouſand troops. The Portugueſe and Spaniards alſo, with their fleets, infeſting the Red Sea, took and plundered Aden, a city of great importance, at the ſouth end of Arabia. In the interim the ſoltân ſet out for Hungary with an army; but on advice that Bethlem Ghabor was become prince of Tranſilvania, he returned, yet dared not enter Conſtantinople for fear of the plague; and when it had ceaſed, for fear of renewing the infection, he ordered all the dogs in that city to be carried to Skutari, beyond the Boſphorus, with an allowance of bread and fleſh for their maintenance; but becoming uneaſy to the inhabitants, they were tranſported to a deſert iſle, ſixteen miles from the capital, where they all periſhed for want of food. The lives of the dogs, though held unclean by the Turks, were deemed of ſuch importance, that the ſoltân demanded of the mufti, whether it was lawful to kill them? but that head of their religion anſwered, that every dog had a ſoul, and therefore it was not lawful to kill them.

Dogs baniſhed.

Fleet repaired. The ſoltân having ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs of gallies and frigates in the Mediterranean, by thoſe of Naples, Malta, and Florence, as well as in the Black Sea, by the Koſaks, he impoſed a great tax on all his Chriſtian ſubjects toward repairing it; on which occaſion the Armenians were ceſſed to build nine gallies at their own charge, and the Greeks twenty.

[x] Grimſt. ubi ſupra.

The

The next event which occurs of any moment in the Turkish affairs, is the disgrace and death of Nassuf Pâshâ. This person, who was the tribute-son of a Greek priest, by degrees came to be kâpi aga, then governor of Hâlep, next that of Mesopotamia, and lastly grand wazîr. Ahmed, for what reason is not known, growing jealous of his conduct, resolved on his death. Nassuf suspecting the soltân's displeasure, endeavoured, by presents to the soltâna and others, to pacify him, while he prepared to secure himself by flying over to Asia. In the interim, Ahmed going one night, in the time of an eclipse, to visit a new mosque, as soon as the wazîr heard the cry, "the king comes," he went down to salute his majesty as he passed by; but instead of the soltân, the bostânji bâshi, dressed like Ahmed, stept up to him, and told him, it was his master's pleasure that he should resign the seal. The wazîr amazed, asked what the soltân meant to do? The other replied, he knew not what the soltân's pleasure was, but that if he would not deliver the seal, he would return with that answer. A.D. 1614. *The prime wazîr put to death.*

Hereupon Nassuf drawing the seal out of his bosom, and delivering it, the bostânji bâshi then shewed him a warrant for his head, to which the wazîr presently submitted, and then two jamoglâns strangled him. His head was immediately cut off, and carried to the soltân, while his body was thrown into the street to be trampled on. It was thought his death was procured by Sigâla, pâshâ of Bâghdâd, whom he had removed. That officer wrote a letter to Ahmed, accusing Nassuf of conspiring with the Persians to kill the soltân. This letter he sent by his wife, the soltân's sister; but not being able to deliver it into his hands, on account of the wazîr's vigilance, she left it in his chamber, where he found and read it. They found in his house eighty bags of gold, containing ten thousand chekîns each. Mahmûd Pâshâ, the high admiral, succeeded him in his wazîrship.

Although the soltân laid aside his expedition into Transilvania, yet he wrote letters to the nobility and states in an imperious style, in favour of Bethlem Ghabor, who still carried on the war against the Germans. These letters were fixed up in form of a mandate, throughout the country, against the emperor's party. At the same time a chaush arrived at Lintz, with letters also from the soltân, complaining that several places in Transilvania had been taken from Ghabor, who was under his protection, and demanding restitution; but while the states *Ghabor's success.*

of the empire were debating this matter, Bethlem, assisted by Sauder Pâshâ, laboured to recover the towns which had been lost, and in October besieged Lippa; which, with Genna and Arach were surrendered to him, on condition that they should be annexed to the principality of Transilvania, and not be put into the hands of the Turks.

A.D. 1615. In the course of this year, incursions began afresh in Hungary, between the Turks and malecontents, but the losses were on neither side very considerable. All this while Ahmed was beautifying the front of the palace towards the Propontis with a platform or terrace, eight hundred paces long, and twelve broad, washed by the sea. At this juncture, one Iakaya, who pretended to be the soltân's brother, after experiencing various turns of fortune, and failing, in concert with the prime wazîr, to kill Ahmed, by the sudden death of the dârwîsh, who was to have been the assassin, wandered through Walakhia and Moldavia, into Poland: there, being in danger of his life from a chaush, who knew him, he escaped to the emperor's court, at Prague, where he solicited aid against his brother; but meeting with nothing but fair words, he travelled to Florence, and from thence to Naples, Milan, and Rome. Last of all he went to France, where he lived by the liberality of the duke of Nevers. Although many suspected him for an impostor, yet those who knew him, concluded from his actions and behaviour, that he was sprung from a princely race.

A Turkish pretender.

Revolution in Moldavia.

Stephen, who had been by the Turks created vayvod of Moldavia, proving a great tyrant, and endeavouring to root out all the nobility of the country, they invited prince Alexander, son of Jeremy, from whom they had received so much good usage, to make head against him. Stephen, after several defeats, being forced to fly, Alexander was proclaimed prince of Moldavia. Thus elevated, he sent an embassy to acquaint the Porte with his pretensions, and to declare that he had no design to withdraw Moldavia from the soltân's obedience; but as that prince's ambassadors took the way of Buda, the pâshâ seized and sent them to Stephen, then at Brahilow, who put them to death. Then having assembled his scattered forces, and received a reinforcement from Mikhna, prince of Walakhia, he marched to try his fortune once more, but was again overthrown by Alexander. This prince afterwards gained some farther advantages over him and the Turks, who came to his assistance; but finding that his enemies had collected a force which he was not able to withstand,

he

he thought fit to retire to the ſtrong fortreſs of Kochim [r].

In the beginning of March following, the prince being reinforced with three thouſand five hundred Koſaks, under the lord Tiſchevich, and fifteen hundred Poles, under Potoſki, beſides other ſuccours, found his troops increaſed to twelve thouſand men. Mean while Skinder Pâſhâ and Stephen, with an army of twenty thouſand ſtrong, came and encamped between the town and the prince's army. The Tatars immediately fell on the Koſaks who were in the van, when eight cannon, playing upon them from a maſked battery, obliged them to retreat. While the Koſaks purſued them, the lord Tiſchevich, with fifteen hundred horſe, bravely forced a ſquadron of Walakhians and Moldavians to retire, although ſupported by three thouſand Turks. Then prince Alexander advancing with the reſt of the army, and prince Koreſki ſallying with the garriſon of a thouſand men in the Turks rear; the pâſhâ, who perceived the ſtratagem of the enemy, retired with Stephen and part of the cavalry, in much fear and confuſion, leaving the prince to carry all before him, who in this action ſlew twelve thouſand men, and took a great number of priſoners. A.D. 1616. *The Turks routed.*

This great ſucceſs was attended with more advantages againſt Mikhna, vayvod of Walakhia, whoſe boyars offered that country to Alexander, though he thought not fit to accept of it. Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ likewiſe wrote to aſſure him, that he ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of Moldavia, ſince the prime wazîr was in diſgrace; at the ſame time he had orders to ſeize Stephen, and ſend him to Conſtantinople, where he turned Mohammedan, to ſave his life. Nevertheleſs, in June, Skinder Pâſhâ, with an army of twenty thouſand Turks and Walakhians, joined by ten thouſand of Mikhna's men, came to Tergoviſt, in Walakhia, and there proclaimed Mikhna prince of Moldavia; after which ceremony they marched towards that country. *Stephen ſeized.*

About the ſame time, the Poliſh general growing diſcontented at the ſucceſs of prince Alexander, and his ſon Bogdâd, wrote to acquaint Mikhna and the pâſhâ, that if they would make the eldeſt ſon of the late prince Simeon vayvod of Walakhia, he would ſo weaken the army of the two princes, that they muſt either yield or fly. This propoſal being agreed to, he excited the Koſaks to mutiny; *Alexander deſerted.*

[r] Grimſt. ubi ſupra.

and about eight thousand of them marched towards Poland: Bicho also, prince Alexander's own general, having treacherously deserted him with two thousand horse, this defection caused great confusion in his army. The prince perceiving that the pâshâ had sent twelve thousand men to pursue the Poles, then at Kotnard, between Yassi and Kochim, suddenly advanced with his army towards the latter place. Mean while prince Koreski, who staid near Kotnard with two thousand five hundred horse, was surprised by a body of Turks and Tatars; yet effected a retreat, with little loss, after having killed six thousand of the enemy.

Is overthrown, and taken prisoner.

The Turkish commander, being reinforced with sixteen thousand men from the pâshâ, challenged prince Coreski to fight at single combat; but he having been wounded twice in the late action, the lord Tischevich undertook the quarrel. The Turkish general advancing about fifty paces from his army, called for water to wash, then turned to the east and prayed; after which ceremonies, he mounted, and rode slowly towards his adversary. The two combatants having used their bows and arrows, Tischevich firing a petronel, shot the Turk through the body, and then dispatched him: but this small victory was of little service to them, for the traitor Bicho having found a way with two thousand horse to cut off the passage between Kotnard and Bochocan, the Poles were surrounded on all sides; yet refusing to yield, the pâshâ and Mikhna ordered the cannon to be played upon them. Tischevich seeing all lost, with five hundred horse, forced his way through three or four squadrons posted by the wood side, to keep them from escaping. Then the Turks approaching to force the prince's camp, they cried out for quarter. The prince Alexander and Bogdân, with their mother, were carried to Constantinople, where, for fear of perpetual imprisonment they turned Mohammedans. Prince Koreski also was taken afterwards, and the young princess his wife carried into Tartary; from whence she was ransomed for three thousand chekîns.

Peace with the Germans.

The peace made in 1606, between the Turks and Germans, having been infringed by both nations, on account of the obscurity of some expressions, after much altercation, the ambassadors of both empires agreed to certain new articles, to take away all pretence of controversy in explaining the former. By the seventh, priests of the church of Rome were allowed to build churches, and perform divine service in them; and by the tenth, all merchants

chants from the empire and Spain, were to pay three per cent. and, in case of death, the soltân was not to claim their effects.

The peace being thus confirmed between the two empires, the bordering countries, which had been so long harrassed with war, began to breathe a little; and the soltân turning his thoughts to other things, in 1617 sent a chaush to Paris, with letters, to demand of Henry IV. that justice might be done the Moors of Granada, expelled out of Spain, who had been wronged of their goods, as well as in their persons, in their passage to France. The chaush was amazed at the long delays given to lawsuits in that country; whereas, he said the Turks did justice with dispatch, and terminated the most important causes in eight days time. *Demand on France.* A.D. 1617.

This year the soltân had two armies on foot, one under Ali Pâshâ, against the Persians; the other against the Poles, on account of their supporting the interest of Alexander, prince of Moldavia. They had likewise two fleets at sea, the first in the Euxine or Black Sea, to act against the Kosaks or Russians, who daily infested their coasts; the other in the White Sea, or Propontis, to be ready to convoy the treasure of Egypt, and oppose the attempts of the gallies belonging to Malta and Florence. However, nothing remarkable happened abroad this year, which at home proved unfortunate by the loss of the soltân himself, who died on the 16th of November [a]. *Great preparations.*

Ahmed lived twenty-nine years, and reigned fourteen. His three sons, Othmân, Murâd, and Ibrâhîm, all ascended the throne. *Ahmed dies.*

Not to mention his other virtues, he excelled all his predecessors in liberality and magnificence; so that he has been charged by some with profuseness. He was very fond of building, and erected in the hyppodrome a jâmi (L), *His character.*

[a] Grimst. in Ricaut.

(L) This building excels Sancta Sophia in magnificence, though not in largeness. Besides the numberless ornaments on the outside of the walls, there are above two hundred gold tables, each set with sixty-one diamonds, hung up on the inside, whereon are engraven the names of the prophets, with sentences out of the Korân, every one of which is said to have cost sixty dollars. It is certain, so much money was expended on this structure, that on an exact calculation, every dram of stone or mortar, was found to cost three aspers. Cant. What then must the gold, gildings, painting, wood, and iron work have cost?

the

the neighbour and rival of Sancta Sophia. This structure proved so costly, that to finish it the treasures of the whole empire, collected by his father during his long repose, scarce sufficed. Whilst this work was in hand, the soltân is said to have visited it every week, and paid the workmen with his own hand [b].

To this account of the Turkish historians, we may add from the Christian, that he was of a good constitution, well complexioned, and somewhat inclined to be fat. He was strong and active; ambitious and proud, but not so cruel as many of his predecessors. He was much given to sensuality, for he had three thousand women, the daughters of Christians, in his saray. He took great delight in hawking and hunting; to pursue which sports, he maintained forty thousand falconers, and near as many huntsmen, in Grecce and Anatolia. Ahmed took a fancy to make horn rings, such as the Turks use when they draw their bows; and his father Mohammed made arrows. For the Mohammedan princes are obliged by their religion to practice some handicraft business, which they do in the morning, immediately after they have said their prayers; but it is only for form sake, since they scarce finish an arrow or a ring in a whole year [c].

SECT. XVI.

The Reign of Mostafa.

Hej. 1027. A.D. 1618.

Soltân Mostafa.

AHMED was succeeded, in the beginning of the year 1027, by his younger brother Mostafa; but as this prince took no care of the public affairs, but gave himself up entirely to his lusts, he was in the fourth month of his reign, by the unanimous consent of the great men, removed from the throne to the prison of the Seven Towers.

SECT. XVII.

Reign of Soltân Othmân II.

Soltân Othmân II.

MOSTAFA being deposed, soltân Othmân, or Osmân, the second, ascended the throne, in the eighth year of his age. It was upon account of his youth that they had before passed him by, although he had more right to

[b] Cant. p. 240. [c] Grimst. in Ricaut.

the

the empire than his uncle Moſtafa, who was choſen as a contemplative and inoffenſive man [d].

The baron De Mole, or Sancy, the French ambaſſador, had been confined in conſequence of the eſcape of prince Koſkire, to which the ſecretary of the French embaſſy had been acceſſary; and it was not without very conſiderable preſents to the mufti, chauſh baſhi, and others, that he obtained his freedom.

As ſoon as he was freed from his confinement, he ſent to acquaint his maſter with the treatment he had received. Hereupon the king of France ſent two gentlemen to Conſtantinople, to demand reparation for the indignity offered to his repreſentative. On this occaſion Uri Chauſh was diſpatched ambaſſador to Paris, to confirm the peace; and at his audience he delivered a letter from the young ſoltân, wherein he made an apology for what had happened, and promiſed that, for the future, the French ambaſſador ſhould be treated with more reſpect than the envoy of any other Chriſtian potentate. *Embaſſy to France.*

Uri Chauſh, after he had finiſhed his buſineſs in France, went over in the ſame quality to England, where he had an audience of king James I. at Whitehall, to whom he made a ſpeech, and then preſented a letter from the ſoltân, much to the ſame purpoſe with that ſent to the king of France.

In the mean time Ali Pâſhâ, the grand wazîr, had entered Perſia with his army, and deſtroyed all before him with fire and ſword, as far as Tauris, whither Karelghay Hân, or Khân, the Perſian general, retreated; but on the wazîr's approach he left that city; and being purſued by the Tatars, many of his troops were cut to pieces. Then the Turks proceeded towards Ardevil, from whence the king of Perſia fled towards Hulkhal, and retreating with his army to the top of a high mountain, ſent to demand peace; which the wazîr, being in diſtreſs for want of victuals, was obliged to grant, and Soltân Ozmân afterwards confirmed it. *Peace with Perſia.*

During this expedition of the Turks into Perſia [e], in the year 1029, on the 28th of Rabio'lawel, there appeared in the heavens at Conſtantinople, a figure of a crooked ſword, five times as long as a ſpear, and three feet broad. It extended from eaſt to weſt, and for a whole month ſhone with great brightneſs after ſun-ſet. The aſtrologers declared *Hejr. 1029. A.D. 1620.* *Strange phænomena.*

[d] Cant. Othm. Hiſt. p. 241. [e] Grimſt. in Ricaut.

clared it to be a sign of victory, and increase of empire to the Othmâns [f].

Ghabor made king. The war about the same time growing hot in Bohemia against the Protestants, Bethlem Ghabor, prince of Transilvana, diverted the arms of the Imperialists by invading Hungary; but fearing that the emperor, in case he quite subdued the Bohemians, should fall upon him with his whole power, he sent an ambassador to crave aid of Ozmân; who promised, with an oath, to assist him in case of need, to the utmost of his power. Bethlem having thus gained the soltân's protection, entered into a league with the Bohemians and Hungarians, and on the 25th of August was proclaimed king of Hungary [g].

Prodigious Frost. Next year there happened, in the month of Rabio'lawel, a frost at Constantinople, so intense, that the inhabitants of that city walked over the Bosphorus to Skutari on foot. This the astrologers interpreted as a bad omen; but Othmân, in contempt of their prediction, undertook in the ensuing summer an expedition against the Poles; recovered Khotin (M), which they had taken by assault, and sent the khân of Krîm, with the Tartarian and Turkish forces, to ravage the inmost part of Poland. Mean while he himself surrounded and pressed the enemy's troops in such a manner, that they were at last compelled to sue for peace; which the soltân having granted on his own terms, he returned about winter laden with spoils and captives [h].

Ozmân invades Poland.

Occasion of the war. As to the occasion of this war, the Christian historians tell us, that the Poles had not only given the Othmâns offence by supporting the interest of Alexander, prince of Moldavia, in opposition to the vayvod set up by the Turks, as hath been already related, but they had also given protection to Gasparo Gratiani, an Austrian, who had been made vayvod of Moldavia, after the death of Mikhna, and falling into disgrace at the Porte, fled into Poland. Soon after this transaction, Jehân Beg Ghieray, khân of Krîm, having made several incursions into the Polish territories, the ambassador of Poland complained thereof to the Porte; but being answered that the Tatars

[f] Cant. p. 241. [g] Grimst. ubi supra. [h] Cant. p. 242.

(M) Or Khochim, commonly written in the maps Choczyn. It is a city of Moldavia, on the river Tyras, or Niester, over against Kamieniek.

were

were absolute lords of themselves, and besides had a demand of forty thousand ducats annual tribute on his country, which was not paid to them, those ravagers grew more insolent, and committed much greater depredations than before.

Mutual incursions.

The Poles and Kosaks dwelling about the Boristhenes or Nieper, in order to make reprisals, fell down that river in boats, and plundered several towns and villages on the Euxine, or Black Sea. The soltân sent forces against them from time to time, which always came off with the worst; and when he complained of the damage done by them to his subjects, the Poles answered in his own language, that the Poles were absolute lords of themselves; but that when the Tatar would put a stop to his hostilities, they might be prevailed on to desist from their's. Ozmân plainly saw by this declaration that he was to expect no peace from the Kosaks so long as the Tatars continued their ravages; and therefore, rather than procure it at that rate, by the advice of his prime wazîr Ali, he resolved on a war against Poland.

A.D. 1621.

The Poles surrounded.

Accordingly, in the end of April, 1621, he took the field with an army, three hundred thousand strong. His first attempt was to attack the fortress of Kochin in Moldavia, given by Gasparo to the Poles; but failing in this design, he crossed the Boristhenes, and, as it were, besieged the chancellor of Poland with forty thousand Poles and Kosaks, besides eight thousand Germans, in their camp, for thirty-four days together. At length finding, after all his attempts, that he could not prevail against the bravery of the enemy, he profited by the mediation of Radula, prince of Walakhia, and an accommodation took place on the following terms; that the emperor's army should retire from the borders of Poland; that the Tatars should send a murza to reside as a hostage in Poland, to prevent future incursions; and that the Poles should send another to the Krîm, as a security against any invasion, either by them or the Kosaks; and pay the khân forty thousand florins; that the Poles should have a resident at the Porte, and be allowed a free trade in the Othmân dominions; but that their merchants should be obliged to make a present of one hundred thousand chekîns. This accommodation was the more seasonable on both sides; as that by the sword, cold, famine, and other casualties, the Turks were computed to have lost eighty thousand men, besides one hundred thousand horses, and the Poles twenty thousand.

Peace concluded.

However,

The emperor threatened.

However, the soltân being exasperated at the emperor Ferdinand II. for sending aid to the Poles, did, upon his leaving Poland, contrary to the advice of his council, proclaim war against him. Pursuant to this measure, he commanded the pâshâ of Silistria to winter in that country, with an army of seventy thousand men, in order to invade the emperor's dominions in the following spring; and presently after Gallo, the emperor's ambassador, was stopt at Buda, under pretence that he had promised, upon his life, the emperor should not assist the Poles. Hereupon the king of Poland acquainted the chaush, who was then at his court, that in case his master should on any such account commence hostilities against Ferdinand, he would conclude no peace with him, but should be obliged to take the part of his ally. Upon this remonstrance Ozmân thought it advisable to desist from his resolution; yet, at the same time, secret orders were sent to some of the officers, who commanded on the frontiers, to join Bethlem Ghabor against the emperor; but that order came too late, Bethlem having already made peace with that prince [1].

A.D. 1622.

Rebellion in Syria.

It being reported that the amîr of Sidon (N) was in rebellion, Ozmân pretending to go against them in person, ordered his palace in Hâlep to be fitted up, and his troops to be in readiness to march. This resolution was against the opinion of the mufti, and other officers of state, who thought it not convenient for him to leave his European dominions; besides, they said, his presence would enhance the charges of the expedition. On these remonstrances he seemed to change his mind, but next day going to the arsenal, he ordered one hundred gallies to be equipped, and sent a fleet into the Black Sea against the Kosaks. The dissatisfaction given his ministry by these precipitate proceedings, was heightened by his marrying the grand-daughter of a soltâna, wife of Partev Pâshâ, only for her beauty, without any pomp; contrary to the late custom of his predecessors, who refrained from taking wives of Turkish extraction. The soldiery also began to be disgusted on the same account; and his manner of behaviour increased a contempt of him in the city; for he used daily to go about the streets on foot, sometimes in

[1] Sir Thomas Roe's Letters, apud Ricaut.

(N) This was probably the famous Amîr Fakro'ddîn, prince of the Durzi, commonly called Druses.

disguise;

diſguiſe, with a page or two, peeping into houſes and taverns like a petty officer.

While the peace between the Turks and Poles was in agitation, Sir Thomas Roe, ambaſſador from James I. of England, arrived at the Porte to renew the ancient capitulations and privileges, which the Engliſh nation enjoyed in the empire. He had it alſo in charge to offer his maſter's mediation between the ſoltân and Poland; to deſire redreſs for the piracies committed by the gallies of Tunis and Algiers; and likewiſe to demand reſtitution of a great ſum of money taken from Arthur Garraway, merchant, in the reign of Ahmed. *Embaſſy from England.*

The prime wazîr anſwered the ambaſſador, that the ſoltân had given orders for renewing the capitulations, with requiſite additions; but declined the king's mediation, as if inconſiſtent with the ſoltân's honour, ſince the Poles ſeemed not ſincerely inclined to peace: however, he promiſed, that if the peace did take place, all the priſoners ſhould be releaſed, except prince Koreſki. As for the pirates, Ozmân proteſted againſt them, and was ready to do the Engliſh any ſervice; but thought the demand of Garraway's money injurious to him, ſince they could obtain no relief from the three preceding wazîrs, to whom they had applied.

The ſoltân, diſcontented ever ſince his diſgrace in Poland, meditated revenge upon the ſoldiery; finding alſo that his intention of going in pilgrimage to Mekka was not reliſhed, he grew ſtill more uneaſy: but, being reſolved to undertake it, he ſeemed now content with any ſort of peace with the Poles He reinforced his frontiers in Hungary; and though much troubled at the league between the emperor and Bethlem Ghabor, yet he diſſembled his reſentment, and ſecured the Black Sea with his gallies. Mean while all the great officers both in church and ſtate ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his intended journey to Mekka; and the ſoldiery went ſo far as to proteſt they would not follow him, but ſet up another prince in his room. *Ozmân's deſigns.*

Notwithſtanding all this oppoſition, Ozmân, hurried on by his ill fortune, on Wedneſday the 7th of May, began to ſend over his tents and treaſure into Aſia. Hereupon the janizaries and ſpahis, concluding that his palaces and the temples were not ſtripped of what was valuable in them, merely for ſake of the pilgrimage, ſuddenly met in the Atmeydan or Hippodrome, and running to the ſaray, called out for the ſoltân. On Ozmân's appearing, and aſking what they meant by that piece of inſolence? they anſwered, *The ſoldiery mutiny.*

answered, that he should neither go to Mekka, nor over to Asia, but stay in the city; and at the same time demanded the heads of the prime wazîr Delavir, and others, as enemies to the government. The soltân finding it best to give way a little, promised to lay aside the thoughts of his journey; and as to their other demand, desired them to refer it to the divân to be held next Saturday.

Kill the wazîr and their aga.

Ozmân, perceiving that they could not be prevailed on to desist, at night fortified the saray, with design to oppose the seditious; but although the palace had always three thousand domestics within it, yet not a man of them would arm in their master's behalf. Next morning the mutineers assembled again, and forcing the mufti to go along with them to the court, made a new demand of the persons whom they wanted to destroy. In this emergency the wazîr entreated him to pass over to Asia in his own boats; but finding the soltân inflexible, he bravely ventured to go out himself to the mutineers, and asked them, what it was they sought of him, and wherein he had offended? This courageous behaviour put them at first to a stand, till some insolent fellows, more audacious than the rest, answered him with their swords (O), and cut him in pieces.

When Ozmân was informed of this outrage, he attempted to escape into Asia; but finding he had slipped the opportunity, hid himself in a private part of the palace. The mutineers at last entered the saray, and taking Mostafa with two negro women out of a vault, where he had been put at the beginning of the tumult, by his nephew's order, they proclaimed him emperor a second time, and carried him to the old palace. Ozmân having in the night consulted with Husseyn, aga of the janizaries, and another officer, pursuant to their advice, early next morning, went to the college of those soldiers, and by a speech, accompanied with tears, acknowleging his error, almost brought them to relent in his favour; but the aga unseasonably making use of some harsh and reproachful words, their fury was roused again; so that crying out treason,

(O) When Sir Thomas Roe desired him, in case he went along with the soltân in pilgrimage, to recommend him to the kaymekâm, he replied, "Trouble not yourself, I shall never remove so far from this city, but that I will leave one of my legs behind to serve you." Which promise was verified, in a way he never intended; for within a few days after his murder, one of his legs was hung up in the Hippodrome.

they

they cut him and Huſſeyn Pâſhâ to pieces, and ſent the ſoltân priſoner to the Seven Towers.

As ſoon as Moſtafa was ſeated on the throne, Dawd Pâſhâ, the new prime wazîr, and his brother-in-law, went with certain perſons to put Ozmân to death. Being awakened by the executioners entering his chamber, he cried, "What news?" At firſt they ſtood amazed; till one of them ſtriking him on the head with a battle ax, the reſt leaped upon him, and ſtrangled him with much difficulty [k]. *Ozmân ſtrangled.*

The Turkiſh hiſtorians made uſe of by prince Cantemir, wholly omit the circumſtances of this remarkable event; they only tell us in general, that the ſoldiery, unuſed to youthful government, and living idly at Conſtantinople, being ſtirred up by Moſtafa's party, moſt barbarouſly killed the ſoltân, a young man of great hopes, in the fourth year of his reign, and twelfth of his age; after which aſſaſſination they releaſed Moſtafa, whom they had before depoſed, and ſet him once more upon the throne [l]. Hej. 1032. A.D. 1622.

SECT. XVIII.

Moſtafa reſtored.

ALTHOUGH the ſoldiery were ſo eager for Moſtafa's reſtoration, yet he did not pleaſe them long. He had, while in priſon, concealed, not corrected, the vices of his perverſe nature; and thereby inſpired the ſoldiery with hope, that having taſted the cup of affliction, he would become better, and alter his courſe of life, as well as method of government. But after they had, in this expectation, replaced him on the throne, he, thinking himſelf out of fortune's power, returned to his old vices, and neglected the adminiſtration of affairs. When he had tyrannized, rather than reigned, fifteen months, he was again dethroned by the great men; and being with the greateſt ignominy ſet on the back of an aſs, carried amidſt the inſults of the mob, to the priſon of the Seven Stars, where ſoon after he was ſtrangled by the command of his ſucceſſor [m]. *Moſtafa's incapacity.* *Depoſed again.*

This is all the account which the Turkiſh hiſtorians in view afford us, relating to the ſecond reign of ſoltân Moſtafâ; nor are the matters which the Chriſtian writers have

[k] Roe, ubi ſupra. [l] Cant. p. 242. [m] Cant. ubi ſupra.

collected of any great moment; however, it may not be amiss to mention some particulars. The conditions agreed on by the late wazîr Dalavir, and the Polish commissioners, were kept so secret, that the new wazîr Dawd knew nothing of the matter, nor could find any copy of them; but a Polish ambassador being now arrived to conclude the peace, it went on at the earnest solicitation of Sir Thomas Roe. Nevertheless, on the 17th of June, the brave prince Koreski, who had formerly made his escape out of the Turkish dominions, after two years close confinement, was strangled in prison. Although this barbarity was perpetrated by the wazîr's order, yet in malice to the aga of the janizaries, he laid the blame on him; and from thence taking occasion to remove him, sent him to the islands to be strangled. The janizaries, incensed at this injustice done to their general, rescued him, and demanded the wazîr's head. They likewise broke into and plundered his palace; but though on promoting Mostafa, a person of a mild nature, to that high post, they became quiet for two or three days; yet afterwards things returned into confusion again, some being for the continuance of Mostafa on the throne, whilst others practised for the advancement of Morâd, the brother of Ozmân. Mean while at Bâghdâd, the captain of the janizaries slew the pâshâ of that city; burnt the mufti and all his kindred, and married his daughter to Arslân Beg, who laid pretensions to the inheritance of a neighbouring prince.

Prince Koreski strangled.

Things in confusion.

On the 22d of August, there arrived an ambassador from Bethlem Ghabor, prince of Transylvania; who, among other instructions, had orders to excuse his master for having made peace with the emperor; alleging, that it was a step taken chiefly to gain time, and that he did not intend to keep it long. He likewise suggested, that the emperor designed to invade the Othmân dominions; and advised that orders should be sent to the pâshâs on the frontiers, to begin hostilities against the empire and Poland, whose ambassador was at the same time treating of peace. At last, after many difficulties and delays, he gained his point, notwithstanding the great opposition made by the minister of Russia. By this peace the Moldavians engaged not to give the Krim Tatars a passage into Poland through their country; and in case the latter did the Poles any injury, satisfaction was to be made, and their khân punished. They were likewise to assist the Poles in their wars, on paying them the yearly stipend. On the other hand, the Kosâks were not to invade the Turkish territories; and in case they

Peace with Poland.

they did, reſtitution was to be made of the ſpoil. In conſequence of this peace, ſome reparation was made the Poles, for the ravages committed by the Tatars, and their khân Jehân Beg Ghieray depoſed; in whoſe room was placed Mehemed Ghieray, his couſin-german, before impriſoned at Rhodes [n].

The ſoldiers, perſiſting ſtill in their mutinous diſpoſition, demanded for themſelves all profitable employments, which durſt not be denied them. They drank wine in the ſtreets, contrary to their law, and extorted money from the Chriſtians to pay for it: killing them with impunity, in caſe they refuſed. About the ſame time, the janizaries in the gallies which rode at Smyrna, commanded by Halîl Pâſhâ, in deſpite of his authority, plundered the houſes of all the Chriſtian conſuls in that port. The Engliſh were forced to run naked from their lodgings, and ſwim to the admiral's galley to ſave their lives; while the Turks ranſacked the lower part of the houſes, and carried away to the value of two thouſand dollars. The damage which the French ſuffered was ſtill greater; and the loſs of the Venetians amounted to at leaſt ten thouſand dollars. *Violences committed.*

There were at the ſame time three rebellions on foot in Aſia; one at Bâghdâd, another at Arzerûm, and a third in Meſopotamia, which were concealed by the miniſters of ſtate.

Mean while the grand wazîr, Jorji Mehemet, envying the authority of his predeceſſor, David Pâſhâ the queen-mother's favourite, and ſon-in-law, who had been the inſtrument of ſoltân Ozmân's murder, ſtirred up the ſpahîs to demand juſtice upon him for that heinous fact. Hereupon being ſeized and carried into the divân, he was without any trial brought before the ſoldiers, where he was ſtript, and on his knees, with his turban taken off, ready to receive the fatal ſtroke, when the janizaries ſuddenly came to his reſcue, and carried him away to their odas or chambers; but the ſpahîs inſiſting on his death with great vehemence, to prevent their coming to blows, he was, notwithſtanding all the money given to ſave himſelf, delivered into their hands. He was ſecretly put in the ſame coach wherein he had ſent ſoltân Ozmân to his execution; and being dry with ſorrow, drank at the ſame fountain where his late ſovereign had ſtopped to drink. In a word, having been conveyed into the ſame chamber *The late wazîr put to death.*

[n] Ricaut.

where he had murdered that prince, he shewed the executioners the corner where he had committed the crime; and desiring to expiate it in the very same place, was there accordingly strangled.

Conspiracy at court.

As the great disorders in the empire manifestly proceeded from the weak capacity of Mostafa, and, instead of subsiding, spread themselves gradually into the provinces, both ministers and people seemed unanimously to desire the deposition of Mostafa a second time. There were indeed three difficulties in the way: for it was not likely, either that Khosûm Pâshâ, now prime wazîr, would consent to divest himself of that absolute power which he enjoyed under a weak prince, or that the janizaries, who had exalted Mostafa, would easily forego their choice; nor was there money in the treasury sufficient to pay the customary donatives on a new inauguration. However, certain incidents happened at this juncture, which contributed much to remove those difficulties, and hasten a change. The chief of these was the rebellion of Abâza, who with fifteen thousand horse, ravaged the plains about Kârahissar, in Anatolia, styling himself the avenger of soltân Ozmân, and enemy of the janizaries. Of these he slew all who fell into his hands; a circumstance which so enraged the rest of that order who were at Constantinople, that they proposed to their aga a speedy union with the spahîs, for the immediate suppression of the rebels; and the rather, because Sigâla Pâshâ, who had been sent into Asia for that purpose, had by letters informed the court, that, on his approach towards the enemy, most of his forces had deserted him.

Mostafa deposed.

This intelligence furnished the mufti, wazîr, and aga, with such an answer for the janizaries, as disposed them to co-operate in the desired change. They told them, that they were ready to comply with their request for suppressing the rebellion in Asia: but that the incapacity of their sovereign hindered them from proceeding; and that the defect of the principal wheel obstructed all the motions of good government. The janizaries hereupon met in a tumultuous manner at soltân Solymân's mosque, and there making an Ayak Diwân, it was enacted, by consent of the civil and military power, that young Morâd should be advanced to the throne, and Mostafa deposed; and, because the treasury was low, the soldiers were content to wave their largesses for this time, but without prejudice to their claim on future inaugurations. This decree being

ing made, the prime wazîr, immediately mounted on horseback, to notify their resolution to Mostafa: but he found him so stupid, that he seemed insensible of the message [o].

SECT. XIX.

The Reign of Morâd IV. surnamed Ghâzi.

THIS soltân, whose brave exploits acquired him the surname of Ghâzi, or *the Valiant*, was born in the year 1018, and on the deposition of Mostafa, succeeded to the empire on the 4th of Zulkadeh, 1032 [p]. Hej. 1032. A.D. 1622. *Soltân Morâd IV.*

The first act of his power was to depose Husseyn Pâshâ, grand wazîr, for mal-administration, whom he afterwards strangled; and to advance Halil Pâshâ, whom the other had unjustly prosecuted, in his place. He had many difficulties to struggle with, especially the insolence of the janizaries, and want of money to satisfy their demands. To this end, besides a tax laid on all military officers, a shameful loan was required of thirty thousand chekîns, from the four Christian ambassadors at the Porte. *Distractions at court.* A D. 1624.

Many of the officers, not liking this usurping humour, began secretly to espouse the cause of Abâza, pâshâ of Arzerûm, and his confederate the pâshâ of Bâghdâd: neither were the wazîr, or the pâshâ of Anatolia, favourers of the janizaries; who, when they pressed him to fight Abâza, answered, that they might if they would, but that for his part he would not engage in a quarrel where Mussulmân blood must be spilled on both sides. *Abâza favoured.*

The Porte was also distracted at this time, by the Krim Tatars refusing Mahmûd Ghieray, whom the soltân had appointed khân, and declaring for his brother Mehemet. On this occasion the kâpûdân pâshâ, landing eight thousand men, to support the interest of the former; they fell into an ambush of thirty thousand Tatar horse, who might have cut them all off; but to shew their regard for them as old allies, they slew but a few, and let the prisoners go at small ransoms. Had they pursued their advantage, they might have destroyed their whole fleet, and done them still greater damage. *Khrim Tatar's success.*

During these troubles, the Kosâks in the admiral's absence, with one hundred and fifty sail and saiks or boats, entered the Bosphorus, where they burnt several villages, *Kosâk's invasions.*

[o] Ricaut. [p] Cant. p. 743.

and pleasure-houses. To oppose them, although so near the imperial city, there was not a galley in readiness; the Turks therefore armed some small craft of the same kind with the enemies vessels, and brought forth a great chain, which the Greek emperors used at the siege of Constantinople, to extend across the Bosphorus. Not long after, the Kosâks returned with a more considerable force, and threw the city into greater consternation than before. They landed in several places; and having burnt the Pharos, with some villages, returned home laden with spoil and glory.

Affairs of Germany. Notwithstanding this unfavourable situation of affairs at the Porte, Bethlem Ghabor, prince of Transylvania, retained his attachment to it; and suing for leave to make war on the emperor, was assisted with fifty thousand Turks: but for these succours he paid fifty thousand dollars to the prime wazîr, and promised a yearly tribute of forty thousand more. After he had, with those auxiliary troops joined to his own, done considerable damage to the Imperial territories, a truce was at last concluded: but the Turks divided in parties, having in their return committed great spoil, and carried off a multitude of people captives, the Imperialists fell upon and defeated most of them, killing a great number, and releasing many prisoners. Among the rest, Esterhasi boldly attacked a large body of them, slew twelve hundred, freed one thousand Christians, and took several of their principal commanders, with all their baggage, besides a great quantity of gold and silver.

Persians take Bâghdâd. The Turks, discouraged by these losses, sent ambassadors both to Vienna and Poland to renew the peace; and the rather, because the power of the rebels increased in the East, while the king of Persia entered the Othmân dominions, carrying all before him. The more moderate ministers were for pardoning Abâza, and granting his demands; but this opinion was stifly opposed by the janizaries, whose declared enemy he was; so that while they differed about the method of proceeding, the rebel had an opportunity to ravage Anatolia, and the shâh to conquer the city, with the province of Bâghdâd. After this conquest, dividing his army into four parts, he marched with one into Mesopotamia; the second he sent to Syria; the third harrassed the coast of the Black Sea; and the fourth took the route towards Mekka.

Ali Pâshâ, being sent to oppose the shâh in Mesopotâmia, was there slain, and his army ruined. The Othmâns had

had no better ſucceſs in Syria, the inſurrection of which was attended with the revolt of Damaſkus. The forces ſent to the Black Sea, beſides other damages, took a fort near Trebizond; while thoſe detached towards Arabia reduced the cities of Bâſrah and Medînah.

To remedy theſe evils, the prime wazîr, with a great army, began his march to beſiege Bâghdâd [q]. But here it will be proper to leave the Chriſtian hiſtorians, and return to the Turkiſh, to ſee what account they give us of the war in Aſia, with which they begin the actions of Morad's reign. They tell us, that in the very commencement of it, he ſhewed how much better it was for the Othmâns to obey an active young man, than a ſluggard. *Abâza defeated.*

Abazâ, pâſhâ of Arzerûm, in Moſtafa's time, had dared to ravage the Aſiatic provinces, in open defiance of his ſovereign; and hoped to proceed with impunity, ſo long as Morâd, a youth, held the reins of government. But the ſoltân, in the ſecond year of his reign, ſent the prime wazîr, Cherkîes Mehemed Pâſhâ, with an army againſt the rebel, who, after a bloody battle near Kayſarya, being defeated, fled to Arzerûm. But death at Tokâd prevented the wazîr from proſecuting the war. Hej. 1033. A.D. 1623.

However, Morâd, imagining Abâza's rebellion to be entirely quaſhed, ſent Khafiz Ali Pâſhâ, governor of Diyârbekr, with a great army to beſiege Bâghdâd; but after five months ſiege, he was repulſed by the bravery of the beſieged with great loſs, and forced to return. For this reaſon, when he arrived at Halep, he was deprived of his dignity, and the imperial ſignet committed to Halil Pâſhâ [r]. A.D. 1626. *Bâghdâd beſieged.*

About this time Bethlem Ghabor made peace with the emperor of Germany; obliging himſelf, among other things, to procure a reſtitution of all places on the borders taken by the Turks in the laſt war, and all priſoners to be ſet at liberty. Theſe articles, approved by Morâd, were agreed on in December, 1626; and in September next year, a peace was concluded at Komorra, between the emperor and the ſoltân. *Peace with the emperor.*

After this pacification, the ſhâh of Perſia, notwithſtanding his late ſucceſſes, thought fit to diſpatch an ambaſſador to the Porte, with propoſals of peace: but as he could not be prevailed on to part with Bâghdâd, the grand wazîr Halil would not hearken to them. Soon af- A.D. 1627. *Perſian expedition.*

[q] Ricaut. in Amurat. [r] Cant. p. 244.

ter, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, he passed into Asia, in order to subdue that capital[s]. But neither did this wazîr answer the soltân's expectations: for being ordered to march against the Persians, when he reached the neighbourhood of Arzerûm, Abâza Pâshâ, who lurked about that place, suspecting that, under the colour of a Persian expedition, an army was brought against him, returned to Arzerûm, which he had made the seat of arms, and furnished with provisions, as well as warlike stores.

Abâza's success.

Halil Pashâ, taking this retreat for a flight, relinquished the Persian expedition, in order to crush the rebels, now quite dispirited, as he imagined; and marching to that city, closely besieged it. But whilst he hoped to acquire fame with little labour, he incurred disgrace with infinite trouble. For Abâza, who was by all esteemed the best soldier and wisest general of his time, bravely defended the city. Having repulsed the enemy in an assault, he unexpectedly attacked, with a small but chosen band, the Othmân camp, killed the guards, and struck the whole army with such terror, that a defeat easily followed. Thus numerous forces were vanquished by a handful of men; multitudes were slain, and many taken alive: the wazîr himself, after throwing away his arms, hardly escaping with a few attendants[t].

Troubles in Krim.

The Krîm Tatars likewise gave no small trouble to the Porte at this juncture; for they took Kâffa from the Turks, who could find no better expedient to bring them to their duty, than to forgive all past offences, on condition they restored that place. This restitution the Tatars readily agreed to, with a proviso, however, on their side, that the soltân should impose no other khân upon them, than him whom they had themselves elected.

A.D 1628.

Abâza reduced.

But the great concern of the Porte being the rebellion in Asia[u], Morâd, on the news of Halîl Pâshâ's defeat, displaced him, and appointing Khosraw Pâshâ his wazîr and general, sent him with supplies to the army, then wintering in Diyârbekr, with orders to extinguish the flame, by attacking Abâza early in the spring. Khosraw Pâshâ, rendered more cautious by the miscarriage of his predecessor, besides assembling all his forces, provided the largest cannon; and with them so shook the walls of Arzerûm, that the frighted inhabitants surrendered their city, with the rebel, on the fifth day of the siege. Here-

[s] Ricaut. ubi supra. [t] Cant. p. 244. [u] Ricaut. ubi supra.

upon

upon the pâshâ sent Abâza in chains to the Porte; but Morâd, in consideration of his heroical exploits, and invincible courage, was unwilling to deprive the Othmân empire of so great an ornament. On his promise therefore to wipe out his former crimes, by drawing his sword against the soltân's enemies, he was not only received into favour, but also make beglerbeg of Bosnia, as a proper person to secure the empire on that side, in case any neighbouring power should invade it, whilst his master was employed in the Persian war.

The civil distubances being thus appeased, in the year 1039, Khosraw Pâshâ was sent with a fresh army against Bâghdâd. The wazîr, to remove the obstacles which his predecessors had met with, immediately repaired to Asia, and made great preparations the whole winter at Musol. In the spring, in order to cut off all relief from Bâghdâd, he entered the province of Irâk Arabi, governed by Zenel Khân; took the castles, destroyed those he could not keep, and entirely quelling the rebellion, closely besieged Bâghdâd: but although he bravely assaulted the city for one-and-forty days, yet finding he could not prevail, he raised the siege, after having sustained considerable loss[x]. Hej. 1039. A.D. 1629. *Siege of Bâghdâd raised with loss.*

At this time there were great factions at court, owing chiefly to the profligate conduct and levity of the soltân: the depredations also of the Kosaks gave no small uneasiness, of whom complaint was made to the king of Poland for redress. In short, every thing looked with so gloomy an aspect, that nothing but the expectation of the success of their army against the Persians could keep up their spirits. The grand wazîr had now passed the Tigris with part of his forces, in order to besiege Bâghdâd; but the pâshâ of Hâlep being sent with six thousand men to view the place, was defeated, with the loss of most of his troops, by two thousand Persians, going to reinforce the garrison of that city. However, the wazîr having spent all September in making his approaches, and mounting eighteen pieces of cannon in October, for twenty-five days continually battered the curtain between two bastions. The breaches being made, and seemingly left undefended, on the 20th of November, the spahîs, supported by thirty thousand janizaries, were ordered to give the assault; but as the ditch, which was wide and deep, A.D. 1630. *Siege of Bâghdâd.*

[x] Cant. p. 245.

had

had been covered with planks and green turf laid over them, to deceive the beſiegers, on their crouding forward, the gallery fell under them, and ſwallowed up five or ſix thouſand in an inſtant. At the ſame time there appeared fifteen thouſand men at the breach, and on the baſtions, where likewiſe there where four cannon unknown to the Turks; who were ſo galled with the continual firing of the artillery and muſkets, that the main body of the ſpahîs was quickly broken, their commanders were killed, and at length the whole army was routed. Two days after the wazîr raiſed the ſiege, and marched towards Moſul, purſued by eight thouſand Perſian horſe, who cut off three thouſand of his men. However he repreſented matters ſo much to his advantage at the Porte, that the Poles renewed the peace, and the Hungarians continued quiet.

A.D. 1631. Next year the wazîr made great preparations to renew the ſiege; but while the ſoltân ſlept ſecure from enemies, he was in great danger of periſhing by a natural evil; for, in September, one night he was awakened by a terrible flaſh of lightning, which entering his chamber, ſurrounded his bed, leaving ſeveral marks on the ſheets and quilts. Morâd, in a great fright, ſtarted out of bed; but while he ſought to hide himſelf, the flame paſſed under his arm, and burnt part of his ſhirt: this accident threw him into a ſwoon, which ever after much impaired his reaſon. Afterwards he diſmiſſed many of his buffoons, and for ſome time abſtained from wine [y].

Morâd thunder-ſtruck.

Rebellion in Natolia. The Turkiſh hiſtorians tell us, that the ſucceſs of the late Perſian expedition was hindered chiefly by a freſh rebellion, which broke out in the borders of Perſia: for Ilias Pâſhâ, whom Morâd had made beglerbeg of Arzerûm, in Abâza's room, following the example of his predeceſſor, threw off his obedience to the ſoltân: but being taken in the year 1041, by Kyuchuk Mehemed Pâſhâ, and ſent to the Porte, his head was ſtruck off in the public market place [z].

According to the Chriſtian writers, there were two rebels in arms at the ſame time, one who ſeized on Pruſa or Burſa; and Elias Pâſhâ, who made himſelf maſter of Magneſia. There being beſieged by the beglerbeg of Anatolia, he was at length prevailed on to accept of terms; to which truſting, he went to Conſtantinople to receive his reward, and met with a halter.

[y] Ricaut. ubi ſupra. [z] Cant. p. 245, & ſeq.

In

In the mean time the wazîr wanting the neceſſary ſupplies, which were retarded by the intrigues of his enemies at court, the Perſians recovered all the fortreſſes they had loſt the preceding year, with Illay, a conſiderable city, two days journey from Bâghdâd; where eight thouſand Turks, left in garriſon under three beglerbegs, were cut in pieces; and vaſt quântities of ſtores taken. This diſaſter induced the ſoltân to think of peace, and ſend the Perſian lord from his priſon in the Seven Towers, as his ambaſſador to ſolicit it; at the ſame time he cauſed hoſtilities to ceaſe, by recalling his army; and the wazîr at his return was removed. *Sues for peace.*

But the new wazîr, one of Morâd's brothers-in-law, did not long enjoy either his dignity or life; for, having joined with the janizary aga and teſterdar, or *treaſurer*, in procuring the death of the aga, or general of the ſpahîs, theſe latter roſe tumultuouſly, and demanding all their heads, knocked the wazîr off his horſe, within the walls of the court. On Morâd's refuſing to deliver them, they threatened to depoſe him, and ſet up his brother Ibrâhîm. At length being obliged to give them up to ſave himſelf, they were all ſtrangled and hung upon trees. The ſoltân greatly incenſed at this inſult, and ſuſpecting the new wazîr, Rejep Pâſhâ, to have encouraged the mutineers, took occaſion ſome time after, at a firework played off in the palace, to carry the wazîr aſide into a little room, where he was ſtrangled by perſons placed there for the purpoſe; but as he had for ſome time before expected this treatment, he had taken care to diſpoſe of his wealth, for the benefit of his family. After this execution, the ſoltân by degrees cut off the ringleaders, and diminiſhed the ſoldiery. He alſo appeared more in public, to ſtrike them with awe, an expedient which had its effect. At the ſame time, to win them over to his intereſt, he daily went to ſee them perform their exerciſes in ſhooting and riding, in which he himſelf always bore a part [a]. A.D. 1632. *The ſpahis mutiny.* *Morâd's reſentment.*

The Othmân army being weakened by theſe civil wars, Ruſtem Khân, the Perſian general, invaded the Othmân dominions, and laid cloſe ſiege to Wân. Morâd, on the news of this danger, ſent to its relief the beglerbeg of Rûmeli, with his European forces, who routed the Perſians, and delivered the city, when it was on the point of ſurrendering [b]. *Wân beſieged.*

[a] Ricaut. ubi ſupra. [b] Cant. p 245.

Soon

A.D.1633. Soon after this transaction, an ambassador came from Persia with propofals of peace, which was fuddenly concluded; but as fuddenly broke again, the fame year, by the perfuafions of the Great Mogul, who promifed to affift Morâd with forces. Some of his miniſters would have had him turn his arms againſt Hungary; but to no purpofe, fince an agreement was ſigned not long after with the imperial ambaſſador for continuing the truce; and this was the more readily effected, becauſe the ſoltân had entertained ſome thoughts of making war on Poland, and diſpoſſeſſing the amîr Fakro'ddîn of his territories in Syria.

A ſhort peace.

Amir Fakro'ddin reduced to ſtraits.

This amîr was a prince of the Durzi, commonly called Druſes, who inhabit part of mount Libanus; but his anceſtors had got poſſeſſion of the cities of Barût and Sayda, or Sidon, on the ſea-coaſt, with great part of the adjacent territories, ſo that they were become very potent under Ebn Mân, or Mân Ogli. Morâd, reſolved to deſtroy the power of theſe Durzi, ſent great forces againſt Fakro'ddîn, under the pâſhâ of Tripoli, with orders to thoſe of Damaſkus, Gaza, Halep, and Kayro, to join him. Mean while Fakro'ddîn being ſummoned to ſurrender Sayda, and other places, ſent word he was but a ſubject himſelf, having reſigned his power to his ſon Ali, and that therefore they ſhould apply to him. The old âmir at that time had twenty-five thouſand men, divided into two bodies, ând commanded by his ſons. Ali, the elder, marched with one of them to Safet, to prevent the junction of the amîrs Faruk and Herabit, as well as the pâſhâs of Gâza and Damaſkus. Being a prince of courage and activity, he engaged them ſo warmly, that he defeated them, and killed eight thouſand of their men; but as he loſt ſeven thouſand of his own, they next day returned to the charge, and overwhelmed him by numbers. All his men were killed, excepting one hundred and forty-ſix; his horſe was mortally wounded; and being himſelf weary and faint, he yielded to a ſoldier, who promiſed him quarter, but afterwards ſtrangled him.

Goes to Conſtantinople.

This diſaſter ſo diſcouraged Fakro'ddîn, that giving up Sayda to the kâpudân pâſhâ, he returned to Barût; and thence retired, with his Durzi and Maronites, into the mountains: but now good fortune had forſaken him, his ſubjects forſook him too, revolting to the pâſhâ of Damaſkus. His houſes and country were deſtroyed: he alſo loſt his two remaining ſons; one ſlain in battle, and the other carried for a hoſtage to Conſtantinople. He had now

now ſcarce any thing left, excepting a few ſtrong-holds in the mountains, where living on good terms with Reba king of the Arabs, he never ceaſed ravaging the lands belonging to the pâſhâ of Damaſkus; but being purſued from one place to another, he was at laſt forced to ſubmit, on condition to be ſent free, with all his treaſure and equipage, to the Porte. When he was about two ſtages from thence, he ſent eight cheſts of gold before him, to open his way to the ſoltân; who, pleaſed with the preſent, went in diſguiſe to the amîr's tent, and deſired him to relate the hiſtory of his life. Fakro'ddîn, pretending not to know him, complied, in order to gain his favour; which he afterwards obtained to ſuch a degree, as raiſed the envy of the great officers, who traduced him as an apoſtate from their faith. This accuſation wrought ſo much on Morâd, that one day aſcending his throne, he commanded the amîr to be brought before him, and placed on a low chair, where he paſſed a formal ſentence of death on him, which was accordingly executed in his preſence [c].

War with Poland.

As to the war with Poland, the Turkiſh hiſtorians tell us, that the Perſian expedition being over, Morâd aſſembled his forces at Adrianople, and ordered Muſtâza Pâſhâ, in conjunction with Jambolad Zadeh, general of the Rumilian horſe, to infeſt Poland. Theſe generals paſſed the Danube near Ghirghiow, a town of Walakhia; but while they waited there for the ſoltân's orders, Poliſh ambaſſadors arrived, and ſued for peace to Murtâza, who ſent them to the Porte, where Morâd granted their requeſt, but on his own terms [d].

According to the Chriſtian writers, the Othmân general, whom they name Abâza, having ordered fifteen thouſand Tatars to enter Poland, they quickly over-ran the country about Khochim and Rinczug; but being overtaken, on the 14th of July, by the Poliſh general, with only two thouſand five hundred horſe, who ſurpriſed them unmounted, they were obliged to reſign their booty.

The Turks defeated.

Abâza Pâſhâ, with ſixty thouſand men, reſolving to attack the ſmall army of Poles, conſiſting chiefly of Koſaks, in their camp, the latter lined the hedges and ditches, planted their cannon advantageouſly, and then drew their troops into battalia. The Turks puſhing forward, fell into the ambuſcade; and Abaza was obliged to retreat, although he made the ſoltân believe he had gained a great

[c] Ricaut. ubi ſupra. Roger la Terre ſainɛte. [d] Cant. p. 246.

victory.

victory. This was the more readily credited, because Ladislaus, being then at war with the Russians, sent an ambassador to the Porte to treat of peace. Morâd, to bring him to his own terms, declared war, talking insultingly, and went to Adrianople, affecting to make great military preparations; but finding at length, that the Russians were obliged to sue for peace to the Poles, he thought fit to dispatch an ambassador, to renew the ancient league with them. This step only gave the Poles a better opportunity to mortify his pride; for the king and diet so resented his treatment of their ambassador, as well as the violation of the late articles, that the chaush was dismissed with some reproaches.

Sue for peace.

Morâd, who waited to turn his whole force against the Persians, was very uneasy to find so much resolution in the Poles, especially as they had now an army of eighty thousand effective men, ready in Podolia; and therefore Mortâza, one of the wazîrs of the divân, was ordered to lay the blame of all on Abâza, and even offer to have him punished, in case the Poles would make peace. This the pâshâ did so effectually, in his letters to the Polish general, that Abâza being strangled, articles were at last agreed to; whereby the vayvods of Moldavia and Walakhia should be confirmed by the soltân, with the consent and recommendation of Poland; Cantemir, and his Tatars, should be obliged to quit Bujâk, and the Kosaks to forbear hostilities in the Euxine Sea. The Turks were likewise to renounce all demands of tribute from Poland, and promise to build no new forts on the frontiers.

Terrible fire.

Before the soltân went to Adrianople, a most terrible fire happened about the middle of September at Constantinople, which reduced one third of it to ashes. There were burned no fewer than twenty-five thousand houses, two hundred mosques, the mufti's library, and the habitation of the janizaries, consisting of three hundred chambers. Morâd was so affected with the sufferings of the poor people, on this occasion, that he distributed considerable sums, in order to support them, and rebuild the city [e].

A.D.1633.

Wine licensed.

In the year 1043, the soltân published a new, and till then an unheard-of edict, by which, not only the sellers of wine were permitted to exercise their trade, but also every body allowed to drink it, contrary to the Mohammedan law. On the other hand, the coffee-houses were forbidden to be opened, under severe penalties.

[e] Ricaut. ubi supra.

Mean

Mean while the Perſian war gave him continual uneaſineſs, becauſe he perceived it impracticable, either to eſtabliſh, or, as he intended, to enlarge the empire, whilſt Bâghdâd, the nobleſt city of Aſia, and bulwark of the Othmân dominions, was in the hands of the Perſians. Wherefore, as he found he had gained no advantage to the ſtate by his generals, he reſolved to take upon himſelf the office of commander in chief; and ſurmount, by his preſence, the obſtacles which had ſtopped the progreſs of ſo many wazîrs. For this purpoſe, in the year 1044, he paſſed into Aſia with a numerous army, at the head of which he marched towards Bâghdâd. In his route he laid ſiege to Revân, lately recovered by the Perſians, and ſo fiercely aſſaulted it, that the garriſon on the eighth day ſurrendered at his mercy. The governor alone, amîr Ghiun Ogli, was detained, and ſent to Conſtantinople: to which city he the next year led back his army, after he had ſtaid for ſome time in the neighbourhood of Tauris, to repair and garriſon the caſtles [f].

Morâd's expedition.

Recovers Revân.

While the ſoltân was on his march to Perſia there were great conteſts in Tranſilvania, between Stephen Bethlem and George Ragotſki, for that principality; Morâd eſpouſing the intereſt of the firſt, while the other ſought the aſſiſtance of the emperor Ferdinand II. The Turks entering the province with twenty-five thouſand men, under the pâſhâ of Buda, Ragotſki detached his general Cornis, with ſeven thouſand men, to ſeize an advantageous poſt, butordered him not to fight till he came up to ſupport him. However, the pâſhâ having ſent twelve thouſand horſe, and two thouſand janizaries, with ſome cannon to attack him, he put himſelf at the head of his troops, and fell on with ſuch bravery, that he drove the enemy's firſt rank upon the ſecond; and at length they fled with precipitation, leaving their cannon and baggage behind, beſide three thouſand ſlain. The whole army muſt have been defeated, if a party of janizaries had not fortified themſelves in a wood, and ſtopped the purſuit. Ragotſki having had the advantage in ſeveral other rencounters with the Turks, and burnt two thouſand villages in their territories, they were content to agree, that Ragotſki ſhould enjoy his government, on condition that the goods and eſtate, which belonged to Ghabor in Tranſylvania, ſhould be reſtored to him.

A.D. 1635.

Affairs of Tranſilvania.

Byth's time Morâd arrivingat Arzerûm, ordered the head of the pâſhâ to be cut off, for oppreſſing the people. Then en-

Revân betrayed.

[f] Cant. p. 245, & ſeq.

tering

tering Armenia, and finding it deserted by the inhabitants, he commanded them to return within twenty days, on pain of death; but most of them being settled elsewhere, bought off the penalty by fines. In this march, though naturally luxurious, he set his army, of near three hundred thousand men, an example of temperance and hardiness, using a saddle for his pillow, and his horse-cloth for a quilt. Being come, in July, before Revân, he began the siege; but, although the place, which was well provided with necessaries, and a garrison of fifteen thousand men, might have held out a long time, yet the governor, amîr Guni, betrayed it to Morâd, who afterwards held him in great esteem. As soon as the news of this success reached Constantinople, great rejoicings were made for four days; during which Bâ-yezîd and Orkhân, two of the soltân's brothers, were strangled; the last of whom was said to have killed four of his executioners, before they could overpower him.

The Turks, penetrating farther into Persia, miserably wasted the country; yet not without many losses and defeats from the Persian cavalry and mountaineers. At last, being destitute of provisions, they retired to the parts about Tauris; which being harrassed like the rest, the soltân, in revenge, gave that city up to be plundered by his soldiers. He then put his army into winter quarters, and returned to Constantinople in December [g].

Hej. 1046. A.D. 1636. The Persians, who had hitherto skulked for fear of the Othmân sword, when they heard of Morâd's departure, rushed forth with numerous forces, and besieged Wân; of which city Abâza pâshâ had been made governor; yet the Othmâns behaved in so gallant a manner, for four months, that the enemy could gain no advantage, although they frequently repeated their assaults; and perhaps the city would have escaped falling into their hands, if the brave governor, on whom the strength and safety of the place seemed to depend, had not been snatched out of the world. Dispirited by this loss, the garrison more faintly defended themselves; whilst the Persians, grown more courageous, furiously renewed their assaults, and, taking the city by force, sacrificed all the Othmâns to the ghosts of their countrymen slain by Morâd [h].

Persians take Wân.

Abaza slain.

According to the Christian writers, after Morâd's return from the East, the army, wanting provisions, was disbanded; and Mortâza Pâshâ, governor of Revân, being

[g] Ricaut. Amurath. [h] Cant. p. 248.

killed

killed, the ſoldiers mutinied; and opening the gates, yielded the place to the Perſians. At the ſame time, two thouſand janizaries, for fear of the ſoltân's reſentment, liſted with the enemy, who thereupon inſtituted chambers of janizaries; and would have drawn over the ſpahîs alſo, by an offer of twelve aſpers a day conſtant pay. Theſe tidings Morâd received with great indignation. However, to retrieve his loſs of Revân, he ordered the wazîr to beſiege Baghdâd; but the ſoldiery not liking the enterprize, would march no farther than Arzerûm. They likewiſe demanded the head of Jambolâd Ogli, who commanded the army before his arrival, becauſe he had put a pâſhâ, with ſeveral ſpahîs and janizaries, to death; and although Jambolâd pleaded the ſoltân's orders, yet the wazîr, to appeaſe them, was forced to ſtrangle him. Mean while the Perſians beſieged Wân: but although they could not take it (P), yet they ſo ruined the country, that it could afford no ſubſiſtence to the Turks; who, led by a kyurd, to ſurprize one of the enemies quarters, the guide, when he brought them thither, changed ſides; ſo that fifteen thouſand were ſlain and taken priſoners.

The army mutinous.

In the interim great conteſts aroſe in Little Tartary, between Kantemîr a very leading man, and the khân, who had overthrown the other in battle; but as he had thrown off much of his reſpect to the ſoltân, this latter began to take Kantemîr's part, and ſent for him to Conſtantinople. There he was kindly entertained, till his ſon, having killed a Tatar, was ſtrangled for it, and ſoon after, the father himſelf underwent the ſame fate. Yet his nephew having pretended to revolt to the khân, and ſlain him, with one of his brothers, he was highly applauded at the Porte; and Bekhir Ghieray, another brother, ſet up in his room: but the joy of this intelligence was allayed by bad tidings from Aſak, or Aſof, which was taken by the Ruſſians and Koſaks, who fortified that important place with new works [1].

A.D. 1637.

Troubles in Krim.

But to return to the war with Perſia. The ſoltân, not expecting any ſuch misfortunes as happened after his laſt year's proſperous expedition, diſcharged the firſt effects of his anger on wazîr Mehemed Pâſhâ. This miniſter for neglecting to fortify the borders, was inſtantly turned out,

Baghdâd beſieged.

[1] Ricaut. ubi ſupra.

(P) As the Turkiſh hiſtorians affirm, that Wân was taken, Wân here may be miſtaken for Revân; as Revân ſeems to be miſtaken for Wân, in the place above.

and his office given to Bayrâm Pâshâ, whom, the same year, he sent before with some light-armed troops, and following in person with a greater army into Asia, marched to Bâghdâd. He attacked the city so vigorously, for thirty days together, that it seemed to be rather a continual slaughter than a fight. Fire, sword, and cannon, ceased not one moment the whole time, to destroy the soldiers on both sides. The assaults were daily renewed, and the soltân, with his scymitar, compelled the retiring forces to re-charge; and with his own hand killed the wazîr himself for appearing too negligent (P). At length, by the bravery of the army, and steadiness of the soltân, the city was taken (Q), and above thirty thousand Persians, who had surrendered at discretion, were slaughtered in his presence. This was the last overthrow of the Persians; since which they have not dared to seek revenge, or to lift up their heads against the Othmân power [k].

Great cruelty.

Some farther particulars of the siege.

The Christian historians tell us, that things being ready for the assault, it was given on Christmas-day, and the fortieth of the siege; when the brave wazîr being killed, Mostafa, seeing almost all his men dead about him, furiously seized a royal standard, and climbing up the wall, planted it there; that being followed by the soldiers, they soon entered the city, killing all before them without dis-

[k] Cant. p. 248, & seq.

(P) Others affirm that the wazîr was killed by a musket-ball from the town, and that Morâd shed tears at his death.

(Q) The Persians still mourn this cruelty of Morâd, who spared no captive except one. This person, when the officers were going to kill him, desired that he might speak a word to the soltân before his death. Being brought before him, and asked what he had to say, "Suffer not (cried he) most gracious emperor, that with me, Shâh Kuli! (that is, *the king's slave*, by which name he was afterwards called) the whole art of music should perish." Being ordered to give a specimen of his skill he took up a sheshdâr, and with so much art, as well as sweetness, both played and sung the tragedy of the taking of Bâghdâd, intermixed with Morâd's praises, that the soltân could not refrain from tears all the while he was performing. For this musician's sake Morâd set at liberty all who had not yet been massacred, and his musical works became famous in Turky. This instrument is much like a harp with six strings each way, as the word sheshdâr denotes. It is reckoned the chief of musical instruments, and is said to have been invented by David, though few at present know how to to play well on it. Cant.

tinction,

tinction, excepting the governor and a few others: that Morâd ordered the ſlaughter to ceaſe; but that on the remonſtrance of Moſtafa, who was appointed wazîr, he gave up fourteen thouſand more to the ſword; that, in the aſſault, the Turks loſt thirty thouſand men, beſides ten thouſand wounded: that Morâd entering the city, ordered that ſixty thouſand of the ſlain ſhould remain unburied, for a terror to a Perſian ambaſſador whom he expected [l].

Morâd having ſtayed a few days to repair the breaches and ſettle the affairs of Irâk, leaving the new wazîr, Moſtafa, to finiſh what he had begun, wintered in Diyârbekr, and next ſpring returned to Conſtantinople with his guards [m]. Hejr. 1048. A.D. 1638. *Morâd returns.*

He entered the city in triumph, although in a very bad ſtate of health; and not long after an ambaſſador arrived from Perſia with propoſitions of peace, which were not accepted. However, another concluded a treaty with the wazir on the frontiers, whereby Bâghdâd was confirmed to Morâd; who being now at leiſure, reſolved to call the Venetians to an account for deſtroying the Algerine pirates in his port of Valona. The affair was this:

Theſe pirates, in conjunction with thoſe of Tunis and other Barbary rovers, having infeſted the coaſts of Italy, the Venetian gallies, under the command of Capello, blocked them up in the aforeſaid port. The corſairs not daring to venture out, reſolved to remain there till the coaſt ſhould be clear; but Capello, after a month's ſtay, finding an opportunity, boldly went in, and, to the aſtoniſhment of the Turks, took the whole ſixteen veſſels. The graver part of the Venetian ſenate, altogether diſapproving of this action, wrote to Contarini, their bailo, or reſident, at the Porte, to mollify, if poſſible, the reſentment of the Turks. The kaymakâm, as ſoon as he was informed of the affair, ſent for the bailo, and exclaimed againſt it as an infraction of the peace, which the ſoltân, on his return from Perſia, would reſent. *Capello deſtroys the Barbary pirates.*

The bailo anſwered, that the ſame pirates having landed the year before in Kandia, and penetrated far into Italy, with deſign to plunder the iſland of Liſſa, belonging to his republic, he had done nothing contrary to the capitulations; which enjoined, that all ports ſhould be forbidden to thoſe pirates, unleſs they firſt gave ſecurity not to injure the ſubjects of the Venetians. The kaymakâm however required that the gallies ſhould be reſtored, and that

[l] Ricaut, ubi ſupra. [m] Cant. p. 249.

ten thousand soldiers and slaves belonging to those gallies, who were at Valona, should have free passage through the territories of the republic. But all those vessels, excepting the admiral galley, had been sunk in the port of Korfu by order of the senate, to prevent all restitution.

Satisfaction demanded, given by Venice.

An account of this transaction being sent to Morâd, he was so enraged, that he ordered the bailo, with all those of his nation found in the Othmân dominions, to be cut in pieces; but the wazîr and his Persian favourite stopping the mandate for thirteen days, till the soltân grew cooler, persuaded him to change the sentence into an imprisonment of the bailo; which, by application of the other Christian ambassadors at the Porte to the kaymakâm, was ordered to be in his own house. When the senate heard of this event, they, to prevent a war, began to make alliances with other powers, and, at the same time, used all their address to soften Morâd. They also wrote him a handsome letter to excuse themselves; and although he answered it with disdain, and seemed to breathe nothing but revenge, yet it was carried by a chaush, and couched in such terms as shewed there was room for an accommodation.

Morâd, at his return from Bâghdâd, let Contarini know, that he looked upon him no longer as a public minister, but a hostage for the ships which had been taken; however, he at the same time ordered the kaymakâm not to shut his ears against a treaty. Accordingly that minister having admitted the bailo to an audience, and finding the senate resolved not to deliver up their own gallies in exchange, at last accommodated the matter with him, on his promising to pay two hundred and fifty thousand chekîns, and restore the vessels which were in being [n].

Morâd dies.

While Morâd was meditating an expedition against the Christians, he was suddenly seized with a distemper, which in fifteen days carried him out of the world, on the 15th of Shawâl, 1049, after he had lived thirty-one, and reigned seventeen years [o].

A.D. 1639.

The Christian writers tell us, that Morâd began to grow feeble by frequent debauches, and his stomach became so cold and weak, as not to digest the lightest meats. He was also at times grievously afflicted with the gout, and all over paralytic. Yet he could not withstand the temptations of a banquet to which his officers invited him. In the time of Bâyram, he, at the instance of his Persian favour-

[n] Ricaut, ibib. [o] Cant. p. 249.

ite,

ite, and the ſeliktar aga (R), appointed a ſolemn drinking day, to which they being invited, the former took care to excite his inclination to liquor by high-ſeaſoned diſhes; and they all drank ſo hard of wine and ſtrong waters, that they were carried off drunk one after the other. The exceſs of this debauch threw the ſoltân into a violent and continued fever; and the timorous phyſicians agreeing at length to let him blood, it haſtened his death, which happened on the 8th of February, 1640 [p]. *Cauſe of his death.*

A certain traveller, who was then at Conſtantinople, ſays, he was not ill above eleven days, and that on the eighth he threatened his phyſicians with death unleſs they cured him. At the ſame time being ſenſible he ſhould die, he gave orders about paying his debts, and other affairs. After this the fever increaſing, he reſolved to put to death his brother Ibrâhim, and all the great men who were enemies to Moſtafa, to the intent that after his death his favourite might ſeize the throne without oppoſition (S). The great officers, believing that Ibrâhîm had been ſtrangled, with his two other brothers in the road to Perſia, crouded the ſick monarch's chamber, not ſo much to render him their laſt reſpects, as to be preſent when he appointed a ſucceſſor; each of them having the vanity to expect that the nomination would fall on him. But their ambition was ſtrangely mortified, when the ſoltân, in order to find a pretence to cut ſome of them off, began to examine them very ſtrictly, as to the execution of their reſpective offices. When he ſaw by their anſwers, that he could not with any colour of juſtice put them to death, he commanded the mufti to ſign a fetva for the execution of his brother Ibrâhim, who eſcaped the blow twice by means of his mother. *Attempts to deſtroy his brother Ibrâhîm.*

Morâd expired in the arms of his favourite, with theſe words, "Moſtafa, I am dying." Moſtafa, quite diſtracted at his maſter's death, ran to a window, and would have thrown himſelf out headlong, if he had not been prevented by thoſe who were preſent; but his chief ſupport being

[p] Ricaut, ibid.

(R) This was Moſtafa, who was alſo kâpudân pâſhâ, or *high admiral*. Du Loire, who was then at Conſtantinople, ſays he was a handſome man, of about five or ſix and twenty; ſo well beloved by the ſoltân, that inſtead of ſlave he called him his friend. Du Loire Voy. de Levant, let. iv. p. 110.

(S) Others ſay, that he did it in favour of the Tartar hân, or khân; often wiſhing that he might be the laſt of the Othmân line. Ricaut.

now gone, his enemies obliged him immediately to disburse fifteen hundred thousand crowns, as well as resign his post of kâpudân pâshâ, in lieu of the pâshâship of Tamesvaer; and probably they would have aimed at his life, if it had not been for fear of enraging the princess, sister of the late soltân, who was in love with him, and breeding a sedition among the soldiers [q].

The Turks have related the manners and domestic affairs of this soltân in so many volumes, that it is to be suspected they sometimes insert fables. His most accurate historians observe, that he did some things which were contrary both to the majesty of an emperor, and the dictates of nature. They say he used to resort with particular favourites to certain pleasant places and gardens without the city, where he would light fires, dress victuals, and buying wine from a tavern, drink and converse familiarly with them. Moreover, he married old women of fourscore, to young men of fifteen or five-and-twenty, and old men to girls; committing a thousand such like frolicks.

A great drinker.

In drunkenness he exceeded all his predecessors who were given to that vice. He not only drank wine in private, and allowed it to be publicly sold, as before mentioned; but compelled even the muftis and kâdhi'laskers, or *lord chief-justices*, to drink with him. He was drawn into the love of strong liquors by the following accident: as he was going one time about the market in disguise, he happened to see a man wallowing in the dirt, almost dead drunk. Morâd wondering at the novelty of the thing, asked his attendants, what was the matter with him, for he took him to be lunatic. Being told he was intoxicated with wine, he wanted to know what sort of liquor that was, of whose effects he was yet ignorant. Mean while Mostafa got up, and with opprobrious words bad the soltân stand off.

The adventure of Bikri Mostafa.

The prince, astonished at the man's impudence, "Rascal," says he, "dost thou bid me, who am Soltân Morâd, be gone?" "And I," answers the drunkard, "am Bekri Mostafa (T); but if thou wilt sell me this city, I will buy it; and then I shall be Soltân Morâd, and thou Bekri Mostafa." Morâd demanding where he would get money to purchase such a city, Mostafa replied, "Do not trouble thyself about that; for, what is more, I will buy also the

[q] Du Loire, Voy. de Levant. let. 4.

(T) That is *Drunken Mostafa*.

son

ſon of a bond-woman (U). Morâd agreed to it, and ordered Moſtafa to be taken out of the kennel, and carried to the palace. After a few hours Moſtafa came to his ſenſes; and ſeeing himſelf laid in a gilded room, aſked thoſe who attended him, what was the meaning of all that, and whether he was in a dream, or in paradiſe? Being informed of what had paſſed, and his bargain with the ſoltân, he was ſeized with the utmoſt conſternation, as knowing Morâd's fierce diſpoſition. But neceſſity whetting his invention, he feigned himſelf ill, and pretended he ſhould die, unleſs he could have ſome wine to reſtore his ſpirits.

The attendants, to preſerve his life, gave him a pot full of wine, which he concealed under his gown. Preſently after being ſent for by the emperor, and ordered to pay ſo many millions as the price of the city, Moſtafa, taking the pot out of his boſom, ſays, "This, O! emperor! is what would yeſterday have purchaſed Conſtantinople; and were you likewiſe poſſeſſed of theſe riches, you would think them preferable to the monarchy of the univerſe." Morâd aſked how that could be? "By drinking," ſaid he, "this divine liquor." The ſoltân being perſuaded, took a large draught; which, as he was unuſed to wine, preſently made him ſo drunk, that he fancied the whole world not able to hold him; conceived mighty projects, and was filled with ſuch pleaſing joy, that he thought it equal to the charms of a crown. He afterwards fell aſleep; and, in a few hours, awaking with the head-ach, in a great paſſion ſent for Moſtafa. The man forthwith appeared; and perceiving the caſe, "Here," ſays he, "is your remedy;" and offered the ſoltân a cup of wine, by which his head-ach was preſently removed, and his former gaiety reſtored (X). When he had tried this experiment two or three times, he became by degrees ſo addicted to wine, that he was drunk almoſt every day.

As Morâd was an immoderate lover of that liquor, ſo he was a mortal enemy to opium and tobacco. He forbad the

Enemy to tobacco.

(U) Meaning the ſoltân himſelf; for the princes are all born of captives.

(X) Bekri Moſtafa, his tutor in drinking, was afterwards admitted among the muſahib, or *privy counſellors*, and always near the ſoltân; who at his death ordered the court to go into mourning; but cauſed his body to be buried with great pomp, among the hogſheads. After this loſs Morâd declared that he never enjoyed one merry day; and whenever Moſtafa's name happened to be mentioned, was ſeen to burſt into tears, and ſigh from the bottom of his heart. Cant.

selling of both on pain of death; and with his own hand killed several persons, whom he found either chewing the one, or smoaking the other. However, one Tiriaki, a smoaker, escaped punishment by his wit; for as he could not abstain from tobacco, he caused a deep pit to be dug under his tent, and covered with green turf, to prevent discovery: but one day the emperor coming and enquiring for him, he was betrayed by his people, who exposed him in the pit with a pipe in his mouth. The soltân instantly drawing his sword in order to kill him, Tiriaki, seeing the danger he was in, humorously cried out; "Go to, thou son of a bond-woman! thy edict extends above, not under the earth." By this ready turn, he obtained new honours, with the sole licence of smoaking tobacco.

Extremely cruel.

From this vice sprung another cruelty. He thirsted after blood, and seemed to be nourished with it. Very often at midnight he stole out of the women's apartments, through the private gates of the palace, with his drawn sword; and running through the streets barefooted, with only a loose gown about him, like a madman, killed all who fell in his way. Frequently from the windows of the higher rooms, where he used to drink and divert himself, he shot with arrows such as passed along. In the day time, he strolled up and down in disguise, and never returned till he had slain some unfortunate wretches, for little or no cause. He struck so great a terror through the whole city, that no man durst even mention his name within his own doors. Many weak persons, especially such as used to chew opium, fell into a swoon, if they heard but the word Morâd repeated; for he never spared that sort of people, but either killed them, or made them drink wine instead of it. By these methods he is said, in the seventeen years of his reign, to have put to death above fourteen thousand men, including generals of the highest rank.

Expert at arms.

But at the same time that Morâd harboured those worst of vices, he was adorned with great endowments both of body and mind. He excelled in all sorts of exercises requisite to a soldier. In the art of shooting with the bow, he had not his equal in the whole Turkish nation, excepting the famous champion Toskoparan. There are now two marble pillars standing, fifteen hundred cubits asunder, over which he is said to have shot an arrow. He was of all the Othmâns the most expert horseman; and threw the jerîd, or *dart*, with such dexterity, that no Tartarian arrow could fly so far, or with such exactness. He is reported

ported to have been so swift of foot, that the fleetest Arabian horse could hardly out-run him.

Nor did this soltân want singular endowments of mind; in the first place he was steady in the conduct of affairs; and desisted not from an undertaking till he either had accomplished it, or found it was not in his power to succeed. He was unshaken in all circumstances; so that if his years had been equal to his greatness of mind, he would without much difficulty have acquired the monarchy of the universe, but the wounds, with which the sword threatened others, were given him by drunkenness, and removed him early out of the world, of which he was the terror [r]. *Steady and resolute.*

The Christian writers say, that Morâd was the most absolute prince who ever swayed the Othmân sceptre; but very irreligious, often laughing at the darwîshes and other religious orders. That he was very active, but a great dissembler; and covetous to excess, having left fifteen millions of gold in his treasury, which was empty when he ascended the throne [s]. *Dissembler, covetous.*

SECT. XX.

The Reign of Sultan Ibrâhîm.

MORAD being dead, and no other heir of the Othmân race remaining but his brother Ibrâhîm, he was with unanimous consent proclaimed emperor, being then in the three-and-twentieth year of his age [t]. *Soltân Ibrâhîm.*

According to the Christian historians, his interest was managed with the great officers by the sultâna mother Kiosem, in opposition to the khân of Tatary: but when they came to the hole of a prison, where, almost void of light, he had been mewed up for four years, in constant expectation of death, he barred the door, and denied them entrance, supposing they came to strangle him. Nay, when the wazîr proclaimed him emperor, fearing it to be only an artifice of his brother, he said, he did not desire that honour; and still persisted to deny them entrance, till the sultâna mother caused Morâd's corpse to be brought. With this spectacle being at last satisfied, he plucked up his spirits, and taking boat, passed to Job's mosque, where in eight days all the ceremonies of his inauguration being completed, he rode through the city Hej. 1049. A.D. 1639. *His weak disposition.*

[r] Cant. p. 249, & seq. Ricaut, ubi supr. [s] Cant. p. 252.

to his palace: he sat his horse so awkwardly, as to excite the laughter rather than the acclamations of the people.

Loves ease and women.

The soltân, for want of capacity, left the whole management of his affairs to his ministers; who knowing his luxurious and wanton appetite, humoured him therein, as well as his other recreations of horse-races, shooting with the bow, and the like. So that he was a mere stranger to the business transacted; only the wazîr would sometimes, in matters of least importance, apply for his assent; either out of formality, or because it was not safe to act altogether without his authority. As his fondness for women was his reigning passion, so they were the first objects of his diversion: but as the law of the country forbad the soltân to see any other ladies than virgins, and he found he exhausted his strength to no purpose on girls, he had a mind to caress the favourite soltâna of his deceased brother, who had charmed him with her beauty and wit. Nor was the lady averse to the design; but finding the queen-mother and wazîr did all they could to oppose it, she chose to sacrifice her ambition to her safety, and retire to the old saray, where the other women of Morâd were locked up [u].

The Kosâks repressed.

Ibrâhim's first care, as to matters of government, was to clear the Black Sea of the Kosâk pirates, and render the passage safe for ships sailing to Constantinople. As Asâk or Asof, situated at the mouth of the Don or Tanais, was very convenient for people of that profession, he perceived that there was no putting a stop to their depredations without great difficulty, so long as that city remained in their hands; and therefore sent a numerous army, by which the place being besieged and taken after an obstinate resistance, all the garrison was put to the sword [w].

The Christian writers say, the Kosâks fought the protection of the czar of Russia; but that prince excusing himself, as having lately concluded a peace with the Porte, they abandoned the city, ruined the places, and carried all their moveables along with them.

A.D. 1642.

Raab in danger.

About the same time, the Turks renewed their league with the king of Persia, on condition that he should demolish the fortress of Fortrina, which, contrary to articles, he had built on the Caspian Sea: but, notwithstanding the league lately made with the emperor, they contrived a stratagem to surprise the fortress of Raab, in Hungary, which however did not succeed.

[u] Ricaut. in Ibrahim. Du Loir Voy. lett. 4. [w] Cant. p. 252.

Ibrâhim

Ibrâhîm minded nothing but his pleaſures; but, the prime wazîr, Moſtafa, being an active miniſter, put to death all thoſe perſons, whom he ſuſpected in the leaſt inclinable to ſedition; particularly, the pâſhâs of Hâlep and Kâffa. Yet his care of the ſtate could not ſecure him from the reſentment of the Valide ſoltâna, who cut him off, for ſome marks of diſreſpect ſhewn to her: for a like offence againſt the ſoltân, the kâpudân pâſhâ underwent the ſame fate. The Tatar hân or khân, was likewiſe depoſed by Ibrâhîm, not ſo much for his incurſions into Poland, as for his ill ſucceſs; he having in one of them loſt ten thouſand men.

The kiſlar aga (Y), enamoured of a beautiful Perſian ſlave, whom he took for a virgin, gave for her four hundred and fifty dollars; but ſoon after ſhe appearing to be with child, he confined her to his ſteward's houſe; yet, was ſo taken with the infant when born, that he adopted him for his own. About the ſame time, Mohammed happening to come into the world, the pretty ſlave was prefered to be his nurſe; and during the two years ſhe continued in the ſaray, Ibrâhim conceived ſuch an affection for her boy, that he ſeemed to love him better than his own ſon. This partiality ſo diſpleaſed the mother, that ſhe could endure neither the nurſe, her child, nor the kiſlar aga, who had recommended her; and the fear of her reſentment was the occaſion of that eunuch's retiring from court. He embarked for Egypt, with the kâdlîi of Mekka, and mollah of Pruſa; and the ſhip in its paſſage being attacked by ſix Malteſe gallies, was taken after a ſevere action, in which the kiſlar aga, the kâdhi, and the commander of the ſhip were ſlain. The victors put into a port of Kandia, with their prize, and giving the governor ſome ſhare of it, were permitted to depart with the reſt of the booty. The boy was taken among the priſoners on board, and conſidered at Mâlta as a ſon of ſoltân Ibrâhîm; but time having diſcovered the falſity of that opinion, he became a friar, and was the ſame perſon, who went under the name of Padre Ottomano.

Ibrâhîm enraged at the loſs of his ſhips, vented his paſſion againſt the Chriſtians in general, and in particular the Venetians, for not guarding the ſeas from his enemies, and for relieving them in their ports. The bailo anſwered, that the port which the Mâlteſe put into, had neither caſtle nor fortreſs; and if his majeſty was not *Their defence.*

(Y) That is the chief eunuch, or keeper of the women.

able

able to hinder those ships from careening as they had often done, before Rhodes, how was it possible for the Venetians to drive them out of the sea? With this answer, Ibrâhîm seemed so well satisfied, that the bailo had no apprehensions of a war. However, as great preparations were seen to go forward soon after at the Porte, they began to provide against the danger at Mâlta, which seemed to be the place on which all the storm was to discharge its fury.

Turkish subtility. In the mean time the Venetians, suspecting the worst, prepared also for their defence; yet gave their bailo orders, to try if money would purchase the soltân's forbearance. Hereupon he demanded an audience of the wazîr; but was refused on frivolous pretences. This affront was a convincing mark of their resentment: yet, as soon as Ibrâhîm understood that the republic, growing jealous of these vast preparations, began to arm likewise, he took pains to persuade the bailo, that hostilities were not designed against the Venetians, and complained that by their suspicions they injured his friendship.

English stratagem to obtain redress. All this while the soltân was pursuing his pleasures: so gay was his harâm, or *ladies apartment*, and so eager were they to get silks, cloth of gold, and the like to adorn it; that many times, when ships arrived at the castles of the Hellespont, gallies were sent to fetch the goods, which often were forced away, without any account taken, or price agreed with the merchant. Of this injustice when Sir Thomas Bendish, the English ambassador, complained to the wazîr, without redress, he put fire on the yard-arms of thirteen English ships, then at Galata; and brought them to an anchor just before the saray: for it is the custom in Turky, when any one has received a very great injury from the chief ministers, for him to put fire on his head, and running to the palace, no person dare refuse him access to the soltân. This unusual sight therefore, of fire on the ships yard-arms, being espied by the officer of the customs, he presently apprehended the reason, and went to acquaint the wazîr. This minister immediately dispatched him on board, with a considerable sum of money, and desired the fires might be put out; promising faithfully to pay the remainder.

A.D.1645. *Kandia invaded.* At length the preparations both by land and sea being ready, the fleet on the last day of April set sail, consisting of seventy-three gallies, besides eight from Barbary, two galleasses, one great galleon, twenty-two other ships, ten of them English and Dutch, pressed into the service; with about

about three hundred ſaiks and karamouſals, which carried ſoldiers, proviſion, and ſtores. The army was compoſed of ſeven thouſand janizaries, fourteen thouſand ſpahis, fifty thouſand timariots, and other ſoldiers, beſides three thouſand pioneers. They arrived at Scio the 7th of May, and from thence ſteered different courſes, to diſguiſe their deſign, till war was declared at Conſtantinople, by impriſoning the bailo, and giving orders throughout the Archipelago, to deſtroy or enſlave all the ſubjects of the republic [n].

Kanea taken.

The Venetian republic was not unprovided with a fleet, nor wanting in care for their defence. They immediately ſent neceſſary proviſions to Kandia, with orders to Cornaro, then general and inquiſitor there, to fit out twenty gallies from the arſenal of Kanea. About the middle of June, the whole Turkiſh fleet arrived at Gogna, a place about eighteen miles from Kanea, where landing their forces without oppoſition, they defeated the Venetians in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; and although powerful ſuccours were ſent by the pope, as well as other Italian princes, yet having been too long delayed, and the commanders diſagreeing among themſelves, nothing was done of any ſervice, to prevent the loſs of Kanea; which the Turks forced, with great ſlaughter of the beſieged.

Retino maſtered. A.D. 1646.

Having thus had the fortune to take the ſecond city, they were next year encouraged to proceed in the conqueſt of the iſland; and had the ſucceſs to make themſelves maſters of Retino, where general Cornaro loſt his life by a muſket ball. Nor were the Venetians more ſucceſsful at ſea this year than the former: for the quarrels among the commanders ſtill ſubſiſting, they grew negligent in the affair, and ſuffered the Turkiſh veſſels to paſs freely, as if they had not been at war. Nay, when the Othmân fleet lay half diſarmed, and ill provided, at the iſle of St. Theodore, oppoſite to Kanea, where it is thought they might eaſily have burnt them, they made no uſe of the opportunity; ſo that towards the end of the year, Molino returning home, was diſmiſſed from his employment, and Capello appointed in his room.

Venetian indolence.

The general, with a very good fleet under his command, in the ſpring, arrived at the city of Kandia; whence Moroſini the admiral, with twenty-two ſhips, ſailed to the Dardanels, in order to draw the enemy to an engagement: but finding they would not accept the challenge, he re-

[n] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

turned,

turned, and importuned the general, with the proveditor Grimani, to engage the Turkish fleet, promising them the victory: but while they were debating the matter, the fleet, consisting of three hundred sail, arrived at Kanea, and landing forty thousand men, entirely turned the scale The Venetians in the mean time, being joined by the gallies of the pope and Mâlta, left port Suda, to attack the enemy at St. Theodore; but failing in that design, Capello sailed with some gallies and galleasses, to intercept thirty Turkish gallies, with men and provisions, in their way to Kanea.

Morosini slain.

In the interim, Mostafa Pâshâ left that port, with fifty-seven light gallies, four large ships, and many saiks, in order to return to Constantinople: but in his passage, meeting with a storm, he lost seven gallies, and several other vessels; being forced into Zia, followed by some other ships, under the command of Mohammed Chelebi. Here the soldiers landing and roving about, Morisini and Grimani, came up, and took two of their ships: but Morisini's vessel being by a storm separated from the rest, forty of the enemies gallies attacked, and at length boarded her; in which dispute, the valiant admiral was slain; nevertheless, the men made so brave a defence, that the Turks were forced to leave her, especially when they saw two gallies come up to her relief.

Successes in Dalmatia.

However, the republic had great success this year by land: for in Dalmatia, Foscalo took Ali Bey prisoner; besides the towns of Salcovar, Polisano, Islan, and other places; he also recovered Novigrade, and reduced Obraozzo, Curino, Ottissona, Vellino, Madino, Uzana, Tino, Salona, with several other forts and castles, all which he plundered, and to them afterwards added Scardano. It is true, the Venetians lost a great part of their fleet in a storm, at the isle of Psara: but this misfortune was compensated by the ill success of the Turks, who at this time had laid siege to the city of Kandia, which was defended with such bravery, that they were constrained to raise it. Foscalo likewise going on victoriously, took Gliffa, and overthrew Tekkheli Pâshâ in battle: but seven thousand Albanians, who had a design to surprise Kroja, being set upon by a body of Turks, were routed, and many of them slain, while the rest fled to the mountains for refuge [y].

While these incidents happened in the field of Mars, Soltân Ibrâham was eagerly employed in the prosecution

[y] Ricaut, in Ibrahim.

of

of his amours. A woman, whom he called Sukhir Para, that is, *a little lump of sugar*, was the chief minister of his passions: for as she visited the public baths, she gave him an account of all the beauties in the town; and he, falling in love with the soltâna, his brother Morad's widow, made use of her as a pander with that princess, who rejected his suit. Mean while, Sukhir Para, having informed him, that the Mufti had a beautiful daughter, he thought it better to propose taking her for a wife, than attempt debauching her: but, as that prelate knew his inconstant humour, and that he had several sons already, he artfully replied, that he durst not force the inclinations of his daughter, because it was contrary to the Korân; but that in case she complied, he was very ready to give his consent to so great an honour. Ibrâhîm hereupon made his addresses to the fair lady; but she, by the instructions of her father, rejected the motion. A.D. 1648.

The soltân, enraged at this slight, banished the mufti; and finding afterwards, that all the persuasions of Sukhir Para were in vain, he ordered the wazîr to cause her to be seized, coming from the bath, and brought to his palace; where, having enjoyed her by compulsion for a few days, he sent her back with scorn to her father. The mufti, filled with grief at this injury, dissembled it for a while; but at length telling his case to Mehemed Pâshâ, a principal member of the divân, and to the janizary aga, they resolved to depose Ibrâhîm. Into this conspiracy, they prevailed on the valade soltâna, or queen-mother herself, to enter so far, as to consent, that her son should be confined for a while, in order to his reformation; and that the seal should be taken from Ahmed, and given to Mehmed Pâshâ. *Ibrâhîm forces the mufti's daughter.*

Several other great men being drawn into the plot, on the 7th of August, 1648, the janizaries, having in a manner forced the soltân to confer the seal on Mehemed, and strangled the other wazîr, next day demanded of the mufti, whether Soltân Ibrâhîm himself, as a fool and tyrant, ought not to be deposed. That prelate answering in the affirmative, they required him to appear the next day at the divân, to administer justice to his soldiers and subjects. Ibrâhîm laughed at this citation; and the same being seconded by a fetva, from the musti, importing, that as the soltân was called to account, he was obliged to appear before justice, he tore the paper, and threatened the author of that sentence with the loss of his head. The mufti, far from being terrified by the menace, backed that fetva, *Cited to appear.*

fetva, by another of a higher nature, which declared, that whosoever obeyed not the law of God, was not a true believer, although the person should be the soltân himself: but that being become a kafr, or infidel, by his actions, he was ipso facto fallen from the throne, and no farther capable of authority or government.

Deposed and strangled.

Ibrâhîm, on hearing this new fetva pronounced, immediately ordered the prime wazîr to take off that prelate's head: but this command was not obeyed, for by the last fetva he had lost all authority. In short, the janizaries, about five the same evening, hastening in a tumultuous manner to the saray, the soltân lost all courage; and flying to the arms of his mother, begged her protection. She being a resolute and subtile woman, employed all her eloquence to persuade the soldiery to offer no violence to their sovereign; promising that he should abdicate the government, and retire with a guard to his old lodgings: a promise which was accordingly performed. Ibrâhîm for a few days bore his imprisonment with great patience; but at length growing desperate and furious, he often beat his head against the wall of his apartment; wherefore, on the 17th of the same month, he was strangled by four mutes [z].

Reckoned a martyr.

The Turkish historians, come to our hands, say nothing either of this soltan's deposition, or the manner of his death; they only tell us, with equal brevity and obscurity, that while he was making great preparations for the reduction of the city of Kandia, he was, on the 18th of Rajeb, 1058, removed out of the world, and crowned with martyrdom.

His character.

As Morâd was wholly addicted to wine, so Ibrâhîm was abandoned to lust. He spent all his time in sensual pleasures; and used potions and art to restore nature, when exhausted. Every Friday, the Turkish sabbath, he dedicated to Venus; and had a beautiful virgin, richly dressed, brought him by his mother, the prime wazîr, or some other great man. The walls of his chamber were covered with looking-glass, that his love-battles might seem to be acted in several places at once. He ordered his pillows to be stuffed with rich furs, that the bed designed for the imperial pleasures might be the more precious.

Abandoned to venery.

His amorous frolics.

In the palace garden called Khâs, he frequently assembled all the young maiden ladies, and having made them strip themselves, ran naked, neighing like a horse, among

[z] Ricaut, ubi supra.

them;

them; and, as it were, raviſhed one or other, who kicked and ſtruggled by his order. Happening on a time to ſee the privy parts of a wild female heifer, he ſent the model of them in gold all over the empire, with orders to make enquiry, whether a woman made juſt in that manner could be found for him; which at laſt, they ſay, was found, and ſhe was received into the harâm. He made a collection of pictures, expreſſing the various ways of coition, and employed his imagination to invent ſome new poſture never thought of before.

As to his perſon, he had a large forehead; a quick and lively eye; his complexion was ruddy, and his features well proportioned: yet he had ſomething in the air of his face, which promiſed no great abilities of mind. However, he was by nature of a gentle and eaſy temper [a].

His perſon.

He left nine ſons, Selîm and Othmân, born in 1054; Mohammed, Ahmed, Solymân, Morâd, Jehân Ghîr, born in 1056; Bây-ezîd and Orkhân, in 1058: of theſe, Mohâmmed, Solymân, and Ahmed, came to the throne: the reſt were excluded by an untimely death [b].

His children.

SECT. XXI.

The Reign of Mohammed IV.

Tranſactions during this Soltân's Minority; with the Conqueſt of Kandia and Kaminick.

IBrâhîm being thus removed, the janizaries, in the year 1058, and on the 8th of Rajeb, proclaimed his ſon Mohammed (Z), then but ſeven years old, and placed him on the throne. The treaſury, exhauſted by his father's luxury, being repleniſhed by the management of the wazîr, Kioprili Mehmed Pâſhâ (A), and all inteſtine commotions appeaſed, he ſtrangled his grandmother, who had been privy to the rebellion of the janizaries, and put many of their accomplices to death. He recovered Te-

A.D. 1649.

Soltân Mohammed IV.

[a] Ricaut, ubi ſuprà. [b] Cant. p. 254.

(Z) His mother was the daughter of a Greek prieſt, brought from the Morea, before the law, by which the children of Chriſtians were collected by way of tribute, was aboliſhed. Cant.

(A) The founder of the preſent moſt noble family, among the Turks, of Kioprili Ogli.

nedos and Lemnos from the Venetians; took and beheaded the rebellious pâshâ of Hâlep, with his associates; and sent the wazîr against Yanova, which, after a siege of a few days, was reduced.

A.D. 1659. With the same success, he waged war in Hungary, where in the year 1070, Âli Pâshâ assaulted and took Waradin. In 1074, the wazîr, Fazil Ahmed Kioprili Ogli subdued Vivar. He likewise declared war against, and vanquished Ragotski, who died of wounds received in the battle; and over-running Transylvania, appointed Mikhael Apafi, prince of that country, under a certain tribute. The emperor of Germany, terrified at the progress made by the Othmâns, sent ambassadors to the wazîr, suing for peace; and promising to quit claim to whatever the Turks possessed. It was at length granted for twenty years, on the soltân's own terms[b].

Affairs of Hungary. Hej. 1074. A.D. 1663.

In this cursory manner, the Turkish historians relate the transactions of the first fourteen years of Mohammed's reign; suppressing those, in which they met with bad success, and barely mentioning such as turned out to their advantage, apparently, that they might hasten to the siege of Kandia; the conquest of which is reckoned of so much honour and importance to their nation. But to acquit ourselves as impartial historians, it will be necessary, before we proceed with them, to lay before our readers what the Christian authors take notice to have happened within that interval.

A D. 1649. Soltân Mohammed was, during his minority, under the government of his mother, assisted with the council of twelve pâshâs: these resolved to continue the war against the Venetians, who yet conceived some hopes of an accommodation, from the jars, attended with frequent skirmishes, which at this time happened between the janizaries and spahis; so much to the disadvantage of the latter, that none for a while dared to own that name within the walls of Constantinople. But their hopes soon terminating with those disturbances, they diligently applied themselves to preparations for war, which was to be carried on, not only in Kandia, but also in Dalmatia, Bosnia, Albania, and the Morea: for though Fosculo was beaten off again to his shipping, near Castel Nuevo; yet he had better fortune in Bosnia, where he repulsed the enemy to the very gates of Saray, capital of the province, and took Bisano upon articles: but the Turkish army being at

Affairs of Bosnia.

[b] Cant. p. 255.

length

length reinforced, the Venetians were obliged to quit their new conquests and retire.

Mean while the Turks in Hungary, making incursions into the emperor's territories, were overthrown by Forgatz, near Buda; the pâshâ of which was taken prisoner, and his son slain. Nor had they better fortune in their attack on Klissa, which they left with dishonour, after the loss of five thousand men. The Kosaks also, during this interval, did much mischief in the Black Sea. Thus was the Othmân empire afflicted with misfortunes abroad, as well as intestine troubles at home; and the blame of all being thrown on the prime wazîr, he was first displaced, and then, at the demand of the Asiatic spahis, put to death. *Turks ill successful.*

Notwithstanding these disturbances, the Turks were very active in carrying on their war in Kandia, whither they sent considerable supplies to Hussèyn Pâshâ, the commander in chief. The city of Kandia was at this time in a very bad state; when six hundred men, with sixty knights, arriving from Mâlta, mounted the guard at fort Martinengo, which was the place of most danger; and although the Turks, in the fourth desperate attack, carried it by dint of sword, yet the knights returning, bravely recovered it, with the destruction of all the intruders. However, the Turks prevailing again, in their turn, the Venetians sprung their mines, and blew up the fort, with two thousand Turks, into the air. A.D. 1650. *War in Kandia.*

The janizaries and spahis were still upon ill terms together at Constantinople; and the kâpudan pâshâ was so beaten and cooped up by the Venetians, within the Dardanels, that he could not get out with his fleet; a circumstance which so enraged the ministry, that they sent all the subjects of the republic, and even the bailo himself, out of their dominions. At length, winter obliged the Venetians to withdraw, and leave the Turkish fleet at liberty to relieve their army in Kandia, which stood in great need of provisions. They were so intent on the war there, that next year they sent eleven hundred sail of all sorts, with necessaries. This fleet was followed by the Venetians, who forced several of their gallies into Scio, with the loss of Mohammed, pâshâ of Anatolia, the successor of Hussèyn, who was made prime wazîr [c]. *The Turkish fleet overthrown.* A.D. 1651.

On the 10th of July, the Turks gave a signal of defiance to the Venetians, who presently came to a close

[c] Ricaut. in Mahomet IV.

engagement; in which, the kâpudân bâshâ, being slain by a cannon-ball, the whole fleet was thrown into disorder, and fled. Mean while, the gallies, which were towing off the heavier ships, being chased to Mocenigo, the captain-general quickly left them to shift for themselves; but the Turks, rather than fall into his hands, blew up five; the rest were taken. In short, not a ship remained in sight, but what was either seized, sunk, or burnt. A few days after this victory they had equal success against another fleet, of which they took thirty-nine gallies, twenty-three ships, three galleasses, with three thousand soldiers on board.

A.D.1652. *Another defeat.*

In the mean time, the dissension encreased among the soldiery; which was hardly quieted, when news arrived of two rebellions, one at Damaskus, the other at Grand Kayro. How to suppress these dangerous commotions, employed the thoughts of the divân, this year and the next; during which the Venetians had some time to breathe, and reinforce themselves in Kandia. But in 1654, the pâshâ of Buda, being made captain pâshâ, fitted out a strong fleet; and although in an encounter with the Venetians, at the mouth of the Dardanels, he lost six thousand men, with seven of his vessels; yet he broke through their fleet, and landed twelve thousand soldiers in Kandia. On this occasion, the admiral so extolled his own merit, and vilified the wazîr to the council, that they sent an officer to take off his head, and put the accuser in his place. Yet the latter falling sick and infirm soon after, the pâshâ Hâlep was pitched on to succeed him in the command in Kandia; but in his way thither, his fleet, fitted out with great expence, was overthrown by the Venetians.

A.D.1654.

A.D.1655

Sedition of the janizaries.

Hereupon, a treaty was set on foot with the bailo: but the ministry insisting on the entire surrender of Kandia, it broke off. However, on the tumults, raised by the merchants and tradesmen, in which the wazîr fell a sacrifice, the negotiation was renewed; yet came to nothing a second time, by the Turks demanding the payment of ten millions, for the charges of the war. In the interim, the spahis and janizaries at Constantinople, joining together, pretended to reform the abuses of the state. Entering armed into the divân, they deposed the prime wazîr; turned out several other officers; made the mufti flee to Jerusalem; and went so far, as to propose dethroning the soltân himself. Then entering the palace, they broke open the treasury, and carried two millions away with them. At length the sedition beginning to subside, Soltân Moham-

Mohammed advanced to the wazîrſhip the pâſhâ of Damaſkus; this was the famous Kuperli, or Kyuprili; the pâſhâ of Siliſtria was made captain pâſhâ, and Huſſeyn confirmed in his government of Kandia.

Fleet deſtroyed.

And now to proſecute the war in that iſland, the Turks fitted out a great fleet; but as ſoon as it ſailed out of the Dardanels, the Venetians, who waited for them, began the attack, whence enſued a terrible fight. And although the captain-general Marcello was ſlain, yet the proveditor ſo vigorouſly proſecuted the victory, that of ſixty light gallies, twenty-eight ſhips, and nine galleaſſes, only eighteen gallies eſcaped being either taken, ſunk, or burnt. The Venetians, animated by this ſucceſs, in four days took Tenedos, and afterwards Lemnos. The miniſtry, conſidering that the loſs of theſe iſlands would be attended with great inconveniences, ſent a numerous fleet to beſiege the fortreſs; but putting into Scio to wait for ten gallies from Barbary, with a great number of ſaiks under their convoy, the Venetian general intercepted and burnt the ſhips, with many of the ſaiks, and killed one thouſand Turks. Hereupon another fleet was fitted out; but although they defeated that alſo, with the loſs, however, of their own valiant captain-general Mocenigo, yet they repaired it again; and coming before Tenedos in the end of July, it was deſerted by the beſieged, who thought it not tenable; but Lemnos held out two months, and then was ſurrendered on articles. Hereupon Soltân Mohammed propoſed to make peace with the republic, on ſurrendering Kandia, with the fortreſs of Kliſſa in Dalmatia, and paying three millions for the expences of the war; but theſe conditions were rejected.

Lemnos taken and recovered.

A.D. 1658.

Rebellion in Aſia.

The brother-in-law of the pâſhâ of Hâlep, arriving with his troops at Adrianople, which was the rendezvous of the army deſtined for Dalmatia, the prime wazîr put him to death: hereupon the pâſhâ, in a great fury, ſet forward, at the head of forty thouſand men, to demand the head of Kuperli, and four others; at the ſame time carrying with him a young man, whom he affirmed to be the ſon of Soltân Morâd, and whoſe right to the throne he undertook to eſtabliſh. The rebels at length drawing near to Skutari, to the number of eighty thouſand ſtrong, the wazîr paſſed over into Aſia with a numerous army; but being met by the pâſhâ, was totally routed, and all his cannon as well as baggage taken. This alarm made it neceſſary for the ſoltân himſelf to go over and join the wazîr, whoſe united forces making ſeventy thouſand men;

A.D. 1659.

the pâshâ proposed an accommodation, but imprudently consenting to meet in a private place, at some distance from his camp, Mortâza, who was sent to treat with him, overpowered and strangled him, with seventeen of his accomplices, a circumstance which was no sooner known in his army than they dispersed.

A.D.1660. *State of Kandia.*

The Venetians all this while were not idle in Kandia; for having received a reinforcement of four thousand French foot, after the peace of the Pyrences, they quickly took Kalamo, Kalegro, and Epikarno. They afterwards proceeded to besiege Kanea; but the place being reinforced with three thousand men, they gave over the enterprize, in expectation to beat the Turks out of New Kandia, lately built by them, near the old city of that name; where we shall leave them for a while to see how the affairs of the Othmâns prospered in other countries[y].

Affairs of Hungary.

The rendezvous for the army designed against the emperor of Germany, was at Belgrade; where the prime wazîr falling sick, he sent orders to Halîl Pâshâ, general of the forces in Hungary, to hasten the siege of Waradin, which was begun the 4th of July; but although the Turks soon approached to the counterscarp, and made breaches in the walls, yet they found the ditch so wide, and full of water, that they could not storm them, till a woman captive shewed them how the citizens used to drain the fosse. However, the garrison bravely repulsed their attacks till the 20th of August; when being reduced very low, they surrendered on articles, and marched out with ensigns of honour. The Transilvanians resenting this loss, deposed Barklay their prince, a favourite of the Turks, and constituting Kemenius in his room, craved the assistance of the emperor, to whom they gave up Zekelid, Khowar, Giula, and other places.

A.D.1661. *Germans defeated.*

Hereupon Montecuculi joining Kemenius with a considerable army, would have drawn Ali Pâshâ to a battle. This the pâshâ for the present declined; but having set up Mikhael Apasi, for prince of Transilvania, to whom people revolted in great numbers, he took the opportunity to attack the Imperialists, discouraged by that event, with such success, that he slew and took fifty thousand, and drove Kemenius out of the country. This officer assembling more forces, was defeated a second time; a circumstance which animated the victors to besiege Clau-

[y] Cant. ubi supra.

senburg;

senburg; but on the approach of the general Schemidau out of Hungary, they raiſed it as haſtily.

In the courſe of this year a great plague happened at Conſtantinople; and, towards the winter, the prime wazîr, Kuperli being in a declining ſtate, obtained a grant of the ſoltân, not only that his ſon Ahmed ſhould aſſiſt him, but alſo ſucceed him in his office; as he in fact did on the 19th of October, on which day his father died. While the new wazîr was taken up with removing ſome officers, who were his enemies, and baniſhing the mufti to Gallipoli, the war proceeded ſlowly againſt the Venetians, who on their ſide deſtroyed five gallies at Milo, and took the fortreſs. *Kuperli dies.* *His ſon ſucceeds.*

Next year the Algerines complained to the Porte of the proceedings of the Engliſh fleet under the earl of Sandwich, before Algiers; but were baffled in their ſuit by the earl of Winchelſea, then ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, where the ſoltân proved very burdenſome to his ſubjects by his extravagant way of hunting; in which thirty or forty thouſand men were appointed to beat the woods for him for three or four days together. Mean while the wazîr Ahmed was employed in removing his enemies, among whom, none diſturbed him more than Mortâza, pâſhâ of Bâghdâd. Mortâza being at length diſplaced, retired to the king, or prince, of the Kurdi, whoſe daughter he had married; but while the wazîr prepared to force that king to ſurrender him up, unexpected troubles broke out in Georgia. When Soltân Solymân had taken Arzerûm, it was agreed, that of the ſeven princes of Georgia, three ſhould be tributary to the Turks, and three to the Perſians, all governed by Achik Paſh, as ſupreme prince, to whom the ſeventh ſhould alſo be ſubjected, without being dependent on either of the two powers: but at this time the governor dying, his widow married again, and to oblige her new huſband, was content to have her own ſon ſet aſide, and his eyes put out. Hereupon the three provinces under the Perſians choſe a new governor; which election the Turks being offended at, they ſubſtituted another, deſcended from the former; but this ſtorm blowing over by the eſtabliſhment of a perſon to the liking of both parties, the Turkiſh forces were turned againſt Mortazâ, who was then in the caſtle of Zizri, belonging to thoſe Kurdi called Yezidi. The army arriving at the paſs commanded by that caſtle, five hundred Turks entered it; but were quickly put to flight by the Kurdi; who purſuing them, left the paſs open: hereupon the Turks ſeiz- A.D. 1662. *Mortâza Pâſhâ ſlain.*

ed it, and laying siege to the castle, required Mortâza to be delivered up. The besieged, to free themselves from the danger, soon complied, and the pâshâ's head was immediately struck off.

Fleet destroyed.

The Christians having rebuilt the churches burnt down at Constantinople in the great fire in 1660, contrary to the prime wazîr's command, and the Turkish laws, under pretence of dwellings and warehouses, that minister in a rage ordered them to be demolished, and the restorers to be imprisoned. About this time also he reformed the coin, which had been greatly clipped by the Jews, Armenians, merchants, and others. This year the Turkish fleet bound to Alexandria, consisting of seventeen ships, and thirty-seven saiks, richly laden, under the convoy of six gallies, in its passage near Rhodes, was encountered by the Venetians, who sunk and took twenty-eight saiks, and four of the ships, with many prisoners of note.

A.D. 1663.

War in Hungary.

All this while the preparations for war against the Germans went on; but the emperor, not inclined to embroil himself, sent to treat with the pâshâ of Buda about continuing the peace. Yet, when all points seemed to be agreed on, in February following the horsetail was erected before the prime wazîr's gate, and next month the soltân and he set forward with the army towards Sofia; where a messenger, who arrived from the emperor, was refused an audience, and detained in the camp. The Tatars were ordered to send a hundred thousand men to Hungary; but had great difficulty to obey that command, on account of the Kosaks who infested them, and threatened Asof their capital city. They had likewise one hundred and fifty sail in the Euxine Sea, where they carried all before them; but most of them having been cast away on the coast of Mingrelia, the rest were forced to retreat into the Boristhenes by twelve Turkish gallies.

Germans defeated.

The wazîr, Ahmed, being arrived at the Danube, began to pass his army; but the bridge of boats breaking, when about four thousand had got over, Forgatz, governor of New Heusel, marched in the night with eight thousand men, and attacking them, made great slaughter; but the noise reaching the body of the army, which, unknown to him, had now got over, they drew up, and surrounding this small body, cut them all off, only the commander and a few more escaping. Montecuculi, governor of Raab, being informed by Forgatz of this defeat, sent him a thousand men; who would have been intercepted by the Turks, had not that officer deluded them, by

by erecting a white flag, as if he deſigned a treaty; but when the ſuccours had ſafely entered the place, the white flag was changed to colours of defiance, to the great ſurprize and indignation of the enemy.

New Hauſel taken.

Hereupon the wazîr inveſted the city; and having from two batteries, mounted with one hundred pieces of cannon, terribly annoyed the place, made a furious aſſault on the 14th of Auguſt, but was repulſed with great loſs. On the 28th, a breach being made in the walls, they attempted a ſecond ſtorm, but were forced to retire; and although ten days after, they planted an enſign on the rampart, yet they were beaten back, with the loſs of five thouſand men. But in the middle of September, chief magazine of powder happening to blow up, the officers agreed to ſurrender, on condition of being conducted to Komorra, after they had held out about forty-three days, and deſtroyed fifteen thouſand of the enemy; among whom were the beglerbegs of Romania and Anatolia, with two other pâſhâs, the aga of the ſpahis, and twenty-five captains.

Serini's bravery.

After this ſiege the Othmâns took Leventz; and it was expected that the wazîr would have done ſtill greater things this year; but he failed in his attempt on Schinta, the imperial magazine of arms and artillery. However, he preſently reduced Novigrade, and then returned to winter at Belgrade, ſending thirty thouſand Turks and Tatars to ravage Stiria and Kroatia. Count Serini, on their ſudden approach, with four hundred and eighty men, who were all he could raiſe, poſted himſelf at the river Muer, to ſtop their paſſage. On perceiving two thouſand who had got over, he fell on ſo vigorouſly, that they were ſoon routed, and miſſing the ford, moſt of them who eſcaped the ſword periſhed in the water; a circumſtance which ſo amazed thoſe on the other ſide, that they made no farther attempt that way.

A.D. 1664.

The count having aſſembled an army of twenty-five thouſand men, in the beginning of the year 1664, took Berzenkhe and Bakokza. He then marched to Eſſek, and having defeated ſix thouſand Turks, took the Palanka, at the foot of that famous bridge, and burnt the bridge itſelf; which however the Turks rebuilt in forty days. On the 5th of February he took the town of Five Churches by ſtorm, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword; then laid ſiege to the fortreſs of Sigeth, famous for the attempt made on it by Solymân the Magnificent, with ſix hundred thouſand men; but when he had reduced it alſo to the laſt extremity,

Burn Eſſek bridge.

Takes Five Churches.

mity, the approach of a considerable body of Turks and Tatars to relieve it, obliged him to draw off his forces. On advice of these successes the wazîr detached part of his army to besiege Serinswar; but the count, with all the force he could raise, lying in ambush, surprised and defeated them, killing above two thousand, and taking many prisoners [a].

His castle razed.

Serini, on the first of May, laid siege to Kanisia, which he pushed with great vigour; but Montecuculi, the German general, delaying to support him, on the approach of the wazîr by the bridge of Essek, he retreated towards Serinswar, leaving some ammunition to the enemy, who presently, with thirty thousand men, invested that place. Mean while the count joined Montecuculi, and urged him to fight the Turks; but that general, instead of complying, entering into Serini's fort, dispossessed the governor, and cleared the garrison of the count's forces; an insult which so offended him, that he left the camp, and retired home. The Turks, taking advantage of these delays, on the 9th of June blew up a half moon; a stroke which so terrified the besieged, that in their fright they left a sally-port open; whereat the enemy entering, the garrison, consisting of nineteen hundred men, fled over the bridge; which breaking, many were drowned, and the rest slain. As for Serinswar, it was razed to the ground.

Count Soise's success.

To counterbalance this loss, count Soisere covered Nitra, lately taken from the Imperialists; and, having twice defeated above fourteen thousand Turks, with great slaughter, Levintz surrendered also. This last place, the Walakian and Moldavian forces, joining with some Turks and Tatars, determined to recover; but after losing two thousand men, on the approach of count Soise, the 16th of July, they marched off to fight him. The Imperialists having in the first volley poured a shower of shot on their main body, they fled, leaving the two wings to an unequal battle, who quickly after fled also, and left their cannon, as well as baggage. They lost many more by the pursuit; and those who escaped, being denied a passage at Gran, over the Danube, the Moldavians and Walakhians forced their princes to return home; while Husseyn Pâshâ fled to New Hausel, after he had lost six thousand men, out of eight-and-twenty thousand. The Imperialists took four thousand carts, with ammunition and provision; one hundred colours, and twelve pieces of cannon; besides tents,

The Turks defeated.

[a] Ricaut. ibid.

arms,

arms, horſes, camels, and other booty. They gave no quarter to any, except ſeven hundred Moldavians and Walakhians, in order to hang them, with their muſkets about their necks. After this exploit, count Soiſe took and burnt Barkham, a palanka oppoſite to Gran.

Overthrown again by Montecuculi.

In the mean time, the two main armies under the wazîr and Montecuculi, did nothing but obſerve each other's motions. At length, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, one half of the Turkiſh army croſſed the Raab, the wazîr deſigning to paſs over with the reſt the next day; but although the great rains which enſued prevented his paſſage, by ſwelling the river, he was not uneaſy, as the troops which had croſſed were equal at leaſt to the Imperialiſts: however, they proved not to be their match; for Montecuculi not giving them time to intrench, fell on them the 3d on the morning, with great fury, and continued the fight till four in the afternoon, with various fortune. During that time, the waters being abated, the ſpahîs forded them in ſeveral places, and charged the Imperial left wing, while the janizaries threw up earth, to ſecure the paſſage of the reſt.

This circumſtance being obſerved by the Imperial general, he thought at firſt to ſound a retreat; but perceiving that the trench was only juſt begun, he drew up the body of his army in form of a half moon, and furiouſly attacked the janizaries; while the horſe encountered the ſpahîs, with ſuch bravery, that the Turks began to give ground. At this inſtant, an outcry being heard, that count Serini had aſſaulted the wazîr's camp on the other ſide, the enemy were ſo terrified, that they betook themſelves to ſhameful flight, after they had loſt eight thouſand men on the field of battle, and above as many more were drowned in the river. Nay, the Turks themſelves acknowleged, that ſince the Othman empire came to its greatneſs, the Turks had never ſuffered any ſlaughter or diſgrace equal to this. They loſt ſixteen pieces of cannon, one hundred and twenty-ſix colours, with the grand wazîr's ſtandard, five thouſand ſcymiters, with many horſes. The Imperialiſts, on their part, had near three thouſand men ſlain; among whom were the count of Naſſau, and ſome others of note.

This victory inclining the wazîr as much to a peace as the Germans were before inclined to it, a negociation was ſet on foot, and ſoon concluded, with the Imperial reſident in their camp. The chief articles were, "that prince Apaſi ſhould hold Tranſilvania, paying the ſoltân ſix hundred thouſand dollars, for the expences of the war; that the

the emperor might fortify Gutta and Nitra, and the provinces of Zatmar and Zaboli to revert to him; Zekhelid to be demolished; and Waradin and New Hausel to remain to the soltân." Mohammed all this while resided at Adrianople, the disgust he had taken to the imperial city increasing every day, and having now a son of his own, he would have put his brother Solymân to death, had not the mufti refused to grant a fetva for the purpose.

A.D.1665. *The wazîr honoured.*

Next year count Lesley, the Imperial ambassador, arriving at Buda, in May, set out with the wazîr Ahmed for the Porte; and on the last of June came within six hours of Adrianople, whither soltân Mohammed, who seemed to doat on the wazîr, sent his favourite to meet him, with a present of five horses richly caparisoned. He was so impatient for the ambassador's company, that he ordered him to come privately before the day of his public entry, kissed him on the shoulder, and honoured him with a topuz, or *mace of gold*, studded with precious stones, besides a sword, dagger, and other things of value. In Lesley's retinue there came a nobleman of Genoa, to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce with the Porte, which was granted, much to the displeasure of M. de la Haye the French ambassador [b].

A.D.1666. *Sabatay Sevi, a counterfeit Messiah.*

This period is distinguished by a remarkable instance of imposture and superstition, in the case of Sabatay Seva, the pretended Messiah of the Jews. This man, the son of a broker of Smyrna, being banished for a tumult in the synagogue there, wandered over Greece for a time, and then went to Jerusalem. There he met with one Nathan, a subtle adventurer, who, taking upon him to be Sabatay's prophet, had the impudence to declare, that, within a twelvemonth, the Messiah should appear before the soltân, and take the crown from his head. At the same time Sabatay preaching repentance to the Jews at Gaza, his fame spread far and near among that people, who flocked to him in multitudes on the way to Smyrna, where he openly assumed the title of Messiah, and published his declaration thereof to all the nations of the Jews. The mortifications and other extravagancies committed by that infatuated people were astonishing. They believed the most improbable stories of him. Some invented miracles in his favour, and others swore to the truth of them, while almost all believed them, and were ready to tear in pieces those who did not; for there are, even among the Jews, some men of understanding and discernment.

[b] Ricaut. ibid.

At

At length the impoſtor declared that he was called by God to viſit Conſtantinople; but, at his arrival the wazîr cauſed him to be ſeized and ſecured in priſon: yet this circumſtance did not cure the phrenzy of the Jews, whoſe numbers and madneſs daily increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the ſoltân at laſt ordered him to be brought into his preſence. No pen can deſcribe their confidence on this occaſion, in aſſerting the power of their pretended Meſſiah, and the wonders which he would perform: but here the farce at once ended; for Mohammed, demanding a miracle in proof of his miſſion, put it to this iſſue, that he ſhould be ſtripped naked for his archers to ſhoot at, and promiſed, in caſe the arrows did not pierce his body, that he himſelf would acknowlege him to be the Meſſiah. This was a very fair propoſal, but Sabatay choſe rather to confeſs himſelf a cheat, and turn Mohammedan, than ſtand the trial. Yet even this confeſſion could not convince his incorrigible followers: for moſt of them, through ſtupidity or perverſeneſs, affirmed that it was only his ſhadow which appeared in a Turkiſh dreſs, but that his body was taken up into heaven, there to reſide till the time appointed for the accompliſhment of thoſe wonders was come.

Peace with Poland.

The Tatars having, about the beginning of the next year, made incurſions into Poland, the republic ſent an ambaſſador to make complaint to the Porte, where it was quickly agreed, that no compenſation ſhould be demanded on account of thoſe incurſions; that the Poles ſhould not make war on the Koſaks lately revolted from them to the ſoltân; that they ſhould forthwith declare war againſt the Ruſſians; and that the Turks ſhould have free trade to Poland. This affair being compromiſed, and a rebellion raiſed by the pâſhâ of Baſrah ſuppreſſed, the wazîr began with vigour to proſecute the conqueſt of Kandia[c].

When all things were ready, on the 18th of Zilkaadeh, 1077, the wazîr ſailed from Khania, and landing his men without oppoſition, at the village Kawlokhor, near Kandia, marked out the ground to encamp in. Next day he viewed the places about the city; then in a council of officers it was determined to undermine the Red Tower, and after battering the walls, make the firſt attempt on that ſide. Hej. 1077.

At the end of next month, the laſt in the year, the city was inveſted, and the ſiege begun, the like whereof never had been ſeen, nor perhaps ever will. Many years pre-

[c] Ricaut. in Mahomet IV.

parations

parations were employed: fresh troops supplied the place of the slain; while the soldiers, declining the danger, were compelled by threats and blows to renew the charge. For the besieged, joining all their courage to the strength of the place, fought like determined men for nineteen months incessantly, being frequently relieved with fresh supplies by the French and Venetians. Every inch of ground was gained by the blood of many heroes slain on both sides. When the walls were battered down, and mounted by the besiegers, new walls were instantly raised by the enemy. And thus the Othmâns, who imagined, that in entering the breaches their dangers were at an end, were almost reduced to despair, by the sight of new obstacles, no less difficult to surmount than those which they had just then with so much loss subdued.

City of Kandia surrenders to the wazîr.

At length, the Othmâns being now quite tired out, and spiritless, what could hardly be effected by force of arms, was brought about by Panaiot (M), the tarjimân, or *interpreter of the court*, who, by an artful speech, persuaded the governor (N) of the city to surrender, on certain conditions, the last, but strongest fortress to which the garrison had retired. The wazîr, in the beginning of the month Jomazio'lawel, in the year 1080, took possession of Kandia, deserted by the Venetians, and annexed to the Othmân empire a city renowned for many ages, the eighth wonder of the world, which nature seemed to have fortified against all assaults, after a war of twenty-four years; wherein, according to the best Turkish historians, above two hundred thousand Othmâns were slain [d].

This is the Turkish account, which does great honour to the Christians, and ascribes the wazîr's success at last not to force, but artifice: but we must have recourse to the Christian authors for the particulars of this remarkable siege. The city was then fortified with seven great bastions, Sabionera, Vetturi, Jesus, Martinengo, Bethlem, Panigra, and St. Andrea. These were all encompassed with a broad and deep ditch, defended by ravelins.

[d] Cant. p. 258.

(M) His true name was Panagiotes. No Christian before ever did, or it is thought ever will, enjoy so much credit as he did in the Turkish court. He was to the wazîr what Ulysses was to the Greeks.

(N) This was Francisco Morosini, who was afterwards famous for subduing the Morea. On his return, he was, as we are informed by Cantemir, created doge of Venice.

On

On the 14th of May the Turkish army, consisting of about seventy thousand men, encamped over against St. Mary's, along the valley of Giossiro, on which side began the first traverses, which were carried on to the sea-side. The grand wazîr took his quarters over-against Panigra; the janizar aga opposite to Martinengo; and the other pâshâs at other places. They raised three batteries, facing the bastions of Martinengo, Panigra, and Bethlem, shooting bullets of sixty, ninety, and one hundred and twenty pounders. The besieged within posted themselves accordingly; the marquis Villa, governor and general of the infantry, had his quarters at the bulwark of Jesus; the proveditor-general of the kingdom, at Martinengo; and Giacomo Contarini, duke of Kandia, in the fort of Sabionera. A.D. 1667. *The siege begins.*

The city being thus invested on all sides but that towards the sea, the besieged began to disturb the enemy with their sallies and mines, six of which were sprung with good success, at the angle of the half-moon of Mocenigo. The Turks advanced so well to the borders of Panigra, that they sprung some mines likewise, though to little effect, except one, and then made a most furious assault at the breach, but were repulsed; as they were afterwards at another breach in the half-moon, by a dreadful mine, which opened a gap for eight men to enter a-breast. Both parties went on mining and attacking with various success; and the besieged, having received three reinforcements, of about five hundred men each, made some successful sallies. At length, towards the end of October, the wazîr, urged by a letter and presents from Soltân Mohammed, caused a furious assault to be given, chiefly on the side of Panigra; so that the Turks, having planted six of their colours on the ruins of that work, ventured to descend into the ditch. But many of them being blown up by three mines, their progress for that time was stopped. *Carried on with various success.*

Now winter coming on, hostilities began to flag, and some proposals of peace were brought upon the carpet; but as these came to nothing, the Turks in spring following, made great preparations in all their ports to furnish their camp with provisions, and recruited their army with seventy thousand men. The besieged likewise being reinforced with some men, the garrison was reckoned at four thousand strong. Mean while the besiegers raised a battery on the side of Lazaretto; which so offended the port, that ships could neither enter nor abide there. They likewise erected another by Fort St. Andrea, which much annoyed Tramata, another harbour for small craft. In a dark night, A.D. 1668.

passing

passing along the sea-side, they fixed a cable to the palisade of St. Andrea, and having torn it down with an engine, continued to advance their lines that way. But the besieged making a sally, forced them to retreat to their trenches, and overthrew certain redoubts and traverses.

St. Andrea's bastion closely pressed.

This success gave the besieged an opportunity to finish their platform one the side of the ditch adjoining to the bulwark of St. Andrea. However, the Turks with invincible patience battered the little tower of Priuli, with the curtain and ravelin of St. Andrea, as well as employed all their power to fill the ditch; and although a very successful sally was made on the 29th of February, yet they still went on with their works against that bastion. This was the state of the siege, when the brave marquis of Villa being recalled by the duke of Savoy, the command devolved on the marquis of St. Andrea Montbrun, a French nobleman.

Among the many volunteers, which the length and fame of the siege brought to Kandia, was M. La Fueillade, duke of Roanez, with a body of men divided into four brigades, under so many noblemen. These made so brisk a sally, headed by the duke, that they broke through the main body of the enemy's force; but penetrating too far, were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. About this time also the besieged received a reinforcement of three thousand three hundred Lunenburg troops; yet they were so hard put to it for want of men, that the captain-general Morosini disarmed several gallies to supply them. Mean while they sprung a great many mines with good success; and towards the end of the year made a sally at Sabionera, wherein they slew near three thousand Turks; and taking a battery, dismounted and nailed their cannon [e].

General assault.

The besiegers having gained considerably on the fort of St. Andrea to the east, pressed hard, with ten thousand men, on the bastion of Sabionera to the west; and one night gave a general assault, with all their forces, on those two bastions, that of Panigra, and the great fort of St. Demetrio; but received three repulses, with great confusion and slaughter. Not long after, the marquis of Cornaro, with baron Spar, arriving with a recruit of three thousand men, the besieged made a resolute sally, in which they killed above two thousand of the enemy.

The soltân having removed to Lariſſa, to be nearer the seat of war, signor Molino arrived from Venice with pro-

[e] Ricaut, ubi supra.

posals

poſals of peace; but he was told nothing would do, unleſs he had brought the keys of Kandia with him; for Mohammed was reſolved to have that city at all events, and his wazîr preſſed the ſiege with incredible ardour. He cauſed it now to be twice ſtormed at four ſeveral baſtions, which coſt the lives of thirty thouſand Turks; and ſuch a number of mines was ſprung, that the ground lay open like a vaſt abyſs.

The outworks taken.

But St. Andrea and Sabionera being reckoned the moſt weak, becauſe not fortified by any conſiderable outworks, or encompaſſed with deep ditches, the Turks preſſed upon them more earneſtly than any other parts. Having raiſed ſome batteries on the heaps of earth, they advanced foot by foot upon the ravelin of St. Andrea, which at length they blew up; and penetrating into the ditch with four traverſes, came to the very foot of the wall of the bulwark. This was defended by eighteen pieces of cannon, ſix of which, being fifteen pounders, ſhot into the ditch; nevertheleſs, they ſtormed the walls in nine different places, and in ſhort penetrated almoſt to the gate of St. Andrea, laying open a breach ninety paces wide, as far as the ſea. So that at laſt the beſieged were forced to quit the outworks, and confine themſelves within the walls of the city; which was ſtill more diſtreſſed by an unlucky ſhot, that ſet a magazine of ammunition on fire. Thus ended the year.

A.D. 1669.

St Andrea battered down.

Next ſpring the Turks renewed the aſſaults upon Fort St. Andrea, and penetrated forty paces within the city walls; but the beſieged had made it part of their winter's work to draw another wall from Fort Panigra, acroſs almoſt to the Tramata. The enemy fortified themſelves as ſtrongly without; and advanced ſo far on the bulwark of St. Andrea, that there remained nothing of it but the ruins. In effect, this poſt was become ſo weak, that Montbrun, and all the chief officers, took their quarters here.

A grand ſally.

Things were in this poſture in Kandia, when the dukes of Beaufort and Noailles landed with ſeven thouſand French; and it being determined in a council of war, that the place was no longer to be maintained but by ſome extraordinary enterprize, it was reſolved to make a grand ſally on the 27th of June, while the fleet, by the duke of Beaufort's order, drew near the ſhore to annoy the enemy with their artillery. The troops marched out ſilently in order, and at day-break the forlorn-hope aſſaulted two redoubts, which they took, putting all the Turks to the ſword. The other regiments entered the lines; and having maſtered the trenches after much ſlaughter, by ſtorm carried a fort,

wherein was a battery that played upon St. Demetrio, and nailed the cannon. Mean while the Turks began to rally, and advancing in order of battle, a moſt terrible fight enſued. But while the ſucceſs of the day ſeemed to ſmile on the Chriſtians, a magazine lately won, containing one hundred and thirty-four quintals of powder, accidentally blew up, and deſtroyed many men. This blow ſo amazed the reſt, that they began to fly in diſorder; having in the attack loſt a great number of men, and ſome conſiderable officers, among whom was the brave duke of Beaufort, ſuppoſed to have been blown up. At the ſame time the fleet, conſiſting of eighty ſhips, fifty gallies, and ſix galleaſſes, were driven by the winds at ſome diſtance from ſhore; and a French man of war of ſeventy guns, was blown up.

The French depart. Hereupon, diſputes ariſing between the French and Italians, who threw the blame upon each other, the duke De Noailles ungenerouſly ſailed off with his forces, and left Kandia in the utmoſt diſtreſs. The Turks, encouraged by the departure of the French, aſſaulted the quarters of Saboniera and St. Andrea afreſh, and advanced to the palliſades of the new retrenchment; but although ſome ſtop was put to their fury here, yet the bulk of the army was ſo weak and broken, that they refuſed to advance againſt the enemy. Mean while the captain-general ſprung a mine, of one hundred barrels of powder, under the thickeſt croud of the Turks, which made ſuch deſtruction among them, that the reſt retired haſtily to their redoubts. Neither was the ſtorm leſs furious at Sabionera, nor the advantage leſs conſiderable on the ſide of the beſieged.

The city yielded. But notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, and that a ſmall reinforcement arrived under the duke of Mirandola; yet the town was ſo weakened by the departure of the French, with the battalion of Malta, and the reſt of the volunteers, that the captain-general at length called a council of officers, to deliberate what was fitteſt to be done in this extremity. Grimani and ſome others were for blowing up the place; but the captain-general urging the difficulty of embarking the ſoldiers, they came to a reſolution of treating with the wazîr about a ſurrender. For this purpoſe they ſent colonel Thomas Anand and Stephano Cordili, an underſtanding young man, ſecretly to the wazîr's camp. A treaty being here agreed on, the plenipotentiaries met under Paleo Caſtro. Thoſe on behalf of the Turks were Ibrâhîm, pâſhâ of Hâlep, Ahmed Aga the kahîyabeg of the janizaries, the ſpahiler agaſi, and Panaiotti the wazîr's interpreter. The deputies for the beſieged required ſome place

place in exchange for Kandia; but that demand being rejected, they were at last contented that the Venetians should embark (P) with all their arms, provision, and baggage, together with such cannon as had been brought thither during the war [f].

Thus ended this famous siege, which had continued twenty-five years, yet went on but languidly, excepting for the last two years and four months, in which great numbers of men were destroyed, and vast quantities of warlike stores consumed (Q).

Affairs of Hungary.

The Hungarians were all this time very uneasy, as thinking themselves not well used by the emperor; more particularly count Peter Sereni, Nadasti, and Frangipani, who, after some consultations, resolved, if possible, to gain the Turks on their side; but not being able to agree with Kâra Mostafa, the kaymakân, because he insisted, that they should become tributary, like the Transilvanians, they sent their agents to the wazîr, Ahmed Kyoprili, at Kandia, in hopes of better terms; but he, not being yet willing to entertain thoughts of another war,

[f] Ricaut, ibid.

(P) There embarked not above two thousand five hundred soldiers, sickly, ill accoutered, and half naked. All the inhabitants departed likewise, excepting two Greek priests, one woman, and three Jews, besides about thirty decrepid Jews and Greeks.

(Q) During the last two years and four months of this siege (which from the beginning held twenty-five years), we are told by Ricaut, that of the Venetians there were killed and wounded thirty thousand nine hundred and eighty-five; of the Turks one hundred and eighteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-four. The assaults given by the latter were fifty-six; the combats under-ground forty-five; the sallies made by the Venetians ninety-six; the mines and fornelli sprung by the besieged one thousand one hundred and seventy-three; by the Turks, four hundred and seventy-two; the Venetians spent fifty thousand three hundred and seventeen barrels of powder; bombs, from fifty to five hundred weight, forty-eight thousand one hundred and nineteen; granadoes, of brass and iron, one hundred thousand nine hundred and sixty; of glass, eighty-four thousand eight hundred and seventy-four; cannon-bullets two hundred seventy-six thousand seven hundred and forty-three; pounds of lead, eighteen millions forty-four thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven; pounds of match, thirteen millions twelve thousand five hundred. They left behind about three hundred small cannon.

civilly dismissed them. However, he ordered their propofals to be taken in writing, and promised to refer them to the ministers, then at the Porte. But the machinations of these three lords being at length discovered, they were all seized, tried, and executed.

A. D. 1670. *Peace with Venice.*

The prime wazîr being arrived at Adrianople, from Kandia, with great applause, signior Molino was sent ambassador from Venice, to confirm the peace, which at length was effected; and the dispute about the limits in Dalmatia adjusted. This year, wine was prohibited, on account of the janizaries; and prince Orkhâm was poisoned by the order of his brother the soltân [g].

Kofâks submit.

Whilst Soltân Mohammed, under pretence of hunting, removed to Yenishahr (S), that he might be near at hand, to send supplies to Kandia; the Sâri Kamîsh Kofâks, then subject to Poland, submitted to him, by their ambassadors, among whom was the hetman himself, Doroshenko: the soltân presented this chief with a robe, and dismissed, adorned with a tûg, or *horse-tail*, and an alem sanjâk, in token of dominion. The Kofâks had hitherto been of service both to Poland and Russia, as well by their daily ravaging the Othmân borders, as because their country, abounding with defiles and marshes, was accounted the bulwark of both kingdoms; which being now removed, they had cause to fear from them no less damages than what the Turkish provinces had formerly suffered. Hereupon, the king of Poland, to destroy their new allegiance before it should be too deeply rooted, sent an army, which joining with those who still favoured his interest, made great devastations in their country.

Hej. 1083. A.D. 1672. *War with Poland.*

The soltân, on advice of these proceedings, sent a chaush with a threatening letter to the king; and on his continuing hostilities, declared war against the Poles. In Safr, 1083, he set forward with a great army, and throwing a bridge over the Danube at Sakche, passed with his forces. At length, after long marches through Moldavia, he encamped near Khotin. Then he sent over the Tyras, in boats, a strong party, who at the first assault took Zwaniecz; and being now joined by the Tatars, headed by their khân, Selîm Gyeray, he ordered a spacious bridge to be built over that river. In this work, Du-

[g] Ricaut, ibid.

(S) So Lariſſa, a noted city of Theſſaly, and at preſent the metropolis, is called. Cant.

ka,

ka, prince of Moldavia, refuſing timber, was diſcovered to favour the enemy, and to be bribed to delay the building of the bridge: wherefore he was depoſed, and ſtripped of his treaſure; after which, Peter was choſen prince, by the nobility of that country.

Kameniek taken.

At length, paſſing the Tyras, on the 3d of Rabio'lakhir, he appeared with his army before Kameniek, three hours diſtant from the river. This city was ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art. It is ſurrounded by the rapid torrent Smotricz, the banks whereof, every where full of craggy rocks, afford a ſtrong bulwark to the place. Beſides, a caſtle ſtands in the middle of the town, environed with walls of a great height and ſolidity. The Poles depending on theſe fortifications, and the ſtrength of the garriſon, hoped to blunt the edge of the Othmân fury with this ſiege, and therefore appeared not in the field. But the walls were ſo vigouroufly battered on all ſides, that in ten days they were beaten down. The garriſon finding themſelves unable to ſuſtain the aſſault, relinquiſhed the outer walls, and retired into the inner caſtle; yet, not thinking themſelves ſafe even there, they ſurrendered on condition of having their lives and liberty.

Peace concluded.

The Poles were quite aſtoniſhed to ſee a fortreſs, thought capable of holding out many years, taken in ſo few days; and to confound them the more, Kaplân Mehemmed Pâſhâ, governor of Hâlep, and the khân of Tartary, were ſent with the light-armed forces to reduce Leopolis; whilſt the ſoltân intending to follow with the main army, encamped near Buchach. When the city was at the laſt extremity, ambaſſadors arrived in the Tatar camp, offering, in the name of the king and kingdom, to deliver up forty-eight towns and villages, in the territory of Kameniek; to pay a yearly tribute of twenty thouſand rix-dollars, and never more quarrel with the Koſâks, under Doroſhenko. The khân having heard the propoſals of the ambaſſadors, ſent them to the ſoltân, who granted peace on thoſe terms; and then diſbanding his army in Shaabân, returned to Adrianople [h].

[h] Cant. p. 263, & ſeq. Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

The War with Poland, Russia, and the Emperor; with the Siege of Vienna.

The peace broken.

BUT whilst Mohammed expected the arrival of Polish ambassadors, who were to bring the promised tribute, and ratify the peace, he was informed, that Doroshenko, general of the Kosâks, had revolted; and, with a large body of men, was laying waste the borders of the empire. These disagreeable tidings were followed by worse; importing that the Poles, animated by the promises of the emperor of Germany, and the pope, were preparing again for war. Not long after, the wazîr, Kyoprili Ahmed Pâshâ, received letters from the high-chancellor of Poland, intimating that the states of the kingdom considered as null the conditions to which the king had submitted, without their consent; and that they would rather suffer death, than the infamy of paying one farthing, by way of tribute.

Hej. 1084. A.D 1673

The Polish army defeats the Turks, under John Sobieski.

The soltân, finding himself deceived by the Poles, determined to take a most severe revenge. The wazîr answered the letters of the states, reproaching them with their perfidy, and threatening the total destruction of the kingdom, unless they submitted, without hesitation, to what was agreed upon. As these remonstrances had no effect upon the Poles, the soltân, in Rabio'lakhir, 1084, set out at the head of an army, not inferior to the former; flattering himself with the hopes of subduing them at once, weakened as they were by the last year's ill success, and to annex Poland to his empire. But the Poles, grown wise by their misfortune, having composed those domestic broils, which had opened the way to the Turkish victories in the former year, assembled all their forces (F), and before the soltân could reach them with his army, passed the Tyras at Khotin, under the command of John Sobieski.

A few days after Mohammed arrived, and finding the place, where he designed to cross the river, seized by the enemy, was surprised at the boldness of a people lately vanquished; and imagining that, led by their evil genius to destruction, they had shut themselves up between the Tyras and Danube, commanded his forces to attack them. Hereupon the two armies engaging, a fierce and bloody battle ensued; which lasted with doubtful success till the

(F) Consisting, according to Ricaut, of fifty thousand men.

evening;

evening: at which time, Petreczeicus, prince of Moldavia, and Gregory, the ſon of Chika, prince of Walakhia, deſerting to the Poles, the left wing of the Turks, commanded by Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, cried out they were betrayed; and quitting their ranks, refuſed to obey the orders of their leader. The right wing likewiſe was ſoon broken by the valour of the Poles; and at firſt, indeed, retreated gradually, but being vigorouſly preſſed by the enemies troops, they quickly took to flight, and abandoned their cannon, with all their warlike proviſions. When the ſoltân, who had remained four hours march behind, ſaw his ſoldiers flying in diſorder, he endeavoured all in his power to make them return to the charge: but, finding neither his commands nor ſword had any effect, he was forced at laſt to have recourſe alſo to flight, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy [i].

The Chriſtian hiſtorians ſay, that Sobieſki broke into the Turkiſh camp, and wounded the general Huſſeyn with his own hand; that the fight continued fifteen hours; and that of the Turks, Selymân, beglerbeg of Boſnia, particularly ſignalized himſelf; who, having had ſix horſes ſhot under him, was afterwards ſlain in the purſuit; that all the janizaries, to the number of eight thouſand, were cut to pieces; beſides twelve thouſand other ſoldiers; that they loſt all their baggage, twenty-five thouſand waggon-load of proviſion and ammunition, with two thouſand purſes of money, for payment of the troops [k].

He is chosen king.

The Othmân army being thus defeated, there appeared nothing to hinder the Poles from recovering what they had loſt, and even extending the limits of their kingdom. Kameniek, which they found to be a check to their progreſs, was preſſed with a ſevere famine; which would probably ſoon force the garriſon to abandon that fortreſs; but all theſe hopes were ſuddenly deſtroyed, by the death of Mikhael, king of Poland, which happened ſoon after, and drew off the nobles from the care of the war, to the election of a new king. After long deliberation, the crown was conferred on John Sobieſki, great marſhal of the kingdom; who, beſides the nobleneſs of his family, and his own perſonal merit, by his late victory againſt the Turks had procured the votes of the ſtates of Poland.

Not well aſſiſted.

This choice was by no means agreeable to the Othmân court. As it ſeemed to threaten the vanquiſhed with ſome greater calamity, from the ſame hand, the ſoltân prepared

[i] Cant. p. 275, & ſeq. Ricaut. ubi ſupra. [k] Ricaut, ibid.

a very powerful army to oppose him, and commanded Selîm Gyeray Khân to join him, with numerous troops of Bujâk and Khrîm Tatars. The king of Poland, suspecting what was really the case, admonished the states of the realm to assemble all their forces; but they were deaf to his advice, under pretence, that the Othmân power, broken by the loss it had lately sustained, could scarce recover itself in many years; and that therefore the forces already raised, were sufficient: but the true reason was, that the nobles were afraid, lest the heroic king, when he found all Poland united under his command, should make the crown hereditary in his family.

Kameniek relieved.

However, Sobieski, in order to overcome the enemy by art, since he could not vanquish them by force, sent what forces he had ready, to block up Kameniek; which reduced that city to such straits, that the garrison had scarce provision enough for a few weeks; but the soltân, being informed of their distress, assembled his forces, and marched with such speed, that about the 10th of Rabio'lakhir, A.D. 1674. 1085, the van of his troops appeared about Khotin. The Poles, who did not expect the Turks so soon by a month or two, on the news of their approach, in haste abandoned the siege. Hereupon the soltân quickly recovered the city of Khotin; then supplying Kameniek with necessaries, reduced Human, a town of Podolia. Mean time Doroshenko came unsent for, with four thousand Kosâks, to the assistance of Mohammed, and offered him his whole army; but the soltân, suspecting perhaps the hetmân's integrity, commanded him to return; alleging, that he had no occasion for the assistance of the Kosâks against the Poles. This affront highly exasperated Doroshenko, and proved afterwards very detrimental to the Othmân affairs, by their revolt to the czar of Russia.

Khotnîm taken.

Inhabitants removed.

Mohammed, considering that he could not be sure of Kameniek, whilst inhabited by Christians, since they might both inform the enemy of every thing which passed, and put them in a way to take the city, commanded all the inhabitants of that territory, to be removed beyond the Danube and mount Hæmus, into the province of Kirk Ekklesihk, where lands were assigned them; dividing their country among two thousand spahis, who were before seated in the districts of Bender, Akkierman, and Kili. The season being spent in these affairs, he returned to Adrianople, where, despising now the enemy, of whom he had before been afraid, he devoted all the next year to his pleasures; and solemnized the circumcision

of

of his two ſons, Moſtafa and Ahmed, with the nuptials of his daughter (L): on which occaſion he amaſſed a greater treaſure (M), than half the revenue of the whole empire.

The Poles, imagining the long inactivity of the Turks to be only a ſtratagem, were cautious of making any attempt; in 1087, the king, diſcovering the true reaſon of their forbearance, raiſed freſh troops, and paſſing by Kaminiek, entered Moldavia, in order to attack them within their own territories. Soltân Mohammed, who had reſigned himſelf wholly to luxury and hunting, upon the death of Shiſhmân Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, ſent Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, with the dignity of ſeraſkier (N), at the head of an army, againſt the Poles; who immediately offered him battle; but he, as a man of great policy, and military ſkill, at firſt amuſing the king with pretences of peace, rendered the enemy more negligent; then breaking off the treaty, on ſome ſlight occaſion, circumvented the Poliſh army by a thouſand artifices, and rendered all their efforts ineffectual. At laſt, on a ſudden, he beſieged the king ſo cloſely in his camp (O), that he could neither ſend a meſſenger into his kingdom, nor receive any from thence. A.D. 1676. *The Poles circumvented.*

Affairs being reduced to the moſt deſperate ſituation, the king ſent ſome perſons into the Turkiſh camp, to try whether the former treaty of peace might be renewed. Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ would ſcarce have conſented to their deſires, if he had not diſcovered that a mutiny was ready to break out among his troops. The janizaries, uneaſy at the quick marches they had been obliged to make, to reduce the king to thoſe difficulties, declared it great injuſtice to be compelled to contend with the enemy and the ſeaſons; whilſt the ſoltân diverted himſelf with hunting and other pleaſures. On the other hand, the khân of Krîm Tartary, perceiving he loſt more than he gained by the war, did not ceaſe to perſuade the ſeraſkier, that it was better *Peace propoſed, and concluded.*

(L) To his favourite Kûl Ogli, Pâſhâ of Magneſia. Ricaut, Cant.

(M) All officers whatſoever belonging to the government, are obliged to make preſents on this and the like occaſions. Cant.

(N) Vulgarly Bâſhbog, that is, *the head*, or *general*, *of the whole army*. Cant.

(O) The Poles, whoſe army amounted to ſcarce fifteen thouſand men, were ſurrounded near Zorawno, by more than one hundred thouſand Turks, who yet gave them peace, when they leaſt expected it. Manley,

to

to accept of the conditions which the Poles would offer, to save themselves from imminent destruction, than to hazard the defeat of the Othmân army by driving them to despair. Ibrâhîm at length approving of this advice, hostages were given on both sides; but the report of peace making the Othmâns grow remiss in guarding the passes, the king of Poland privately retired out of his camp, and unexpectedly attacked a body of Tatars incamped near Mohilow, whom he easily routed.

An account of this defeat being brought to the seraskier, when at dinner with the ambassadors, he severely reproached them, for this breach of the law of nations, and immediately sent his cavalry to assist the Tatars; who, on the 19th of Râjeb, finding the enemy under Zerauna, rushed upon them full of resentment; but, after an obstinate conflict, both parties at night retired to their camps, where they skirmished for seventeen days continually, with doubtful fortune. At last, peace was concluded in the midst of arms, and signed on the 6th of Shaabân. The Poles on their return assembling the states, notwithstanding the endeavours of the emperor of Germany to the contrary, ratified the conditions, and sent the palatine of Kulm, as ambassador extraordinary to the Porte[1].

Vanity of a Polish ambassador.

The ambassador being arrived in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, with seven hundred attendants, demanded by a letter, that the wazîr should meet him at the city gate. This honour being refused, he would not enter the city, but retired to Daud Pâshâ; by which unseasonable pride, the negotiation was protracted, from the month of Rajeb 1088, to that of Safr next year. However, the peace was at last ratified, in the aforesaid village; and afterwards drawn up in such a manner, as the wazîr thought proper. By these articles, the Poles not only renounced their claim to Kamenick, but likewise engaged to give up all authority over the Kosâks of Podolia, as subjects, and resign it to the Othmân court: and allowed the Lipkâ Tatars (P), leave to depart. In short, the whole treaty was worded not as if a king was treating with a king, but a lord with his vassal. However, this indignity did not cure the vanity of the Polish ambassador; for, that he

Hej. 1088. A.D. 1677.

[1] Cant. p 279, & seq.

(P) Lîpka is the Turkish name for Lithuania; whence the Tatars living there are so called. They are Mohammedans, and though derived from the Krim Tatars, yet they are naturally weaker and more infirm. Cant.

might

might not seem to have brought so magnificent a retinue with him to no purpose, he, after the peace was confirmed, desired leave of the wazîr to make his public entry.

On this occasion, besides other marks of magnificence, he ordered his horses to be shod with silver, and the shoes to be fastened with only two nails, that they might the more easily fall off in the streets, which were paved, and strike the Turks with admiration, at the riches of Poland: but, what he had designed for his honour, turned to his disgrace; for the wazîr, when one of those shoes was brought him, is reported to have said, that the infidel had indeed shoes of silver, but a head of brass; since it was incredible that any person in his senses could be guilty of such a ridiculous extravagance [m].

Affairs of Hungary.

Hungary was all this while full of discontents and troubles. However, the Turks, being at war with the Poles, did not interfere; but count Strazoldo having taken from the mal-contents Debrezin, which paid tribute to the Porte, the Othmân governor interpreted it as an open breach of the peace. For this reason it was thought fit to give it up to the soltân. Thus matters stood, when Kara Mostafa succeeded the famous Kuperli: this new wazîr being wholly bent on a war in Hungary, gave the frontier pâshâ liberty to assist the mal-contents, as they saw occasion; and the Turks accordingly made some incursions, which gave the Imperialists great alarms. About this time also, Apasi, prince of Transylvania, having discovered a conspiracy against his life, began to declare himself, more than ever, in favour of the mal-contents, who were now grown pretty formidable. A D. 1677.

Mal-contents strengthened.

Their army, consisting of sixteen thousand men, was commanded by count Wezelini, their palatine, who designed to besiege Zatmar; but Smith, the German major-general, marching to oppose him, was defeated. They afterwards, sent to excite the soltân to turn his arms again the emperor; but being then at war with the Russians, he declined it, yet assisted them with troops underhand. While Leopold, by his ambassador, complained of this perfidy at the Porte, the states of Hungary assembled at Altenburgh, in order to induce the mal-contents to return to their duty, resolved that the churches which had been taken from the protestants, should be restored to them: but this article being eluded by the clergy, the A.D. 1678.

[m] Cant. p. 284, & seq.

parties

parties concerned were the more exasperated; neither could they endure to see the crown of Hungary, rendered hereditary in the house of Austria.

Hostilities continue.

Hostilities between the Imperialists and the Turks still continued, notwithstanding the negotiations. Five hundred German horse marching to Erlaw, were cut to pieces by a party of the enemy; and two hundred more, by the garrison of Newhausel. The Imperialists, by way of reprisal, fell on the new pâshâ of that city, sent thither by the Porte, and defeated his convoy of two hundred spahis. The beglerbeg of Buda so resented this injury, that he sent a party towards Butrak, who returned with two hundred prisoners. About the same time, count Paul Weselini dying was succeeded in the command of the malcontents by Tekeli, who, though young, was very vigilant and brave [n].

Hej. 1089. A.D 1678.

But let us leave the affairs of Hungary for a while, to look into those of the Russians, as related by the Turkish historians. As soon as the peace was concluded with Poland, a fresh war broke out with Russia. Doroshenko, hetmân of the Sari Kamish Kazaghi, to revenge the affront lately offered him by the seraskier, as well as for other reasons of disgust against the Turks, with the consent of all the chief officers, offered to submit to the czar of Russia; to whose father, his predecessor Bogdân Kiemielniski before had many years promised fidelity; but afterwards was obliged, by force of arms, to abandon their engagement. Nothing could happen more agreeable than this offer to the czar; since, by this means, not only Ukrania, which was always liable to incursions from the Kosâks, was secured, but his territories were extended also beyond the Boristhenes, and his army increased with above sixty thousand men, of approved valour.

The Kosâks revolt to the Russians.

The Othmân court was strangely disturbed at the news of this revolt, when the soltân, to avoid the war if possible, and by policy recover the Kosâks to his obedience, released George Kiemielniski (Q), son of Bogdân, from the Seven

[n] Manley Contin. of Ricaut in Mah. iv.

(Q) He was the eldest son of Bogdân; who having been slain by the Poles, George succeeded, and carried on the war with reputation, for three years; then, finding the Kosâks diminish, and fearing his father's fate, he changed his name and dress, resolving to retire to a monastery in Ukrania. In his way, he fell among a party of Poles, who stripped and

Seven Towers, and appointed him hetmân, in the room of Doroſhenko; hoping thoſe people, out of affection to his family, would ſubmit to him; but the Koſâks, who had found the Turkiſh yoke too heavy, reſolutely rejected all offers in their favour. Hereupon the ſoltân, finding it neceſſary to uſe force, ſent Shaytan Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, ſeraſkier of Siliſtria, with his whole army, to reinſtate George in the country of the Koſâks; with orders to ſubdue Chehrîn, the capital of the province, and ſeat of the hetmân. *Sues for peace.*

Ibrâhim paſſing the Danube on the 6th of June, 1678, marched through Moldavia and Podolia. When he came to Chehrin, he was ſurpriſed to find ſixty thouſand Ruſſians and Koſaks ſtrongly entrenched; ſo that not having force enough to attack them, he was reſolved to wait for the Tartars, who were three days march behind. But the Ruſſians getting intelligence of their approach, planted themſelves in an advantageous poſt, between both armies, and fell on the Tartars as they drew near with ſuch vigour, that in a few hours there were ſlain the khân's ſon, eight mîrzas, and ten thouſand men; the reſt were either taken priſoners or diſperſed. The Turks beholding ſuch a ſlaughter, and fearing that it would be their own caſe if they ſtayed, threw away their arms, and fled with ſuch precipitation, that they did not halt till they had paſſed the river Bog (R). *The Turks overthrown.*

This ill ſucceſs made the ſoltân ſtill more deſirous of peace: however, to prevent any blemiſh on his honour, he ſent an ambaſſador to Ruſſia, in the khân of Tartary's name, to perſuade the czar to make peace with the ſoltân. This ambaſſador required that Chehrîn ſhould be reſtored to the Turks, as they had an undoubted right to it; and that the czar ſhould abandon the Koſaks to their own

and beat him; but was reſcued by Tatars, who carried him into Krîm. Being at laſt diſcovered by a Koſâk, the khân ſent him to the Porte, where he was impriſoned in the Seven Towers. From thence he ſtrangely eſcaped, but was taken and cruelly beaten. He lay there from 1670 till 1677; and then, againſt his will, was made hetmân of the Koſâks; but could never engage them on his ſide, moſt of them ſaying he was a counterfeit. Three years after, he was ſlain at the mouth of the Nieper, as is related lower down. Cant.

(R) Or Buh, formerly Hypanus, between the Tyras and Boryſthenes; though ſo deep as not to be fordable, yet it is not navigable, being full of cataracts. It falls into the Euxine, near the town of Uzi, Oſia, or Uſſia, commonly called Oczakow, or Ochakow, and by the Greeks, Olbiopolis. Cant.

evil

evil genius; for he pretended to know for certain, that the ſoltân would rather continue the war for twenty years, at all hazards, than loſe one foot of land to which he had a right: but the czar, who was not ignorant by whom the ambaſſador was really commiſſioned, ſent an officer of his court with letters to Mohammêd and the wazîr, in which he adviſed them not to flatter themſelves that he could be impoſed upon by the ſame artifices that the Poles had been, ſince their example had made him more cautious, and taught him how to deal with them; adding, that they ought to deſiſt from an unjuſt war, and leave Ukrania undiſturbed, to which he had an undoubted right, by Bogdân Kiemielſki's reſignation, confirmed lately by Doroſhenko; but that, in caſe they reſolved to proſecute hoſtilities, they might be aſſured he would not agree to a peace till he had recovered the reſt of Ukrania, unjuſtly taken from his anceſtors, as fâr as the Tyras and Aſof.

The war revived.

Having read this letter, the wazîr, Kara Moſtafa Pâſhâ ſent for the mufti, the kaymakân, the kadhio'laſkers, and aga of the janizaries; and enquired what the law and reaſon adviſed to be done. The majority declared for peace, ſince there were little hopes of doing any thing for the Othmân intereſt in thoſe difficult and remote quarters. The wazîr alone oppoſed theſe pacific ſentiments; declaring, that ſo great a ſlaughter as the Ruſſians had made of the Tatars, ought not to paſs unrevenged. To this opinion the reſt aſſenting out of complaiſance, it was determined to renew the war with the utmoſt vigour; in conſequence of which determination the Ruſſian ambaſſador received an anſwer breathing nothing but fire and ſword °.

Hejr. 1089. A.D. 1679.

The Othmân army being arrived at Tatar Pazarjîk (S), about the end of Rabio'lawel, in 1089, Mohammed inveſted the wazîr with the full command; who, paſſing through Moldavia in the following month, reached the Bog. From thence he marched with eighty thouſand Turks, thirty thouſand Tatars, and four thouſand Koſaks, whom George Kiemielniſki had drawn to his party; and on the 8th of Jomazio'lawel, came in ſight of Chehrîn. The garriſon of Ruſſians and Koſaks, who were at that time building a new fort without the city, on the unexpected approach of the Othmâns, retired in confuſion

Chehrîn beſieged.

° Cant. p. 288, & ſeq.

(S) A pretty large town of Thrace, towards the northern foot of the mountains Chenge, or Hæmus. Cant.

into

into the town. The wazîr obſerving their diſorder, ordered his kyehaya (T) immediately to attack the place, in hopes to terrify them into a ſurrender; but after fighting bravely for four hours, they were forced to retire with diſhonour, and the loſs of their commander, beſides two thouſand janizaries. Hereupon Kara Moſtafa, before the ſoldiers had pitched their tents, ordered the city to be ſurrounded, and trenches to be dug, ramparts thrown up, and batteries to be planted. When he found theſe endeavours did not ſucceed, by reaſon of the ſandy ſoil, he, by advice of a Pole, cauſed bridges to be made on the other ſide, where the town was defended by a moraſs; but this work alſo failed of the deſired effect.

The Turks defeated.

About the ſame time the Ruſſian army, under the command of Romadanowſki, having paſſed the Boriſthenes before the wazîr had any intelligence of it, that miniſter, to obviate their deſigns, ſent Kara Mehemed Pâſhâ, governor of Hâlep, with great part of his army, to fight them, in caſe he ſhould find a good opportunity; but as he could not draw the Ruſſians, though ſuperior in number, to a battle, the wazîr, ſuſpecting that the enemy's intention was either to deſtroy the Othmân forces by delay, or reinforce the garriſon of Chehrîn, commanded Koplân Pâſhâ to encamp with the reſt of the army between that city and the Ruſſians. When Romadanowſki perceived that all communication with the town was cut off, he, on the 22d of Jomazio'lakhir, attacked Koplân Pâſhâ's troops with ſuch vigour, that the foremoſt ranks being broken at the firſt onſet, the reſt fled for ſafety through the midſt of the moraſs; while the Pâſhâ finding it impoſſible to rally his terrified ſoldiers, ſet fire to the bridges to prevent the enemy from purſuing and deſtroying the whole Othmân army.

The city taken with great loſs.

At laſt, winter approaching, the wazîr cauſed three mines to be ſunk under the walls of the caſtle, and ſpringing them on the 21ſt of that month commanded the men to ſurround the city, and enter the breaches. Hereupon the garriſon finding it impracticable to defend the place, ſince the walls were demoliſhed, fled out of the gate towards the Boriſthenes, after they had laid a train under the magazine of powder; by which means ſeveral thouſands of the common ſoldiers, who had flocked in to plunder, were blown up. Next day the wazîr, accompanied by

(T) Or more elegantly ketchudabeg, that is, *the wazîr's deputy.*

the

the chief officers, viewed the city which had coſt ſo much labour and blood; but as it appeared very difficult to repair, as well as to defend it, he commanded the walls and houſes to be levelled with the ground, then giving his ſoldiers ſome days refreſhment, he endeavoured to provoke the Ruſſians to a battle; but they being unwilling to quit their trenches, and at the ſame time preparing for their retreat, he ordered Koplân Pâſhâ, with ſome light troops, to follow and attack them in their march: but as the Ruſſians retired with cloſe ranks, and were defended by a chain of waggons, they vigorouſly repelled the aſſaults of their purſuers. At length the wazîr himſelf was obliged, for want of proviſions, to return; and, in his march, loſt, beſides almoſt all his baggage and heavy cannon, a greater number of men than had been deſtroyed by the enemy; ſo that at his entrance into Adrianople, in the beginning of Ramazân, the army appeared rather to have been defeated than victorious.

Far from being encouraged by the conqueſt they had made to renew the war in Ukrania, they rather conſidered thoſe who mentioned it to be their enemies. Their having taken the ruins of Chehrîn, and ſeen ſome hundreds of their enemies heads placed round the wazîr's tent, could afford them but little joy, after the loſs of thirty thouſand of their companions, and the fatigues they had ſuſtained in their march. The wazîr himſelf, finding how difficult it was to carry on war in places unknown, barren, and full of marſhes, as well as rivers, repented too late that he had oppoſed the motions for peace, and would have deſiſted from the war, had not the perpetual incurſions of the Koſaks, who laid waſte all the countries along the Euxine Sea, prevented his pacific deſigns.

Another misfortune. He reſolved, therefore, to build a town and caſtle at the mouth of the Boriſthenes, not far from Ochakow, in hopes that, by this means, the Koſak ſhips might be hindered from entering the Euxine Sea, and the Zaparovi Koſacks be obliged, for want of ſalt, to ſubmit to the Othmân empire. The execution of this affair he committed to the mimâr aga, for whoſe defence, till the work ſhould be finiſhed, he ſent Koplân Pâſhâ with ſix regiments of janizaries. But this politic deſign of the wazîr was ruined by a ſudden and unexpected accident; for the foundations were ſcarce laid, when Cirko, general of the Zaporavi Koſaks, returned from an expedition into Tartary with fifteen thouſand men, by chance paſſed through the neighbouring parts, and hearing that a new fort

fort was building, approached to view it, and see who were the projectors. When he found them to be Turks, he immediately surrounded and killed all the workmen and their guards, with Kielmielniski, who had been made hetmân of the Kosaks by the Turks; then pitching his camp upon the spot, sent a messenger to inform the czar of what had been done. Hereupon that prince dispatched orders to Dolhoruki, who succeeded Romadanowski in command of the army, to join all his forces as soon as possible with Cirko's, in order to oppose the attempts of the Turks.

Peace concluded.

The wazîr judging it madness to exhaust in those countries the strength of the Othmân empire, which might be employed to advantage in other parts, agreed to a peace, which was extremely desired on both sides; not that the soltân wanted either inclination or force to carry on the war, but he had not an army inured to cold, hunger, and other hardships, too severe for his troops; besides, fortune seemed now inclinable to abandon the Othmân arms. However, all these considerations could not have diverted the Porte from prosecuting their first design, if new commotions in Hungary had not induced them to turn their arms that way [p].

Count Tekeli revolts to the Turks.

Emerik Tekeli had about this time revolted from the emperor of Germany, and in a few months drawn into his rebellion almost all the people in that part of Hungary which belonged to the imperial crown; but finding himself unable to withstand that monarch, who having made peace with the French, had assembled all his forces to extinguish the flame, he applied to soltân Mohammed for his aid, promising to pay forty thousand rixdollars yearly tribute, and assist him with thirty thousand Hungarians, whenever he should demand them. It was long deliberated at the Othmân court, whether Tekeli should be assisted openly, or only underhand, till the twenty years truce, made in 1075, should be expired. The latter opinion was approved by all the vlema, with the valide soltâna, or *queen-mother*, declaring, it was unjust to wage war with a prince who had given no cause of complaint, but, till then, strictly observed the conditions of the truce. A.D. 1680.

The soltân and wazîr were inclined to the former opinion, alleging, that so fair an opportunity of propagating the Mohammedan faith could never happen again, since Hungary submitted, and Germany was exhausted with

[p] Cant. p. 292, & seq. Manley, ubi supra.

the French and Swedish wars; so that nothing could hinder the reduction of all the countries formerly subject to the Roman empire. Farther, that the war might not seem too great a burthen upon his subjects, the soltân declared, that he had ready for this design seventy thousand purses in his treasury, a complete army, and all other necessaries for several expeditions. The janizaries, instructed by the wazîr, demanded a war, and the soltâna mother, now gained by that minister, with the hopes that out of the conquests, her pashmalik, or *revenue*, would be increased to three hundred purses, voted likewise for it. Hereupon the mufti, who had long concealed his sentiments, approved of the soltân's designs by a fetva; nevertheless the opposite party dispersed libels against the divân, advising the people not to consent to an unjust war.

Who seek pretences to break the peace.

This opposition made it necessary at least to find out some pretence to remove their scruples, and make them more readily engage in the expedition. The emperor having disturbed the peace with Poland, afforded indeed a plausible ground for breaking the truce; but because this had not been done openly, it was not deemed sufficient. At last they contrived that the emperor, and not the soltân, should appear to be the aggressor. To this end letters were sent in the soltân's name to Leopold, declaring, that as Tekeli, and the other Hungarian lords, had been forced by his oppression, to subject their country to the Othmân empire, therefore the emperor was required to recall his troops sent against them, and restore what he had taken from them, otherwise he would be considered as guilty of an infraction of the peace, and draw on himself the punishment due to his rashness.

A.D. 1681. Leopold, rightly suspecting that the Turks were only seeking an occasion of commencing a war, which he was not capable of supporting, sent count Albert Caprara, as ambassador extraordinary to Constantinople; with orders to spare neither persuasions nor bribes, that the peace might be continued. But the wazîr Kâra Mostafa, without waiting that minister's arrival, in the same year 1093, sent Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, beglerbeg of Buda, with six thousand men, to Tekeli's assistance; and ordered Apafti, prince of Transilvania, with his forces, to join the Hungarians. Tekeli, strengthened by these supplies during the summer, took Kassovia, Eperies, Leutsch, Levent, Lipschet, and Tillek; the garrisons of which retired, with design to reserve themselves for a more favourable opportunity.

Hej. 1093. A.D. 1682.

The

The Othmâns, imagining from these beginnings that the expedition would prove fortunate, kept no farther measures, but by the pâshâ of Buda, declared Tekeli king of Hungary, and attacked the isle of Schut, though not with the desired effect. Mean while the wazîr amused the Imperial ambassador with false hopes of peace, in order to retard the enemy's preparations. At length, when he was informed of the new king's success, he sent for Caprara, and acquainted him, that the soltân would grant the emperor peace on no other conditions than the restoration of Hungary to the state it was in 1067; a yearly tribute of five hundred thousand florins; the demolition of Leopoldopolis and Gutta; the resignation of Neutrasch-nita and Ekolt, with the island of Schut, and the fortress of Muran to Tekeli; a general amnesty to the Hungarians, with the restitution of their estates and privileges. Kâra Mostafa, on finding these terms rejected by the emperor, immediately proclaimed war against him, and ordered the horse-tails to be set up before the palace in the month of Shawal [p]. *They declare war.*

A few days after, he departed for Adrianople, to prepare for the German expedition. But at Chirpiji Chayri, a meadow, one mile from Constantinople, where he encamped, there happened such a violent storm and whirlwind, mixed with rain and hail, that the tents of the soltân, prime wazîr, mufti, and the pâshâs, were overthrown. Five days after, at Silbebria, on the sea shore, another tempest arose, while so great a torrent of water rushed from the mountains, that the tents, baggage, horses, cattle, and the very soldiers themselves were overwhelmed, or carried with the stream into the sea. These two accidents struck no small terror into the superstitious Turks; who, accustomed to judge of the success of actions from the beginnings, interpreted these accidents to be marks of divine vengeance, and God's displeasure against the Othmân arms; but the soltân despising such vulgar reflections, as unworthy of a great mind, pursued his intended march, and reached Adrianople about the end of the year. At length having in the winter finished his preparations, he in Rabio'lakhir, 1094, set out with his whole army towards Belgrade; but altering his resolution, stopped at Hesarjîk, a town about eight hours march from Adrianople. Here, after a second review of his forces, he delivered the command of his ar- *The army sets out.* Hej. 1094. A.D. 1683.

[p] Cant. p. 295, & seq.

my to the prime wazîr, with Mohammed's ſtandard (U) and then returned to Conſtantinople, hunting all the way

Tekeli's arguments againſt beſieging Vienna.

The wazîr purſuing his march, paſſed the Save at Belgrade, and at Eſſek was met by Tekeli, with about three hundred Hungarian nobles, who were received with great marks of reſpect. A few days after, although he had a full power of acting from the ſoltân, yet he called a council of the chief officers, with a view not only to gain their affections by this condeſcenſion, but alſo to lay the blame on their advice in caſe any thing went wrong. As Tekeli was ſuppoſed to have the moſt perfect knowlege of the ſtate of Germany, he was ordered to deliver his opinion firſt (W), and declare what part of it ought principally to be attacked; and whether the ſiege of Vienna ſhould be undertaken this year, or deferred till the next.

On this occaſion the new Hungarian king made a pathetic ſpeech, wherein he ſhewed, from cogent arguments, that it would be greatly detrimental to the Othmân intereſt to beſiege Vienna; that being too remote from the borders of the Othmân empire, the army would be waſted by the garriſons of the country they were to paſs through, before they could reach the city; that if the ſiege ſhould be prolonged by the bravery of the defendants, the beſiegers muſt be ſtarved for want of proviſions, which would be intercepted by the enemy, who at the ſame time would weaken the army by their incurſions; that in caſe they ſhould take Vienna, all the Chriſtian princes, even the king of France himſelf, would unite to recover the city, which they conſidered as the bulwark of their religion; that if the German

(U) It is a ſtandard of green ſilk, long and large, made like all other ſanjâks. The Chriſtians thought they had taken it at Vienna, but were miſtaken, for the wazir himſelf carried it off. It is never brought out of the camp, or expoſed in battle. It is very old and tattered, rolled round a ſpear, on the top of which is the word *alem*. It is carried in a cheſt on a camel before the ſoltân or the wazîr when going to war. Whether Mohammed's, or another, I cannot ſay. Cant.

(W) Though moſt of the Chriſtian writers aſcribe the ſiege of Vienna to Tekeli's counſels, yet prince Cantemir affirms it was not ſo; that Aneji Solymân Pâſhâ, when wazîr, publicly demonſtrated his innocence; and that Haznadar Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, governor of Belgrade, who was preſent at all the conſultations, aſſured him, that Tekeli was againſt the ſiege, and gave advice ſuch as is ſet forth in the text. He adds, that Tekeli told him Maurocordatus invented that calumny, and alſo provoked the wazîr Kâra Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ to impriſon him.

princes

princes found there were no other hopes of safety, rather than submit to the soltân, they would call in the king of France, and declare him emperor; who, joining even the remains of the Germans to his own army, would be feared become more powerful than was imagined.

For subduing Hungary.

On the other hand he urged, that the war might be carried on in Hungary with less hazard and more advantage: that the part under his banner, now voluntarily offered to submit to the soltân, and that the other part, subject to the emperor, was weary of the German tyranny; that Hungary being once brought under, it would be easy to subdue not only Vienna, but all Germany; and that the country would prove a magazine of provisions and stores for future expeditions into any other parts; that the wazîr should encamp about Buda or Belgrade with the greater part of the army, in order to march against the enemy, if they appeared in the field; and in case they retired into the cities and castles, to send the Tatars, and other light armed troops, to lay waste Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia; that by these means, the Imperial army being without difficulty dispersed, and unable to subsist for want of corn, the whole German empire would be reduced in a single campaign.

The wazîr dissembles.

The wazîr, too confident of his own power, and meditating greater designs, did not relish this wholesome advice; but concealing his sentiments, lest he should disoblige the Hungarians, commanded the other pâshâs to declare their opinions. Ibrâhîm, pashâ of Buda, and Ahmed Pâshâ, high treasurer, both eminent for their warlike conduct, and of great authority in the camp, partly guessing at the general's opinion, and knowing he would prove an enemy to those who should be against the intended siege of Vienna, which they looked upon to be dangerous, as Tekeli had represented it, delivered their minds directly, neither on one side nor the other, saying, it ought to be left to the well-known wisdom of Kâra Mostafa, to determine whether the war was to be carried into Hungary or Germany. The wazîr, perceiving that even these two pâshâs were not entirely of his opinion, the better to conceal his designs, pretended to approve of Tekeli's advice; and ordering the army to march for Yavarin, or Raab, sent the Imperial ambassador, whom he had hitherto amused with the hopes of peace, to Buda, that he might not observe his proceedings [q].

[q] Cant. p. 239, & seq.

Besieges Yavarin.

At the same time, all his forces being assembled by the arrival of Selîm Gyeray, khân of the Tatars, the wazîr passed the Raab, after the Hungarians, left to guard the ford, had shamefully abandoned their post, and encamped under the walls of Yavarin. But he had scarce began to batter the place, when he was informed by his scouts, that the emperor was fled from Vienna to Lintz, that every thing there was in confusion, the walls ruinous, the magazines empty, the garrison weak, and the citizens in consternation. This intelligence encouraged him to prosecute his design; and having by large promises gained over the janizaries, with their aga, he sent again for the chief pâshâs to deliver their opinion; but they now perceiving the wazîr to be wavering, unanimously advised against the siege of Vienna, till the cities in the way were all subdued. Tekeli above all opposed that scheme, foreseeing that if the wazîr persisted in it, all his hopes of the kingdom of Hungary would be destroyed.

Marches to Vienna.

Kâra Mostafa, finding he could not prevail by his speeches, at last produced the soltân's khati sharîf, or *order*, by which he was empowered to act as he should think fit. On sight of this, the pâshâs having no more to say, promised to execute his commands with chearfulness. The wazîr, having thus gained his point, left a few troops under Kior Husseyn Pâshâ, to block up Yavarin; and, at the head of the army, advanced with the utmost expedition towards Vienna. In their march they seized the baggage of several Imperial officers, killed the troops which convoyed them, and took a great many prisoners, with whom they appeared before Vienna, on the 18th of Jomazio'lakhir. The trenches being opened, and every thing necessary for the siege prepared, the wazîr soon made himself master of the out-works, beat down the walls with his cannon and mines; and then assaulted the city with such vigour, that although the garrison, assisted by the citizens, bravely disputed every inch of ground, yet in all probability the place must have been quickly taken, had the general continued the siege as vigorously as it was begun.

His ambitious views.

But Kâra Mostafa, though otherwise a man of great prudence and experience, being infatuated with ambition and the power he saw himself invested with, imagined it for his interest to prolong the siege. He fancied he was able to throw off the Othmân dominion, and having seized the metropolis of all Germany, found a Mussulman empire in the West which should rival that in the East. He thought he had nothing to fear from the soltân, since all the disciplined

plined troops of the empire were under his command, and it would be difficult for Mohammed to bring such an army against him. The emperor of Germany seemed less formidable to him, as he hoped to be master of his capital city, before the troops expected from Poland, whose proceedings were known to be dilatory, could possibly arrive. He had brought with him a great treasure, and resolved to increase it with the riches of the German princes, which he supposed to be deposited in the city.

He knew that the pâshâs and other governors in Hungary, appointed by him during his seven years wazîrship, were attached to his interest, and imagined would prove no obstacle to his advancement. It remained only to gain Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, beglerbeg of Buda, a man of great authority with the principal officers of the janizaries and spahis. These latter he prevailed on by large presents. He promised Ibrâhîm Pâshâ the kingdom of Hungary for ever, to divide all the provinces of it among the spahis, by way of timâr (X); and to settle the whole army in the cities and lands of that country, as new colonies, after driving out or enslaving the old possessors. But he reserved for himself, under the title of soltân, all Germany, as far as the borders of France, Transilvania, and Poland, which he resolved next year either to subdue or make tributary [r].

Corrupts the pâshâs.

Let us now leave the wazîr, big with these great designs, in the camp before Vienna, and see what measures were taken by the emperor to repel the enemy. While count Caprara was in vain waiting at Constantinople for a confirmation of the peace, Leopold's ambassador in Poland had much better success in his negotiations. The states of that kingdom, excited either by the common danger, or the pope's exhortations, laying aside their intestine divisions, unanimously resolved to raise an army, and oppose the enemy of the cross. Accordingly, an alliance was quickly concluded between the emperor and John Sobieski; of which one of the principal articles was, that in case the capital of either monarch should be attacked by the Turks, both princes should march in person with their whole army to its relief.

Leopold prepares for his defence.

Leopold being strengthened on that side, in the following year declared Charles duke of Lorrain general of his

[r] Cant. p. 303, & seq.

(X) Timâr spahi are the nobles, or *old spahi*, who for their stipend have villages assigned them in the provinces, and are obliged, in proportion to their income, to carry slaves to the wars, but three at least.

army; and as soon as he heard war had been proclaimed at Constantinople, ordered him to march with what forces he had ready into Hungary, and there, before the Turks could arrive, make himself master of some castle, which might serve as a bulwark to Germany. The duke first attempted Gran, the garrison of which he had been assured was very weak; but finding that a large reinforcement of Turks from Wywar had entered the city, he set fire to the bridge, which joined the two places, and on the 7th of Jamazio'lakhir invested Wywar. There for eight days both sides fought with equal bravery, yet not with equal success; for the imperial general being informed that the wazîr was advancing against him with a powerful army from Belgrade, on the 14th of the same month abandoned the siege, though the city could not long have held out. Then supplying the garrison of Vienna with several regiments, he encamped with the rest of his army near the city, on the borders of Hungary and Austria, in such a manner, that he might provide for the exigencies of both countries, and safely wait for the forces of Poland as well as of other states. When Leopold heard that Hungary was abandoned by his troops, and that the Turks were preparing to besiege Vienna; not thinking himself secure within the city, he committed the defence of it to count Staremberg, a man of approved integrity, valour, and prudence, and retired to Lintz on the Danube; from whence he sent letters to all the neighbouring princes to desire their assistance [s].

Retires to Lintz.

State of both armies.

On the 7th of May, Leopold, attended by the dukes of Bavaria and Lorrain, had reviewed his army, which did not consist of more than forty-three thousand men: but in these are not reckoned six thousand hired Poles, commanded by prince Lubomirski, a great number of volunteers, and the forces of Alsatia with those of the Rhine. The cannon consisted of seventy great pieces and fifteen mortars, under the care of count Staremberg, general of the artillery. The Turkish army, according to a moderate computation, amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand effective men, besides miners, gunners, suttlers, and other attendants, which might be reckoned forty thousand more.

The city besieged and battered.

The whole garrison of Vienna, including two thousand seven hundred and seventeen trained bands, officers and volunteers, consisted of thirteen thousand men. The Turks be-

[s] Cant. p. 305, & seqq.

ginning

ginning to approach the city, the duke on the 14th retreated over the bridges, and encamped: but the isle of Tabor in the Danube being judged no proper place for the cavalry, he passed that river, leaving the bridges to be defended by Schultz's dragoons. On the 16th, the wazîr entered the camp, and began to open his trenches about fifty paces from the counterscarp, in the suburbs of Ulrick; ordering a writing or summons, wrapped in a linen bag, to be thrown on the covered way, wherein he exhorted the governor and people to turn Mohammedans and surrender the city, otherwise to expect no mercy.

One of the first misfortunes which befel the besieged was, their governor's being wounded in the head with a brick. Mean while, the Turks having drawn two parallel lines, and a third on the lobel bastion, with a line of communication between both, raised their batteries of thirty pieces of cannon. The prime wazîr took his station on the side of the ravelin, with his kyehaya, the janizar aga and pâshâ of Rumeli, who was killed with a cannon ball. The attack of the court bastion on the right was given to Hussèyn Pâshâ of Damaskus; that of the lobel bastion on the left of the wazîr, to Ahmed Pâshâ of Temeswaer. But although they were disturbed in their lines by a brisk sally of the besieged; yet on the 23d of July, a strong gale of wind blowing towards the city, they threw several bombs into it, and the same day sprung a mine near the lobel bastion with very little effect: however, they made a furious assault upon it, but came off with loss. Next morning a messenger from the duke, having swam four times over the water with a letter in a bladder, hung about his neck, with much difficulty got into the city, and gave the besieged hopes of relief, as the army was now daily encreasing [t].

The wazir's avarice.

In the mean time the wazîr Kâra Mostafa continued the siege of Vienna, not as prudence, but his vain imagination, suggested: for, in a persuasion that the city could not avoid falling into his hands, he would not suffer it to be closely blocked up on all sides; or the breaches to be attacked every-where with equal vigour; but ordered the soldiers daily to assault in small parties only, that the garrison being exhausted with continual watching and loss of their men, might be obliged, at length, to surrender the castle. When the janizaries, ignorant of the general's designs, began openly to complain of these proceedings,

[t] Manley, ubi supra. Jones in Mah. iv.

and

and that more were destroyed by the skirmishes than by a general assault of the whole army; he unwarily discovered part of his projects, telling those who acquainted him with what was said, that he could not satisfy the desires of the army, because he knew there were great treasures in the city, which it would be improper, and contrary to the soltân's command, to give up for plunder.

Provisions fail in the camp.

Besides, lest the soldiers should happen to break into the city, and in the first heat seize on those treasures, he commanded proclamation to be made in the camp, that if any Othmân troops should force the walls, they should immediately secure themselves with a trench, and not presume to advance farther, or enter any house, before he should come and give them fresh orders. Lastly, that, after taking the city, the want of corn should not oblige him to change or defer his designs, he very sparingly distributed the provisions, which he had brought with him in great plenty; alleging, that good part of it was to be reserved for the troops, to be left in garrison, when the city should be reduced. Mean while, all the provisions expected from Hungary were intercepted by the garrisons of Presburg, Yavarin and Komorra, as Tekeli had foretold the wazîr. Hence a great scarcity arose.

The general, to remedy this inconvenience, before the famine caused a sedition in the army, sent a pâshâ, with twenty thousand men to the aid of Tekeli, with orders to attack Presburg, because that was the city least able to make resistance; and see the provisions, with the military stores collected at Buda, safely conducted to the Othmân camp. But duke Charles being informed of the wazîr's intentions, detached prince Lewis of Baden, with several regiments, who first meeting with Tekeli, quickly dispersed the Hungarian troops; a circumstance which struck the Turks with such terror, that, besides a thousand killed, and many taken, they left a thousand waggons laden with provisions, and warlike engines, as a booty to the victors.

The soldiers desert.

The janizaries, on the news of this defeat and loss, exasperated against their general, began to exclaim, that they came to fight, not against famine, but the enemy; and growing negligent in their duty, allowed the garrison, now reduced to the utmost extremity, time to resume their courage, and repair their breaches. The officers likewise, discouraged by the obstinacy of the wazîr, and difficulty of the siege, grew careless of their affairs; and would have been surprised by the imperial army, if one of the enemy's couriers, who was taken, had not shewn them to what

what danger they were expoſed. But this indolence had taken ſuch deep root in the minds of the ſoldiers, that they were heard frequently to ſay, "O! infidel, if thou wilt not come thyſelf, at leaſt ſhew thy cap, at the ſight of which we will fly in an hour." And, on the approach of the Poliſh auxiliaries, although it was eaſy for them to have hindered the junction of the two armies, yet not a ſingle man would ſtir, to divert that imminent danger. On the night before the battle, almoſt a fourth part of the army diſperſed; and thoſe who remained, ſeemed to want reſolution to fight [u].

The Turks advance on the court baſtion:

By this account one would imagine, that the Turks remained quite inactive before Vienna, after the defeat at Preſburg; but, according to the Chriſtian accounts, they preſſed the ſiege with great vigour. On the 26th of July, they deſigned a furious aſſault, and ordered all their warlike muſick to ſound: but juſt as they were beginning the attack, the beſieged ſprung a mine, which blew up many of the enemy: and, though the reſt preſſed hard to gain the ground, which the mine had laid open, they were valiantly repulſed with conſiderable loſs. However, they gave the beſieged no reſt till the 6th of Auguſt, when ſpringing a mine, which opened the earth very much, as far as the counterſcarp, towards the court baſtion, they there began a terrible battle, which laſted five hours: and, notwithſtanding the great valour of count Leſley the younger, who was ſlain in this action, they at laſt like a violent torrent, became maſters of the ditch of the court ravelin; though with the loſs of one thouſand men.

On the 8th, the Turks ſprung a mine at the point of the court baſtion, which they ſeconded with an aſſault; ſo that the governor, judging it impoſſible to defend the ravelin, cauſed the cannon to be withdrawn from thence, and then in a ſally, driving the enemy out of their galleries, burnt all their works. The Turks at length, by their aſſiduous labours, on the 13th, blew up the flanker of the ravelin: but the quantity of powder being very great, the mine reverſed on themſelves, with ſuch execution, as abated the courage of the aſſailants. However, the beſieged being much diſtreſſed with their daily loſſes, ſent the duke of Lorrain an account by one Kotlinſki: who, diſguiſing himſelf like a Turk, ſilently paſſed the palliſadoes, and went confidently ſinging a Turkiſh air, through their camp. The ſame meſſenger returning with

[u] Cant. p. 306, & ſeq.

letters,

letters, promising speedy relief, they signified the receipt of them to the imperial camp, by firing three rockets, while they rung the bells for joy, and fired all the guns in the city on the enemy.

bravely repulsed.

It would be tedious to relate every day's action. But while the operations of the siege were prosecuted in this manner, divers rencounters happened abroad; in which considerable bodies of Tatars, Turks, and malecontents, were defeated with great slaughter, and convoys of provisions from time to time intercepted. Hereupon, the wazîr ordered Tekeli to repair with his forces to the siege; but he excused himself from that service. Meanwhile, although the Turkish camp began to be somewhat discouraged for want of forage, yet they still persisted vigourously to push on the siege. On the 23d of the same month, they carried a third part of the ravelin, where they made a lodgement: next day they sprung another mine, without success; at which time, a messenger brought news to the besieged of speedy relief. Hereupon, they made a sally on the 25th, with so much resolution, that they drove the Turks out of the ditch, overthrew their galleries and gabions, nailed six of their cannon, and discharged one of their mines of its powder.

Renew the attack.

However, on the 27th in the evening, sixty rockets were fired from St. Stephen's tower, as a signal of their great distress: while the Turks fired incessantly upon the place, sprung a mine, and had well nigh taken the ravelin. On the 1st of September they made a sally, though not with the desired success; but in another, on the same day, they burnt the enemy's galleries; and ruined so much of their works, that they could not repair it in less than three days. However, on the 3d the governor thought fit to quit the ravelin to the enemy; who having sprung a mine next day under the court bulwark, which made a great breach, and shook the whole city, five thousand Turks, with their drawn scymeters, immediately entered, and crying Allah! Allah! planted four of their standards upon the breach.

Repulsed again.

The besieged on this occasion displayed the utmost intrepidity and resolution; and after fighting all day long, repulsed the enemy, with the slaughter of twelve hundred men. They worsted them also next day, in the ditch; and although, on the 6th, the besiegers, with two mines made a breach in the lobel bastion, and vigorously assaulted it for two hours, yet they were beaten off; and in their retreat lost two thousand men, slain by the cannon,

grena-

grenadoes, and other engines. The joy for this ſucceſs was increaſed by five rockets, fired the ſame evening, from the mountains of Kalemberg, as ſignals that relief was at hand. The Turks being well acquainted with this circumſtance, took an account of their army, which, from one hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand, was now reduced to one hundred and nineteen thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſix. Therefore, on the 9th, they reſolved to make their laſt effort againſt the city, which they judged was now reduced to the utmoſt extremity, as in reality it was.

Prepare for battle.

Accordingly, they redoubled the firing of their cannon and mortars, though it was only like the laſt ſtruggle before death; for in the afternoon the Turkiſh camp began to move, and their cavalry to ride in a confuſed manner from one ſide to another, in order to change their ſituation for fighting; while thoſe who were left to carry on the ſiege ſtill proceeded with their works, and ſprung nine ſeveral mines under the lobel baſtions, but without much execution. Other mines were diſcovered on the 10th; and next day they cannonaded the place with as much violence as ever; but the noiſe, occaſioned by the approach of the Chriſtian army, at laſt ſilenced their roaring. This indeed happened very ſeaſonably, for the beſieged were now reduced to great extremities; and the appearance of a ſmoak, in three different places, on the Kalemberg mountains, cheared their ſpirits, as being the ſignal that the duke was haſtening to their relief [y].

A council held.

Being now come to the eve before the battle, it is time to return to the Turkiſh hiſtorians, and ſee what reſolutions were taken in the Othmân army. While the deſertion of their ſoldiers before mentioned ſtruck the pâſhâs with dread, the wazîr alone continued fearleſs. However, he aſſembled the other officers to hear their opinions. Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, beglerbeg of Buda, firſt delivered his thoughts, and adviſed the raiſing of the ſiege; then, marching againſt the enemy, to make a rampart with the trees of the neighbouring woods, and fortify it with cannon, in order to receive the firſt attack; that afterwards the horſe ſhould fall on the enemy in flank, as they retired, and thus obtain an eaſy victory. All the pâſhâs, excepting a few, approved of this advice; but the wazîr obſtinately oppoſed their admonitions; alleging, that if he raiſed the ſiege, the garriſon would deſtroy the works raiſed againſt them, repair their walls and recover their ſtrength; that

The pâſhâs opinion.

[y] Ricaut. Manley, ubi ſupra.

the

the ſmall forces of the enemy, which ſcarce deſerved the name of an army, would avoid a battle; that even after a victory, it would be difficult to prevail upon the janizaries to return to the ſiege, and again enter the trenches, where they had ſuffered ſo much already; and, that in caſe it ſhould not, yet the autumnal rains were approaching, which formerly obliged Solymân to withdraw with his army from before the ſame place. For theſe, and other reaſons, he concluded it beſt to continue the ſiege, without drawing off to fight the enemy.

The wazir's obſtinacy.

When the wazîr had done ſpeaking, the pâſhâs anſwered, that the garriſon, being ſo much exhauſted with ſickneſs and labour, would be more ſolicitous to defend the fortifications ſtill left, than to recover what they had loſt; and, that as the trenches, and other works, were ſtronger than the city, if one or two regiments were left to defend them, it would be more difficult for the garriſon to ſeize them than for the janizaries to take the city; but nothing could divert the wazîr from his purpoſe, which he reſolved to execute, by virtue of the power given him by the ſoltân.

The battle fought.

The Chriſtian army therefore advancing, on the 20th day of Ramazân, Kâra Moſtafa ordered the priſoners, amounting to near thirty thouſand, to be maſſacred. Then dividing his forces, which were not employed in the ſiege, into three parts, he gave the command of the left wing to Ibrâhîm, pâſhâ of Buda, and of the right to Kara Mehemed, pâſhâ of Diyarbekr; the body of the army, with the agâ of the janizaries and ſpahîs, he reſerved for himſelf. The reſt of the janizaries he left under the command of his kyehaya, in the trenches, to attack the city in the mean time. Although the officers ſeemed to execute theſe orders with great vigour, yet the wazîr ſoon found what Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ had told him was true, and now too late repented that he had not followed his advice; for, upon the firſt charge of the Germans, thoſe who were placed in both wings, quitted their ranks, and refuſed to obey the orders of their generals. The janizaries, who were left in the works, obſerving what paſſed in the battle, of their own accord abandoned the ſiege, and removed out of their trenches, under pretence of aſſiſting their companions, who were in diſtreſs, but in reality to withdraw themſelves from the danger. The Poliſh forces ſoon after coming up, and attacking the body of the army, which was entirely unſupported, the reſt of the janizaries

and

and ſpahîs betook themſelves to flight with the utmoſt precipitation.

When Kâra Moſtafa Pâſhâ ſaw his ſoldiers ſcattered on every ſide, and no poſſibility of renewing the battle, he returned alſo to the camp; and finding no man in his tent, lamented his ill fortune with a flood of tears; then taking up the ſtandard of Mohammed, he followed the remains of his army. Night coming on, the darkneſs covered the fugitives from the enemies ſwords, but did not remove their fears, which had ſo deeply poſſeſſed them, that, inſenſible of hunger, and the fatigues of the way, they never halted till they reached their companions, who had been left at the ſiege of Yavarin, twenty-five German miles from Vienna. *The Turks overthrown.*

Mean time the Imperial army, finding that the Othmâns, after a ſhort ſkirmiſh, retreated to their camp, and not knowing what paſſed there, imagined the wazîr had laid an ambuſcade for them; becauſe they could not believe that ſuch a numerous army would take to flight upon ſo ſlight an attack. As the darkneſs increaſed their apprehenſions of danger, they reſolved to ſtop, and to aſſault the camp next morning; but when they were informed by their ſcouts, that the Turks were fled, the Poles, chiefly induced by the hopes of plunder, entered their camp in the night; where they found, beſides one hundred and eighty large cannon, with other warlike ſtores, a great booty and proviſion, enough for ſeveral months [z].

For farther particulars of this ſiege and battle, the reader may conſult our hiſtory of Germany.

Tranſactions from the Siege of Vienna to that of Buda.

WHILE the Chriſtian camp reſounded with joy at this ſo unexpected a victory, and all Europe congratulated the confederates upon the relief of Vienna, there appeared a very different face of things among the Turks, who had eſcaped from the defeat. The wazîr, when he reached Yavarin, earneſtly ſtudied not to repair his loſs, but to turn upon others the danger to which, according to the Turkiſh cuſtom, himſelf lay expoſed. He perceived it was not poſſible to practiſe this expedient, ſo long as Ibrâhîm, pâſhâ of Buda, and the reſt, who had been privy to his councils, were alive, ſince they might, by their teſtimony, add great weight to the charge which would be *The wazîr deſtroys the chief officers.*

[z] Cant. p. 308. & ſeq.

preferred

preferred againſt him, and diſcover his deſigns againſt the Othmân empire. He therefore ſent, on ſome pretence, for all thoſe who had oppoſed him in the laſt conſultation, and commanded the pâſhâs to be ſtrangled (Y), and the other officers of the army to be put to death; giving out, that they, in conjunction with Tekeli, had firſt deviſed the ſiege of Vienna, and in a manner conſtrained him to undertake it, contrary to his inclination; that, notwithſtanding, they were afterwards very dilatory in obeying his orders, and the firſt who in the battle betook themſelves to flight. After theſe executions, he encamped under the walls of Buda, of which he appointed Kâra Mehemed Pâſhâ the governor, a man who had always implicitly followed his opinion.

The Poles defeated.

In the mean time, the confederate army, reſolving to reap in Hungary ſome farther fruits of their victory, moved towards the eaſt. The Poles, who aſſumed the greateſt ſhare of that ſucceſs, claimed the right of marching in the van. Puffed up with the pride of having routed ſome of the flying troops, they wandered about the country without any order, as if they had now ſubdued all the Othmân forces. In this manner ranging, they happened in the month of Shawal to meet near Gran with ſix thouſand horſe, and two thouſand janizaries, drawn together by two pâſhâs. Theſe they attacked boldly, thinking to rout them at the firſt onſet; but the Turks, who were at firſt inclined to fly, perceiving them to be ſeparated from the reſt of the army, made a ſtand; and had not the Germans ſeaſonably come to their aſſiſtance, they muſt all have been deſtroyed by the Othmâns, who killed a thouſand of them, with the ſon of general Yablownowſki [b].

Seaſonably relieved.

The Chriſtian writers inform us, that the deſign of the confederate army being to beſiege Barkan, a palanka, or *fort*, oppoſite to Gran, the king of Poland marched thither in haſte, leaving the infantry behind, contrary to the advice of the duke, who thereupon marched away, with moſt of the horſe to attend him. The Poles being come within ſight of ſome ſquadrons of the enemy, forced them to retreat; but they being ſupported by freſh troops, the

[b] Cant. p. 311, & ſeq.

(Y) They were the pâſhâs of Buda, Eſſeck, and Poſſega, with the âga of the janizaries. The ſoldiers were mightily enraged at this maſſacre; the pâſhâ of Buda being very well beloved by them, as well as the âga. Manley.

king

king with all his cavalry came to be engaged; when six thousand Turks, concealed behind a hill, suddenly appearing, the Poles were charged both in front and rear, with such bravery, that they were put to flight. The duke of Lorrain, on advice of this incident, hastened his march to the opening of a plain, where the Turks were in hot pursuit of the Poles; but on his appearance, they retreated. The Poles were so discouraged by the repulse and loss they had sustained, amounting to two thousand men, that the duke had some difficulty to bring them to resolve upon another engagement [a].

The Turks defeated.

Next day, the Polish and German armies being united, attacked the Turks near Barkan; and, after a fierce battle, defeated them. The Othmâns, in their flight, passing the Danube hastily, with their weight broke down the bridge before one fourth part could get over, and were carried away by the stream; the rest flying to Barkan, on the approach of the confederates, surrendered the town, and their arms, with both the generals. There fell in the battle about three thousand Turks: the remainder were either drowned in the river, or taken prisoners [b]. In this battle, prince Lewis of Baden commanded the right wing, Dunewaldt the left, and Staremberg the main body. The king of Poland posted himself on the right wing, between the Imperial cavalry and dragoons, Jabloreski in the left, and the rest of the Polish army made a third line. In this order, being come near the enemy, the Turks right wing charged the left of the confederates with such ferocity, as if they had a particular resentment against the Poles. At the same time, those on the rising of the hill advanced, as if they intended to attack the main body of the confederates; but they suddenly wheeled, and fell upon the left. This motion being observed by the duke of Lorrain, he crossed the line of cavalry on the left wing, and with all the first line, which had not yet been engaged, charged the enemy in flank with such bravery, as put them to a general rout, so that they could not rally again. Dunewaldt was ordered to pursue them; and with the first line, and Poles of the left wing, advanced to the very gates of Barkan, where many were killed, and perished in the marshes of Gran. Hereupon prince Lewis attacked, and took the fort of Barkan; and of the vast multitude of people who were in that place, none escaped the sword or drowning, excepting about seven or eight hundred, who

[a] Ricaut & Manley, ubi supra. [b] Cant. p. 311.

were in a redoubt, and obtained quarter. The Turks in this battle loſt above ten thouſand of their beſt ſoldiers, and about one thouſand were made priſoners, including the pâſhâs of Hâlep and Siliſtria, with ſeveral âgas. The Poles and Germans were ready to come to blows about the plunder; but count Staremberg interpoſing, the place, with all the ſpoil, was yielded to the Poles.

Gran beſieged and taken.

The Turks, on this defeat, grew very mutinous, ſo that the prime wâzîr himſelf durſt hardly ſhew his head; while Tekeli and his aſſociates ſent deputies, with propoſals of accommodation to the duke of Lorrain, who would agree upon no terms but an abſolute ſubmiſſion. Weſbrin and Leventz received German garriſons; the countries alſo of Trinſchin, Tirnaw, and Nitria, declared againſt the malcontents. Mean while the duke induced the king of Poland, after ſome heſitation, to undertake the ſiege of Gran[d]. The Turkiſh hiſtorians tell us, that the Chriſtian generals were at firſt diverted from this deſign, by a report that the wazîr was advancing with an army of fourſcore thouſand men, to wipe off his late diſgrace; but the report proving falſe, they, in the beginning of Zilkaadeh, attacked this fortreſs with ſo much fury, that the Turks were ſeized with terror, and the governor, Bekr Pâſhâ, though he had above four thouſand men, on the fourth day of the ſiege, ſurrendered, upon capitulation, a city which had reſiſted a much larger army for as many months[e].

The reduction of this ſtrong place was in a great meaſure owing to the bravery of the Bavarian troops. Three batteries raiſed againſt it, began to play on the 25th of October early, and much battered the caſtle on the ſide towards Buda; they threw in likewiſe many bombs, whilſt the Imperialiſts advanced to the very ditch, and there made a lodgment, in ſpite of the great efforts of the beſieged to hinder them. They likewiſe ſtormed, and ſoon took the lower town on Barkan-ſide, from whence the inhabitants retired to the caſtle. However, that night the beſiegers undermined the hill on which it ſtood; and there being alſo a wide breach made in the wall, the garriſon was ſummoned to ſurrender, on condition of ſafety for their lives and goods, which next day, being the fifth of the ſiege, they, for fear of the utmoſt extremity, accepted of. The governor, Bekr Pâſhâ, and ſome others, having a great deſire to wait on the duke of Lorrain, were treated by him with great civility.

[d] Ricaut & Manley, ubi ſupra. [e] Cant. p. 312.

After

After this ſucceſs, the troops began to retire into winter quarters. In their way thither, Leventz ſurrendered; the Kroats alſo took the caſtle of Rabonitz; the town of Probenz, on the Drave; the caſtle of Eſſeghet, with the city and caſtle of Brevenitz near Kaniſia. The citizens of Setzin, which was attacked by the Poles, opening the gates before the articles were agreed on, a miſerable ſlaughter was made of them; among whom were ſlain twelve hundred janizaries, and two thouſand other Turks. After this maſſacre the king returned home with his army. Notwithſtanding this ſeparation of the confederate forces, the Imperial arms gained ſuch reputation, that ſeveral caſtles belonging to the mal-contents ſurrendered at diſcretion; and count Zabbar, commander in chief next to Tekeli, ſubmitted to the emperor[f]. *Other advantages.*

During theſe tranſactions in Hungary, Petreczeicus, prince of Moldavia, after the departure of the king of Poland for the relief of Vienna, joining thoſe of his party with Konikki, general of the Koſaks, paſſed the Tyras, and marched into Beſſarabia. When he found the country without any defence, for the Bujâk and Krîm Tatars were almoſt all employed in the ſiege of Vienna, leaving the Koſaks to guard his camp, he, with his Moldavian troops, deſtroyed the country on all ſides, with ſuch cruelty, that he neither ſpared age nor ſex. He empaled alive, or daſhed out the brains of the Tatarian children; cauſed the virgins to be raviſhed, and then murdered; the women with child to be ripped up; and the old men to be put to the moſt dreadful tortures, to make them diſcover their riches: in a word, he omitted no kind of barbarity which had ever been before invented.

While the Moldavians were thus performing the part of executioners rather than of ſoldiers, the Tatars, who had eſcaped from the battle of Vienna, returned; and finding themſelves inferior to the enemy, lay concealed in the borders, where being reinforced, they ſuddenly attacked them, diſperſed over the country, and took a ſevere revenge for the ſlaughter of their companions. Then they incloſed the Koſaks, who not daring, on account of their ſmall number, to venture an engagement, defended themſelves with a chain of waggons, and proceeded ſlowly to the river Hieraſus. But their number daily decreaſing, and proviſions failing, they were diſperſed by famine and the ſnows, rather than by their purſuers. In their flight *Moldavian cruelty ſeverely revenged.*

[f] Ricaut & Manley, ubi ſupra.

many were slain, and more taken prisoners; so that of the whole army, only a few troops of Kosaks, with Petreczeicus and Konikki, escaped with great difficulty into Poland; nor could they have escaped, if the horses of the Tatars had not been quite spent.

Prince Dukay's fate.

Dukay, prince of Moldavia, underwent a much harder fate; for at his return from the Vienna expedition, when he saw the country in confusion, almost all the nobles having either revolted to Petreczeicus, or fled into the neighbouring provinces, and found Jassi, his capital, desolate, he retired with a few followers to Domnestim, a village in the district of Putna, in expectation of better times; but here, while he was intent on settling the affairs of the nation, he was suddenly attacked by Bainski, a Moldavian, related to Petreczeicus, who took and carried him into Poland; where soon after he died in close confinement at Warsaw. In his room the Turks appointed Demetrius Cantacuzenus, a man of noble extraction, but weak, and fitter for times of peace than war; for which reason he did not long enjoy his dignity [g].

The wazir's artifice to destroy others.

Let us now see what was doing in the mean time at the Othmân court. The soltân, who knew nothing of what passed either in the army or state, but as he was informed by the wazîr, having been assured by that minister, that Vienna could not hold out many days longer, removed his hunting nearer to Constantinople; with design, as soon as news should be brought him of its surrender, to celebrate his triumph with great magnificence; but when he heard of his army's defeat, he returned to his capital, to prevent any sedition which might be raised on that occasion. Not long after he received letters from the wazîr, wherein he imputed his ill success to the artifices and treachery of his officers, especially Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, who first advised the siege, and then refused to obey his orders, prejudicing the rest by his ill example. With the letters he had sent rich presents to the valide-soltâna, and all the officers of the court in favour with the soltân; who, by their representation of matters, was so fully persuaded of Kâra Mostafa's innocence, that he not only approved of his putting Ibrâhîm Pâshâ and the rest to death, but also confirmed him in the wazîrship, and the command of his new army.

The wazîr had not ventured to put all the officers to death who were privy to his designs, lest the great number of executions should raise a suspicion in the soltân; but

[g] Cant. p. 312, & seq.

now,

now, encouraged by the ſucceſs of his preſents, he privately intimated to Mohammed by letters, that the âga of the janizaries and other pâſhâs, whom he named, had again ſhewed themſelves diſobedient to his orders; yet, that he was unwilling to uſe the power which his majeſty had given him, leſt his enemies ſhould make a handle of it to his prejudice, and therefore deſired to know his pleaſure concerning them.

Detected and ſtrangled.

But this ſtep, inſtead of anſwering his purpoſe, proved his ruin; for the court was by this time much changed; and the other officers, who had been preſent at the ſiege of Vienna, had tranſmitted a more faithful account of the tranſactions, whereby the artifices and deſigns of the wazîr were diſcovered. This, with the news which arrived of the reduction of Gran, and defeat of the forces at Barkan, gave the patrons of the perſons accuſed an opportunity to ſet forth the treachery of the wazîr in ſuch ſtrong colours to the ſoltân, that he ordered the kyehaya of the kâpiji, to go and put him to death. That officer found him at Belgrade, in the hords of Mohama, intent on recruiting his army, and ſeized him in his own houſe; where being ſhewn the mandate, and making no reſiſtance, but affirming himſelf crowned with martyrdom, he was ſtrangled by four executioners, and his head carried to Conſtantinople. The ſoltân appointed in his room kâra Ibrâhîm Pâſha, the kaymakan, and charged him to take a ſevere revenge on the enemy, for the diſgrace which the empire had ſuffered by his predeceſſor's ill conduct; but Kâra Moſtafa had, by injuries offered to the Chriſtian princes, raiſed too many enemies for the Othmân empire to contend with [h].

Hej. 1095. A.D. 1684.

We are told by the Chriſtian hiſtorians, that this wazîr having, in 1680, married the ſoltân's daughter, a child of but eight years old, rapine and violence were neceſſary to ſupport the charge. One way to raiſe money was by falſe demands or allegations againſt the ambaſſadors or reſidents of Chriſtian princes. They began with the French miniſter, to whom they denied the privilege of ſitting on the ſofa, when admitted to audience. But the ambaſſador, by his maſter's order, reſolutely ſtanding on his privilege, the wazîr called him to account for what ſome French men of war had acted againſt the Tripolines in the ſoltân's port of Scio; and without ſo much as ſeeing, committed him priſoner to the cuſtody of the chauſh Bâſhi, demanding,

[h] Cant. p. 314, & ſeq.

beſides ſatisfaction for the affront, two hundred thouſand crowns as reparation for the damage.

The Chriſtian ambaſſadors.

With this extortion the ambaſſador was forced to comply; although, to ſave his maſter's honour, the ſubmiſſion was made (U) by his ſecretary and agent of the French nation; nor did the Engliſh ambaſſador, Sir John Finch, fare much better, for the wazîr demanded ſeventeen thouſand dollars, under pretence that a great ſum of money, imported by the Engliſh to Turkey, was not good; then having borrowed the capitulations from Sir John, under pretence of peruſing them, he would not part with them till the merchants paid him fifty purſes, twenty of which were afterwards returned. The Venetian bailo, thinking to ſmuggle ſome goods, was detected, and fined thirty thouſand dollars; but it coſt the republic two hundred thouſand, to make amends for ſome damage done to Dalmatia. Laſtly, the Dutch preſident having had a diſpute with the cuſtomer, was obliged to pay ſeventy purſes, in order to have his capitulations rendered more explicit[1].

The two bailos ſeized and fined.

The affair of the Venetian bailo is ſet in a more advantageous light by the Turkiſh hiſtorians. According to them, Pietro Ciurani, arriving at Conſtantinople with two men of war and three merchant ſhips, upon his landing, ordered the merchandize to be carried to his houſe. The receiver of the cuſtoms ſuſpecting, from the quantity, that the effects did not all belong to the ambaſſador, viſited the ſhips, and finding that great part of the freight was conſigned to merchants, who refuſed to pay the cuſtoms, confiſcated and ſent them to the ſoltân's warehouſes. The bailo, to recover what was taken from him, ſhewed from public records, that it was the privilege of all foreign ambaſſadors to bring to Conſtantinople, cuſtom free, whatever goods they pleaſed, as well on the merchants account as their own; but finding arguments were of no effect, he

[1] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

(U) Theſe proſtrated themſelves with their preſents before the ſoltân, while the uſher of the Imperial preſence proclaimed with an audible voice, "Behold the agents ſent from the king of France, to humble themſelves before our magnificent emperor, and in the name of their king to offer their preſents, in ſatisfaction for that affront and inſult which the French ſhips offered at the port of Scio. Then the preſents were produced one by one, and rated at ten times the value each.

redeemed

redeemed the ships which had been seized, by promising the receiver a large sum of money.

A few days after this transaction, a Venetian nobleman, who had been formerly taken prisoner at sea, escaped to the ships sent to convoy home Morosini, the former bailo. His patron, being informed of this circumstance, petitioned the wazîr, that the fugitive might be restored to him. Hereupon the bostânji pâshâ was sent to search the ship; but the captain, denying he had any fugitive on board, opposed him by force. However, numbers prevailing over courage, the ship was searched, the captive found, and the sailors, who had taken arms, were partly killed, and partly left on board, under strict guard. The soltân also, hearing that a Venetian ship had presumed to make use of arms in the very port of Constantinople, arrested both the ambassadors, Ciurani and Morosini, refusing to discharge them till they had paid several purses to redeem the sailors, and atone for their crime.

Venetians declare war.

As Vienna was at that time besieged by the Turks, and the event doubtful, the republic of Venice took no notice of the affront: but when they heard of the defeat of the Turks before that city, they boldly demanded satisfaction. This being refused, they made an alliance with the emperor of Germany and king of Poland, and then proclaimed war against the Othmân Porte. The declaration was delivered to the kaymakân by the Venetian ambassador, who afterwards changing his habit fled from Constantinople. So unexpected a blow struck the Turks with more than ordinary terror: for since it was necessary to employ their whole strength against the Germans and Poles, they were at a loss how to supply all the maritime places with garrisons, which would require a number of men equal to a powerful army; nor was there any fleet on foot, excepting six soltanas, old and leaky; nor any hopes of procuring one soon, because the Hungarian expedition would employ all the money in the treasury.

Turkish preparations.

For these reasons, Kâra Ibrâhîm Pâshâ used all his endeavours to pacify the Venetians. He declared, that the injuries complained of were not done by the soltân's orders, but through the avarice of his predecessor; and promised to restore what had been seized, in case they would desist from the war. But the Venetians, deaf to those flattering speeches, answered, that they had suffered injuries long enough already, and now the time of revenging them was come. The wazîr, finding that the storm,

which threatened the Othmân empire, could not be diverted, employed all his attention to reſiſt the ſhock. He appointed Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, a man of approved valour, ſeraſkier againſt the Germans, and Ayneji Solymân Pâſhâ commander, againſt Poland. He ordered the high admiral to obſerve the motions of the Venetians; and continued himſelf at Conſtantinople, under pretence of indiſpoſition, directing the general to inform him faithfully of the progreſs of affairs: but to acquaint the ſoltân only with their good ſucceſs, and conceal the bad as carefully as they could.

Vicegrade taken.

While theſe meaſures were taken at Conſtantinople, the Imperial army, under the command of the duke of Lorrain (A), marched into Hungary; and about the end of June, beſieged Vicegrade, which in a few days ſurrendered on conditions. In their march from thence, they met and overthrew with great ſlaughter, the beglerbeg of Buda, ſent to retard their progreſs, and then beſieged Vacia, which Badân Pâſhâ coming to relieve, he twice attacked the Imperial camp, and was twice repulſed, with the loſs of fifteen thouſand men. Hereupon, the governor ſurrendered the city, upon the ſame conditions which had been granted to Vicegrade [k].

Witzen ſurrenders.

Inſtead of Vacia, the Chriſtian hiſtorians mention Witzen. They tell us, that after the ſurrender of the place, the imperial army paſſed the Danube, without oppoſition from twenty thouſand Turks, who were within three miles of the river. After their paſſage indeed, the ſeraſkier advanced againſt them, with all his horſe, and ſome janizaries; making ſo ſudden an attack, that the Imperialiſts had ſcarce time to draw up in order of battle: but the duke of Lorrain, at the head of his cavalry, leading the van, ſuſtained the firſt ſhock with carbine ſhot, ſo that no breach being made in their ranks, and at the ſame time, the reſt of the army being drawn up, the Turks, upon their motion, were terrified into a diſorderly flight, to the place where the janizaries and cannon were left, and purſued by the Poliſh horſe, with conſiderable ſlaughter [l].

[k] Cant, p. 316, & ſeq. [l] Ricaut & Manley, ubi ſupra.

(A) It did not exceed forty thouſand men, although the emperor had altogether, for garriſon and other ſervices, one hundred and four thouſand eight hundred and eighty forces. Manley.

The

The Turkiſh hiſtorians before us do not ſpeak of this battle previous to the ſiege of Buda: they only ſay, that Vacia, and the neighbouring towns having been reduced, the duke of Lorrain marched with his army to Buda, on the firſt of Shaaban, and encamped under the very walls. The firſt attack was upon Peſt, a town oppoſite to it on the Danube, which was taken in a few hours. But whilſt they were intent on the ſiege of Buda, the ſeraſkier, Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, advanced with the whole Othmân power, and endeavoured to break through the lines with which the Imperialiſts had thrown up; at the ſame time, ordering a body of janizaries to attack the enemy another way, and try to throw ſupplies into the place, by penetrating through their camp: but being repulſed in every attempt, he pitched his tents oppoſite to their's, and annoyed them with continual ſkirmiſhes [m]. *Buda beſieged.*

For more particulars of the ſiege, the reader may have recourſe to our Hiſtory of Germany. We ſhall here only obſerve, that the Imperialiſts, having on the ſecond of October, battered down a little tower belonging to the caſtle, next day, with four thouſand men, attempted to make a deſcent into the ditch, but were repulſed, with the loſs of fifteen hundred. This check encouraged the beſieged to make ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, while the ſeraſkier kept the confederate camp in a continual alarm. Hereupon the generals, conſidering that the beſieged were ſtill ten thouſand ſtrong, well provided with neceſſaries; that without a greater force, it was not poſſible to cut off their communication with the Danube; and that their own mines, beſides being ill managed, had been diſcovered, they raiſed the ſiege on the firſt of November, after they had loſt twenty-five thouſand men, and retired to winter quarters [n]. *The ſiege raiſed.*

The Turkiſh hiſtorians impute the raiſing of the ſiege wholly to the laſt cauſe, and confeſs that all the efforts made by the ſeraſkier, would not have relieved the city, if the garriſon had not, by accident, or treachery, diſcovered the mines, juſt as the Imperialiſts had determined to ſurround the place. For the generals, finding they muſt now begin their work again, and at the ſame time contend with a ſuperior army, thought it more adviſeable to raiſe the ſiege; which they did after four months blockade, without any oppoſition from the Turks, who *To what owing.*

[m] Cant. p. 318. [n] Ricaut & Manley, ubi ſupra.

were

were glad to see themselves freed from the fears of that formidable expedition.

In the mean time count Lesley, sent by the duke to besiege Wirrowit, a considerable fortress in Sclavonia, defeated the Turkish auxiliaries in two battles, and assaulted the walls with such fury, that the garrison was obliged to surrender. About the same time, Tekeli being routed by the Imperialists at Eperies, in Upper Hungary, his cabinet and baggage were taken by the conquerors.

Affairs of Moldavia. While the seraskier of Hungary was thus engaged, to his loss, with the Germans, Ayneji Solymân Pâshâ, with better success, fought the Poles at Bâbadâghi, where having assembled his army, he passed the Danube near Sakcza, and, hearing that the Polish troops did not yet appear, thought it more proper to settle the affairs of Moldavia and Walakhia than march any farther. These provinces were at that time governed by the two Cantacuzeni, Moldavia by Demetrius, and Walakhia by Serbân (B), whom he resolved to depose; the first, because a weak man, and unskilled in military affairs; the latter, because he kept a correspondence with the emperor of Germany, and the czar of Russia. Demetrius he divested of his authority, and appointed Constantine Cantemir, serdar of the province, in his room: but, being bribed by Serbân, with a large sum of money, he concealed his treachery, and confirmed him in his government.

Polish invasion. During the seraskier's stay in these parts, John III. king of Poland, on the 12th of Ramâzan, assembled his forces at Buchach, and before any such design was suspected, at the first assault took Quancze, situated on the Tyras, opposite to Khotin, and about two hours distant from Kamieniek. There he commanded a bridge to be built over the

(B) A magnanimous prince, who formed the design to drive the Turks out of Europe: for which purpose he had made leagues with the emperor, and czar of Russia, who promised to make him emperor, after Constantinople should be taken. He also cast thirty-eight cannon, and raised twenty-four thousand men. These circumstances the Turks knew; but, being harrassed by the Germans, dissembled their resentment. However, they were delivered from him by death; he being poisoned, as it was thought, at a feast, by his brother Constantine Stolnik, and Brankovan, his sister's son, that they might live at ease. He left one son, prince George, who lived in Transilvania, under the emperor's protection, and four daughters. Cant.

Tyras,

Tyras, in order to transport his troops into Moldavia: but when it was just finished, the serâskier, passing the Tyras, surprised the king, and shut him up in his camp, where he harrassed the Poles, and give them no time to rest, or draw up in order, while the Tatars destroyed all the provisions in the neighbourhood. The king finding things desperate, escaped first out of the camp, with a few attendants, and was soon followed by the officers; who, having burnt their baggage, and thrown their warlike engines into a lake, led home the remains of the army (C), not without great loss.

Venetian successes.

The Venetians had much better success in the Adriatic sea: they began the war at Morlakki, in Dalmatia, subdued Urana, Obrowazzo, and Skardona; burned Dernis, and took the castle of Duaré by stratagem. Their fleet commanded by Morosini, who surrendered Kandia, arriving at Leukos (D), laid close siege to the city, which Bekr Aga, governor of the castle, after seventeen days defence, surrendered, on the 6th of Ramazân, and passed over to the continent. The island being subdued, the Venetians sent part of their forces, under the command of Strasoldo, in Akarnania, a province of Epirus, and compelled Venizza and Seromero to submit. In their progress, they defeated four thousand Turks, under Seffer Aga, who endeavoured to stop their passage; whereupon the inhabitants of the country voluntarily submitted to pay them tribute.

Pereveſa surrendered.

In the mean time, the rest of the army had passed into the Morea, and so fiercely assaulted Pereveſa, that on the 8th of the same month of Ramazân, Mehemed Effendi, who commanded the garrison, was obliged to deliver up the castle. Besides these successes, there came an account from Tina, an island in the Archipelago, that several Turkish gallies, sent to seize it, had been repulsed with great loss.

Kara Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, judging that it would be easy to recover those places from the republic, when once the

(C) The Christian writers say, the king's actions this year were very inconsiderable: and that the Turks laughed at them, and said, he had been bribed by the king of France, their only friend among the Christians; and so made no preparations against him, for the ensuing year. Jones.

(D) Or Leucade, called also Sancta Maura, an island in the Ionian sea, north of Cephalonia, formerly joined to the coast.

German

German and Poliſh armies were repulſed, appointed the generals, who had before been ſo ſucceſsful, to be ſeraſkiers againſt thoſe powers, and ſent only a ſmall army, with a fleet, againſt the Venetians.

Viwar beſieged.

Mean while the Germans had ſo cloſely beſieged Viwar, or Newhauſel, during the whole winter, that the famine deſtroyed more than the ſword. At length on the firſt of Shaabân, in the year 1096, the city was aſſaulted in form, and the ſiege puſhed with ſuch vigour, that the garriſon, a few days after, was obliged to abandon the out-works [d].

Hej. 1096. A.D. 1685.

The ſeraſkier marches to relieve it, but is overthrown.

On advice that the garriſon had abandoned the out-works of the town, the ſeraſkier, Shaytân Ibrâhim Pâſhâ, haſtened to the relief of the city; and finding it dangerous to attack an army ſo ſtrongly intrenched, had recourſe to his uſual artifices, and beſieged at once, Gran and Vicegrade, hoping by this conduct, to draw off the enemy's force from Viwar. Fortune indeed ſeemed to favour him; for in a few days he not only recovered Vicegrade, but ſo diſtreſſed Gran, not yet ſufficiently repaired ſince the laſt ſiege, that it ſeemed in no leſs danger of being taken than Viwar.

But before the ſeraſkier could finiſh what he had begun, the duke of Lorrain, leaving ſixteen thouſand men to continue the ſiege of that place, marched with the reſt of his army againſt him, and, on the 2d of Ramazân, appeared in ſight of the Othmân camp. The ſeraſkier, imagining he had now gained his point, immediately abandoned the ſiege of Gran, and drew up his army ſo advantageouſly, that the enemy could neither ſurround, nor attack him in front or flank, without great danger. The right wing was defended by the rapid Danube; the left by a ridge of mountains, which extended for ſeveral leagues; and the front was covered with wide and difficult marſhes. In this ſituation he continued four days, without motion; either by delay, to elude the attempts of the enemy, or to deſtroy them in their paſſage over the moraſs, if they ſhould venture to attack him: but the duke perceiving his deſign, and conſidering that his army could not, without extreme danger, be expoſed in ſuch difficult places, counterfeited a flight; and ſounding a retreat, on the 14th in the night, retired with his whole camp.

[d] Cant. p. 318, & ſeq.

The

The Turks, imagining that the Germans were fled in earneſt, boldly followed them; and though often repulſed, continued all night to attack them as they retreated; while the Imperialiſts proceeded, and left a ſpace for the enemy both to paſs the moraſſes, and open their front. At length, when they perceived more were paſſed over than could return without loſs, they halted, and ſo furiouſly attacked their purſuers, who followed them in confuſion, that they compelled them to fly back to their camp, with great precipitation. The elector of Bavaria, who commanded one of the wings, followed them through the moraſſes; while the duke of Lorrain purſued them on the oppoſite ſide, though neither of them knew the other's intentions. The Turks, being ſeized with a panic, in ſpite of all the ſeraſkier could do, fled in ſuch confuſion, that the janizaries killed and unhorſed their own cavalry, to fly with more ſpeed; ſo that a greater number were ſlain by their companions than by the enemy. Their camp, baggage, treaſure, proviſion, and a great quantity of warlike ſtores, fell to the conquerors [q].

Viwar taken, with other places.

In the interim, the beſiegers had made ſuch a progreſs before Newhauſel, that, on the 19th of the ſame month, they made a general aſſault; when the Turks defended themſelves with great bravery, and never hung out a white flag, till three thouſand of their enemies had entered the breach; but it being then too late, the ſoldiers put all to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex. The governor died next day of his wounds, and out of ſeventeen hundred of the garriſon, remaining out of three thouſand, only two hundred were ſaved [r].

The Othmâns were ſtruck with ſuch terror at the taking of this fortreſs, that not only the garriſons of Novigrade and Vicegrade abandoned thoſe cities, at the report of the enemy's approach; but the ſeraſkier himſelf, though in other reſpects a man of invincible courage, and a veteran ſoldier, ſent one of his officers twice to the Imperial general, to try whether any peace might be made with the emperor; however, as more advantages were expected from the preſent ſituation of affairs, he was both times diſmiſſed with an abſolute denial.

German ſucceſſes.

While the duke of Lorrain was yet engaged in the ſiege of Viwar, count Leſley, with a ſmall body of troops, had laid waſte all Sclavonia, routed the pâſhâ of Poſnega, and burnt great part of the bridge over the wide moraſſes of

[q] Cant. p. 321, & ſeq. [r] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

the

the Drave, and taken Essek; but, not being able to reduce the castle, he plundered the town, and then left it. Schultz had equal success in Lower Hungary; where, on the 10th of the same month, after a long siege, he compelled Esperies, a city of Tekeli's party, to surrender; and took Tokay, with several other castles and towns, which were garrisoned by the rebels. Merci and Heusler joining their forces, had subdued Zolnok, Ibraini, Kalo, Little Waradin, St. Nicholas's Church, and Saraisa. Tekeli's party, being every where routed, retired to Kassovia; and strongly fortifying the city, determined to wait there for the troops promised by the Turks, chooſing to suffer the utmost extremities, rather than submit to the German emperor.

Kassovia besieged.

Soon after, Caprara, on the 3d of Zilkaadeh, beginning to attack the city, Tekeli sent frequent messengers to the pâshâ of Waradin for assistance. This the pâshâ promised; but desired Tekeli to come and advise him how the place might best be relieved. Tekeli, putting too great a confidence in him, set forward, with seven thousand of his countrymen; and before he reached Waradin, was met by the pâshâ, who received him with great honour, quartered his soldiers in the neighbourhood, and desired him to enter the city, with his principal officers. Then he invited the prince to dinner, which being over, an officer, attended by several janizaries, entered the room, and shewed the soltân's mandate to bring Tekeli in chains to Constantinople. Tekeli, unable to resist, suffered himself to be carried away bound; while his attendants, struck with surprize, stood motionless, nor dared to ask the reason of such treatment.

Tekeli arrested.

Petrozzi made general.

Presently after this transaction, the pâshâ sent for Petrozzi, the principal person among them, bad him lay aside his fears, and take upon him the command of the Hungarian forces, till the soltân's farther orders. Petrozzi artfully concealed his resentment, and replied, that although he knew not Tekeli's crime, and had believed him a faithful servant to the soltân, yet he did not doubt but his majesty had a very important reason for treating him in that manner; that, however, this affair would not shake the fidelity either of himself or the Hungarians. These assurances he gave the pâshâ; but, at his return to the camp, with the rest of Tekeli's attendants, he persuaded his countrymen to pursue a very different conduct. After having given the officers an account how treacherously the prince had been ensnared at Waradin, he told them,

them, it was in vain to expect the restoration of liberty to Hungary, from men who knew not what liberty was, and had no other rule of their actions but the arbitrary will of their governors; that they should therefore consider what would be most for the interest of themselves and the kingdom, whether to continue in exile, see their country wasted, and be perpetually in fear of prisons and chains; or to implore the emperor's mercy, whose troops had in two years subdued almost all the kingdom, excepting Kassovia, and embrace the amnesty which was in their option.

Revolts to the emperor; with several places.

This last measure being approved by them all, Petrozzi, with the whole army, marched to Caprara, who was still engaged in the siege of Kassovia; where promising fidelity to his Imperial Majesty, joined his forces to those of the emperor, and ordered them to make incursions upon the Othmân territories. The garrison of Kassovia immediately followed their example, and opened their gates on the 26th of Zilkaadeh to the Imperial general [r].

With regard to this arrest of Tekeli, our historians tell us, that the great success of the Imperial arms in Hungary, as already related, had struck such a dread into the hearts of the Turks, and the malcontents, that they, without any difficulty, yielded Potak, Regents, Ungwar, and Seraw, all belonging to Tekeli; and that several other strong places followed their example; so that the seraskier, to cover his own ill success, caused that prince to be imprisoned at Waradin [s].

Poles invade Moldavia.

The Poles met with a very different fate in Moldavia; for the king, taught by the ill success of the last expedition, that nothing could be done for his advantage in those countries, unless he could engage the inhabitants in his interest, tried, during the whole winter, by various arts, to gain the prince Constantine Cantemir, and induce him to revolt from the Turks. Cantemir let him know, that he was willing enough to do as he desired him, could he but see that by his revolt the least advantage would accrue to Christendom, whereas, at that time, it would rather prove detrimental to the king; and that in case he should consent to revolt, yet the states of the province could never be persuaded to hazard the loss of their estates and children, who were hostages at the Porte for their fidelity.

Prince Cantemir's advice slighted by them.

Sobieski, finding the prince inflexible to his persuasions, in the beginning of summer, sent his forces, under the command of Potocky and Yablanowski towards Moldavia.

[r] Cant. p. 322. & seq. [s] Ricaut.

Cantemir

Cantemir advised the generals by letter, to take Kameniek before they passed the Tyras or Niester; since otherwise, as they had experienced last year, their retreat would be cut off, in case they were defeated; and, if they obtained any victories, would not gain the more ground; that their irruption would only expose the inhabitants to captivity and torments; and that he himself was obliged, by the severest threats, to repair to the Turkish camp, and defend his principality to the utmost of his power.

The generals, despising the prince's advice, answered, that they were commanded by their king to endeavour to subdue Moldavia, and therefore could not disobey his orders; that the siege of Kameniek was difficult and needless, since the neighbouring country being once reduced, the garrison must abandon the town for want of bread; and that they feared no defeat from the Turks, having an army with them sufficient to repel the forces of the whole Othmân empire. They concluded by advising him to join his troops with their's; and threatening, otherwise, to treat him as an enemy.

Without waiting for a reply, they threw a bridge over the Tyras, and passed with their army into Moldavia; but had not marched far, before they were met, at a village called Boyan, by Ayneji Solymân Pâshâ, with twenty-five thousand Turks, and Selîm Gyeray Khân, with fifty thousand Tatars, followed by the prince of Moldavia, with five thousand men. When the two armies approached each other, they fortified their camps. The seraskier and khân, perceiving the Poles to approach, consulted whether they should attack them, or wait till the enemy either fell on the Othmân camp, or retreated. As they differed in their opinions, Cantemir, desirous of turning every thing, as far as possible, to the advantage of the Poles, persuaded the seraskier to remain in his post, and prevent the Poles from making any farther progress; alleging, that a battle was not rashly to be hazarded, since the enemy were numerous, and he, the seraskier, had but twenty-five thousand men who could be depended on, as the Tatars would scarcely stand the first fire; that if any misfortune happened, all Moldavia, and perhaps Bujak, with the Danubian provinces, would become a prey to the Poles; that, in short, they might be subdued without the loss of a single man, if he would but surround his camp with strong works, and weaken them by continual skirmishes.

The

The ſeraſkier approving this advice, Cantemir, by a truſty perſon, informed the Poles of all which had paſſed in the council; adding, that his troops were poſted on the weſtern bank of the Tyras, and that they had nothing to fear from that quarter. The Poliſh generals, on this advice, reſolved firſt to defeat the Moldavians, imagining, that they ſhould afterwards meet with leſs oppoſition from the Turks. To this end, they immediately marched towards the Moldavian camp, which lay one hour's diſtance from the Turkiſh. The prince, ſeeing them come on full ſpeed, wondered; and thinking they had miſtaken his directions, drew up fifteen hundred of his men; not to oppoſe, but to undeceive them by their colours, embroidered with croſſes, and other marks of Chriſtianity; but the Poles, regardleſs of theſe peaceful and friendly diſpoſitions, fell furiouſly on them, as if they had been implacable enemies. *Their treacherous proceeding.*

The prince, incenſed at this treachery, commanded all his troops to arm, and repel force by force. This they did with ſuch reſolution, that they not only repulſed the firſt body of Poles, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men; but, in their turn, attacking them, who retired when their firſt ardor was ſpent, at laſt put them to flight. The noiſe of muſkets alarming the Turks, they immediately ſent ſeveral regiments to the aſſiſtance of the Moldavians; while the reſt of their army, unexpectedly, aſſailing the Poles in the rear, within the ſpace of one hour, ſix thouſand of them were killed, and five thouſand Koſaks, who were ſurrounded, obliged to ſurrender. The remaining troops, finding victory incline to the Othmâns, endeavoured to retreat to their trenches; but being intercepted by the Tatars, they took to flight, leaving their camp and baggage, with all their warlike proviſions, a prey to the victors. *They are routed.*

This, however, was the only good fortune which this year attended the Othmân arms; from all other parts, there came nothing but accounts of the defeat of their forces, with the loſs of cities, and even whole provinces. They early in the ſpring attacked Seromero, which laſt year had ſubmitted to the Venetians; but on the approach of their fleet, immediately retired [t]. *Seromero relieved.*

The Maynottæ, a people of the Morea, excited by the ill ſucceſſes of the Turks on all ſides, declared for the Venetians. Hereupon, the ſoltân having ſent ſome forces to *The Maynottæ revolt.*

[t] Cant. p. 323. & ſeq.

reduce them, they, with the assistance of signor Delphino, attacked three thousand five hundred Turks, with so much vigour, that no more than one hundred and forty escaped either the sword or captivity.

These things were the preludes to greater matters; for the captain general Morosini, with the Venetian fleet, joined by the gallies of the pope and Malta, sailed to the waters of Sapienza, and having there prevailed on the Maynottæ to revolt a second time from the Turks, notwithstanding their late agreement, resolved to besiege Koron, as the most commodious place, to support, and keep them firm to the republic. With this view, the captain general landed his forces, consisting of eight thousand foot, besides horse, under the command of the count of St. Paul, almost within cannon-shot of that city, without opposition [u].

Koron besieged.

The Venetians having, on the 23d of Rajeh (15th of June) according to the Turkish historians, closely besieged Koron, Halil, seraskier of the Morea, marched to relieve it with the forces which he had ready; and having suddenly taken a redoubt, built for their defence on the top of a hill, from thence annoyed their camp with his cannon: but the Maltese, appointed to guard that part, assaulted the seraskier's camp, before he could secure what he had gained; and being reinforced by other troops, after a long and bloody conflict, forced him from his post. A few days after, he advanced a second time; but finding the enemy strongly fortified, after a few skirmishes, retired. The Venetians, no longer in danger from the Othmân army, having demolished the walls, surrounded Koron on the 10th of Ramazân, and after an obstinate defence of the garrison, entered it by storm. The Turks, seeing no possibility of saving the city, offered to surrender; but as this was too late, after all the fortifications of the castle were taken, they were all put to the sword [x].

Zarnata yields.

This fortress being subdued, the Maynottæ (E) likewise took up arms, and besieged Zarnata; but the garrison understand-

[u] Ricaut. ubi supra. [x] Cant. p. 325.

(E) They are the descendants of the ancient Lacedæmonians, and at this day the bravest people among the Greeks. Though they are not reckoned to have above twelve thousand soldiers, yet they never were subdued, or made tributary by the Turks: neither could the Venetians ever give them law at pleasure. Their name is derived from mania, *madness*,

derſtanding that forces were coming from the Venetians to aſſiſt the enemy, ſurrendered the city [z].

The reduction of this place is repreſented very differently by the Chriſtian hiſtorians. They tell us, that, on the loſs of Koron, the captain pâſhâ ſailed with his gallies in ſight of Cerigo, hoping to divert the Venetians from any farther attempts this year, but ſoon retired, for fear, to Napolidi Romania. Mean while Morofini, reinforced at Korfu with the Saxon troops, ſet ſail to the coaſt of Zarnata: which city was ſurrendered to him by the âga there commanding. This officer fearing to be put to death for his cowardice or treachery, remained in the Venetian camp, and had a penſion given him by the captain general, of thirty pieces of eight a month, after he had received baptiſm, with twenty Turks more, who conſented to the ſurrendry.

The captain pâſhâ, leaving the command of his fleet to Mezzamama, or Mezzomorto, came and encamped with ſeven thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, within five miles of Zarnata; but, on news of the ſurrender of that fortreſs, withdrew his forces under the cannon of Kalamata; yet, when the Venetian forces landed, and moved to attack him there, he ſet fire to the magazines, and made his retreat in the midſt of ſome ſkirmiſhes (F). The inhabitants alſo, finding themſelves deſerted, fired the place, and left it to the enemy; who, not judging it fit for a garriſon, demoliſhed the walls. The Venetians afterwards ſeized on Porto Vitalo; and Haſſan Pâſhâ, accompanied by a thouſand people, brought the keys of Khielafa to the admiral galley. To crown the campaign, the captain-general, happening in his return with ſome gallies to put into the port of Gommenizza (G), he quickly obliged the garriſon to leave him in poſſeſſion of the caſtle [a]. *Other ſucceſſes.*

In the mean time, Valier had cloſely beſieged Zing, in Dalmatia; but, after loſing a great many men, on the ap- *Turks defeated.*

[z] Cant. p. 326. [a] Ricaut. ubi ſupra.

madneſs; becauſe they ruſh in battle upon the enemy as if they were mad. The country they inhabit is on all ſides ſurrounded with mountains, which are the chief defence of their province. Cant.

(F) The Turkiſh hiſtorians ſay the Turks were routed here with great ſlaughter, by the Venetians, under Degenfield; and that hereupon Kalamita, Paſſa, and Khielafa, being abandoned by the Othmâns, were diſmantled by the enemy. Cant. Othm. Hiſt. p. 326.

(G) A town of Akhaia, oppoſite to Korcyra. Ibid.

proach of the pâshâs of Bosnia and Ercegovina, retired from before it. The Turks, flushed with this success, attacked Duare: but a few days after, were repulsed with greater loss by Valier, who had raised fresh forces [b].

The wazîr's artifice to cut off rivals.

It is hardly credible how much the account of these disasters disturbed the Othmân court, and especially the prime wazîr, Karâ Ibrâhîm Pâshâ; who, continuing at home, under a real or pretended indisposition, was in fear of being divested of his dignity. To ward off this blow, he had recourse to the method used by other wazîrs before him, and the only one left; which was to destroy all who were eminent for their warlike abilities; that, in case the soltân should resolve to deprive him of the imperial seal, there might be none so worthy to possess it as himself. He began the tragedy with Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, seraskier against the Germans, whom he accused of negligence in the battle of Gran, and of converting the soldiers pay to his own use (H). The same fate befel others, who could either justly or unjustly be charged with any crime. The only person who seemed out of danger, was Ayneji Soleymân Pâshâ, seraskier against Poland, who had gained such great authority by his victory in Moldavia, that he was universally declared worthy of the wazîrship itself.

Is supplanted by Ayneji Solymân Pâshâ.

Kara Ibrâhîm, therefore, finding it not safe to hurt him openly, persuaded the soltân to appoint him seraskier against the Germans; by whose valour he hoped that pâshâ would lose the glory he had obtained in the Polish war. Soltân Mohammed having, in consequence of this recommendation, ordered him to be recalled from Moldavia,

[b] Cant. p. 326.

(H) Our historians tell us, that differences arising in Hungary between the janizaries and spahis, Aremzâdeh, a man of prudence, was sent to enquire into the cause, and made a report so much to the disadvantage of Sheytan Ibrâhîm, that an officer was sent to take off his head, which was brought to Constantinople the 6th of December. He died, pitied by all, in the 50th year of his age. Being an excellent accountant, he was first employed by Mr. Daws (afterwards Sir Jonathan) a factor in Turkey: during which time a tumult arising, this obscure person was in the hurry made treasurer. He immediately gave Daws notice of his advancement, and wanting money to appease the mutineers, was advanced all that Daws could raise, to the great advantage afterwards of him, and all the English in those parts. When pâshâ of Egypt, meeting some English ships in his passage, he entertained the officers; and on mentioning sir Jonathan, said he was the best friend he ever had in the world. Jones.

and

and Buikkli Moſtafa Pâſhâ to be left in his room, the kiſler aga, who knew the wazîr to be Soleyman's mortal enemy, ſuſpecting ſome artifice, gave the pâſhâ notice to be upon his guard. As ſoon as Solymân arrived at Conſtantinople, he waited on the wazîr, as if he deſired to receive his commands; and pretended ſo great a a veneration for him, that Kâra Ibrâhîm, imagining he had been enſnared, acquainted him with the ſoltân's deſign in ſending for him.

When he repaired to the palace, Soltân Mohammed, after highly commending his ſervice done that campaign, offered him the poſt of ſeraſkier of Hungary. The pâſhâ, ſeeming to decline the honour, anſwered, that the diſordered ſtate of the public affairs, and the terror ſtill imprinted on the army by the Vienna defeat, required the preſence, if not, of the ſoltân himſelf, at leaſt of the prime waizîr, in the camp; and that the authority of a ſeraſkier was not ſufficient to oblige ſoldiers to do their duty, who ſeemed more inclined to fly or mutiny, than to fight. The ſoltân, moved by this ſpeech, ſtood muſing for ſome time; which heſitation being obſerved by the kiſler aga, who had been long the wazîr's enemy, as well as Solymân's friend, "Why, ſays he, O emperor! do you heſitate? If you think the ſeraſkier's counſel juſt and prudent, what hinders you from immediately applying the remedy to this evil? Diveſt of his dignity Kâra Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ, under whoſe indiſpoſition, whether pretended or real, the empire languiſhes, and appoint this hero both ſeraſkier and wazîr."

The ſuſpicion which the ſoltân had before entertained, that Kâra Ibrâhîm counterfeited ſickneſs out of fear, being increaſed by what the kîſlar aga now ſuggeſted, he removed the wazîr from his poſt, and placed in his room Aneji Solymân Pâſhâ; who immediately ſeized his predeceſſor; and finding him accuſed of many crimes, baniſhed him to Rhodes. Then he releaſed Tekeli, impriſoned by Kâra Ibrâhîm, and by the evidence of Ibrâhîm Aga, chamberlain of Kâra Moſtafa, acquitted him of the crime with which he was charged by that pâſhâ; whoſe villanies, as well as pernicious deſigns againſt the empire, he expoſed to the public. Tekeli was reſtored to his former honours; and all his effects, which he had been plundered of by the ſoldiers, were returned to him. Affairs being thus ſettled, the wazîr, with great diligence, raiſed an army, and ordered all his ſilver and gold veſſels to be turned into money, for ſupport of the war.

who is made wazîr.

Hej. 1097. A D. 1686.

But before he could bring his forces into the field, the country being ſtill covered with ſnow, part of the Imperial troops, under Caraffa, on the 18th of Rabio'lawel 1097, had taken St. Nicholas; and another detachment under Merci, had routed ſeveral Turkiſh regiments convoying proviſions to Arad, taken that city, and burnt the ſtores laid up there by the Turks [c].

Arad taken.

Mongatz blocked up.

At this time Caprara having blocked up Mongatz, which was defended by the lady of Tekeli, who could by no means be prevailed on to ſurrender the place, her huſband made great preparations to raiſe the ſiege. As this motion of Tekeli alarmed all the country, Caraffa endeavoured to way-lay him in his march: but the other being informed of his deſign, directed his courſe towards Giula, to join the new pâſhâ of that place. Caraffa, having thus miſſed of his prize, on the 9th of February, inveſted the fortreſs of St. Job, three leagues from Great Waradin, and threw in many bombs to no effect; till at length one falling directly on the tower, in the middle of the caſtle, tore it to pieces: whereupon the Turks immediately capitulated.

St. Job taken.

Mean while, Caprara carried on the ſiege of Mongatz with great vigour. But though at laſt the beſieged, by their great loſſes, were able to act only on the defenſive, yet, at this juncture, did the princeſs Ragotſki take a new oath of fidelity from the ſoldiers, who chearfully complied, aſſuring them from Tekeli's letters, that he would in perſon ſhortly raiſe the ſiege. But although Tekeli was not as good as his word, yet Caprara was not able to take the town; for the great rains having rendered the ground ſo ſoft, that they could not maintain their works, he was obliged to withdraw about the middle of April [d].

The Siege of Buda, and Battle of Mohatz, with Soltân Mohammed's Depoſition.

Buda beſieged.

AFTER ſeveral other rencounters, at length, on the 26th of Rajeb, or 7th of June, the whole imperial army inveſted Buda, which had been in vain attempted two years before; and made themſelves maſters of the lower town, with leſs oppoſition than was expected. They next aſſaulted the walls of the city, and the ſtrongeſt of all the forts being demoliſhed by the cannon, on the 21ſt of the

[c] Cant. p. 526, & ſeqq. [d] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

ſame

ſame month, July 2d, the breach was attacked with ſuch ſucceſs, that the beſieged were compelled to abandon it: but the workmen who were to cover the victors with a rampart, not coming immediately, many of them were killed by the continual firing of the Turks; who alſo had an opportunity of ſpringing the mines before prepared, which forced the Imperialiſts to retire with great loſs.

The wazîr attempts to raiſe the ſiege.

The beſiegers, rather animated than diſcouraged by this repulſe, on the fourth of Ramazân, July 15, having demoliſhed ſeveral paces of the wall, renewed the aſſault in the ſame place. The conteſt was long, doubtful, and ſo bloody, that above three thouſand Imperialiſts were either killed or wounded, before they could mount the breach; and it was with great difficulty, that, after a conflict of ſeveral hours, they forced the beſieged to abandon the firſt wall. After this ſucceſs, the batteries were directed againſt the ſecond: the greater part of which was alſo demoliſhed, before the arrival of the new wazîr, with his troops; who, finding it in vain to attack the Imperial camp, reſolved, if poſſible, to reinforce the garriſon, and amuſe the enemy by delays, till he had an opportunity to attack them unexpectedly, when fatigued with the length of the ſiege.

With this view, on the 22d of Ramazan, Auguſt 3d, he ſent four pâſhâs, with eight thouſand horſe, and two thouſand janizaries, to try if they could paſs between the quarters of the Imperialiſts and Bavarians, and throw in part, at leaſt, of the janizaries, to relieve the beſieged: but the duke of Lorrain ſuſpecting their deſign, ſent a body of horſe to encounter them, before they reached the camp; which they did with ſuch vigour, that after a ſhort oppoſition the cavalry fled, and left the janizaries to the mercy of the Imperialiſts. On the laſt day of the ſame month, Auguſt 9th, the wazîr ſent two thouſand janizaries, with ſeveral troops of horſe, to execute his former deſign. Theſe proceeding with greater caution, ſurpriſed the advanced guards of the Imperialiſts; and then falling on the Brandenburg camp, with the fury of wild beaſts rather than of men, ruſhed through fire and ſword, and at once paſſed the rampart raiſed againſt them: but the Brandenburg troops, being ſeaſonably relieved by Caprara and Heuſler, incloſed the Turks, juſt ready to enter the city; and made ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that ſcarce three hundred, and thoſe almoſt all wounded, eſcaped within the gates.

Two days after this attempt, the Imperialists, to shew the besieged how little they dreaded the wazîr, assaulted the strongest part of the castle, and, after a sharp conflict, became masters of it. When they seemed, by this success, to be very near taking the city, the wazîr on the 19th of Shawâl, August the 18th, for the third time, obliged one thousand janizaries, supported by one thousand spahis, and fifteen hundred Tatars, to attempt the relief of Buda: but although they behaved with great resolution, and even penetrated to the trenches of the imperialists, yet they were repulsed with great loss. The garrison, who, to favour the attack, had made a sally with their whole strength, seeing their friends defeated, retired with great speed and ill success. By these losses the Othmân army was quite disheartened; and a report being spread, that, when the confederate forces had taken the city, they would attack them in their camp, the greater part of the soldiers, notwithstanding the wazîr's intreaties, dispersed and returned home.

The city surrenders. The besiegers, being thus freed from the danger which threatened them in the rear (P), on the 13th of the same month, August 22d, made the last effort upon the city; which the governor, Abdi Pâshâ, a man very famous for his warlike abilities, for several hours bravely sustained: but he being at length slain, the garrison began to lose courage, and make a faint resistance. At last, finding the match unequal, they displayed the white flag, and desired quarter: but before the ardor of the Germans could be restrained, a great number of the besieged were slain upon the very walls, so that scarce two thousand of them were received into mercy [e].

Number slain. In this action, not above four hundred of the besiegers were slain, and two hundred wounded; but of the Turks, three thousand fell, and two thousand were made prisoners, including several officers of note [f].

Buda being subdued, the prime wazîr, who, during the assault, had with tears lamented his own and the em-

[e] Cant. p. 329, & seq. See also Ricaut. [f] Ibid.

(P) Being also reinforced with eight thousand men, under count Scaffenberg, on September 2d, began to play all their batteries, and making several movements, as if to fight the wazîr, suddenly attacked the breaches in three places, which they resolutely entered; Apti Pâshâ being slain on the breach. Jones.

pire's

pire's fortune, with the reſt of his army, fled, rather than retreated; while the garriſons of Hatman, and the other adjacent places, abandoned their poſts, and ſubmitted to the emperor.

Other ſucceſſes.

The duke of Lorrain, finding no army to oppoſe him, divided his forces; ſending part under the prince of Baden, into Lower Hungary, and part into the Upper, under the conduct of Caraffa and Heuſler. The prince of Baden, with his forces, on the 8th of Zilkaadeh, September the 15th, beſieged Simonthorn, and in a few days obliged the Turkiſh garriſon to ſurrender themſelves and caſtle to his mercy. Then he attacked Kapoſwiwar, and took the city, which he plundered and abandoned, becauſe he would not ſtay to reduce the caſtle. From thence, having received freſh ſupplies by Scherſenburg, he marched towards Five Churches; and on the 28th of the ſame month, October the 5th, arriving with his van within ſight of the city, the garriſon, on a belief that the whole army was come, ſet fire to it, and retired into the caſtle: but the prince ordered three hundred horſe to diſmount, and extinguiſh the flames, ſo that the greater part of the city was ſaved for the ſoldiers to plunder. The garriſon, by this time ſenſible of their miſtake, out of ſhame, endeavoured by a ſally to recover the town; but were repulſed with loſs.

Five Churches taken.

However, to atone for the fault, they diſplayed on the caſtle walls, one black and ſix red banners, to let the beſiegers know that they were reſolved to ſacrifice their lives in defence of it: but when they ſaw their ſtrongeſt works demoliſhed by the enemy's cannon, the proſpect of death inſpiring them with gentler reſolutions, they took down their enſigns, and offered to ſurrender, on condition to depart with their arms; which being refuſed, they ſubmitted at diſcretion, and were made priſoners, with the pâſhâ and ſeven begs, on the third of Zilhajeh, October the 10th. The prince of Baden, after this ſucceſs, detached Scherſenberg, with part of his army, againſt Syclos; where that general arriving on the 7th, at the firſt aſſault took the city; then battering the caſtle, he in ſeveral attacks ſo preſſed the garriſon, that on the 12th, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

Eſſek burnt.

From thence Scherfenberg was recalled by the prince, who was then at Darda; and hearing that ſome Turkiſh troops were ſtill about the Drave, was reſolved to defeat them; but the Turks, on the bare report of his approach, fled

fled with such precipitation, that they left Essek open to the enemy, and burned part of the bridge to prevent pursuit. The prince of Baden, finding they had escaped him, ordered the remainder of that bridge, and the other bridges built by the Turks over the Drave to be burnt. In his return he assaulted the castle of Kapossiwiwar, which before had been attempted in vain, and so pressed the governor, that it was surrendered on the 22d of Zilhajeh, October 29th, on honourable terms.

Seghedin taken.

The other part of the Imperial army, commanded by Caraffa and Heusler, had marched to Seghedin, and besieged that city; where, hearing that two thousand Turks, with a strong body of Tatars, were encamped at Schinta, a town six hours distant, with design to reinforce the garrison, Caraffa sent Veterani, with several regiments, who routed the Tatars, and took their camp, besides five thousand horses. Soon after the Tatars returned, imagining that the Germans were employed in plundering; but being repulsed by the advanced guards, immediately retired.

The wazîr defeated.

They had not been gone long before the wazîr himself appeared, bringing them back with him: Veterani, although he knew not the Othmân's strength, yet would not retreat for fear of discouraging his men; but drawing them up, undauntedly waited for the enemy. The Turks began the attack, and fought with great fury; but after two hours doubtful contest, they retired to a hill, where they were covered by their cannon: Veterani followed, and surmounting all difficulties, drove them also from that post, after they had lost in both battles two thousand janizaries, and as many Tatars. Seghedin was the reward of this victory, on the 5th of Zilhajeh, October 12, when the exhausted garrison surrendered that fortress.

John Sobieski invades Moldavia without opposition.

This was the state of affairs in Hungary; but in Poland most part of the year was spent in negociations. The emperor had invited the czars of Russia, John and Peter, into an alliance against the common enemy of Christendom, in order to invade the Krîm, and prevent the Tatars joining with the Turks, while the rest of the confederate forces were employed in Hungary. The czars having answered that they were ready to declare war against the Porte, provided they could be secure against a rupture with Poland, the emperor at length prevailed on the Poles to renounce their claim to Kiow and Smolensko, which had for several ages been the ground of sharp contests,

teſts, and ſign the articles of peace, on the 20th of Jamazio'l (U), 1097 [r].

John Sobieſki, encouraged by this new alliance, reſolved on another expedition into Moldavia, as being the chief bulwark of the Othmân empire againſt Poland. But before he took the field, he reſolved to try once more, by his ambaſſadors, to engage the prince of that country in a treaty againſt the Turks. Conſtantine Cântemir excuſed himſelf from an open rupture for the reaſons already given, but promiſed, in caſe the Turks and Tatars were defeated in the intended expedition, that he would then declare againſt them; and in the mean time to inform him of whatever paſſed in the Othmân camp, as well as to order his ſubjects to ſupply his army with proviſions. The king of Poland, on receipt of this anſwer, in the beginning of Shawal, paſſed the Tyras, and advanced to Jaſſi, where meeting with no oppoſition, and finding ſtore of corn and wine, which the prince had provided for the Poliſh army, he ſpent fourteen days in feaſting and entertainments.

In the mean time the ſeraſkier, Buikli Moſtafa Pâſhâ, with twenty-five thouſand horſe, and eight thouſand janizaries, had already paſſed the Danube, and ſent for Nuraddîn Soltân, with thirty thouſand Tatars, to his camp. Theſe he ordered to enter Moldavia, and ravage the country, to be revenged on Cantemir, whoſe abſence was deemed a revolt; but this miſery was prevented by Beg Mirza, a Tatar of the Cantemir family (W), who engaged that in three days the prince would arrive at the

r Cant. p. 330, & ſeq. Ricaut. ibid.

(U) April 3d, 1683.

(W) This family was very eminent among the Tatars for nobility and riches. They derive their pedigree from Temûr, or Timur, the famous Tamerlan; Kantemur, ſignifying *the blood or race of Temur*. One of the Kantemirs rebelled for ſeveral years, both againſt the khân and ſoltân, who at laſt deceiving him by a treaty, and title of beg, cut him off. His brothers ſubmitted to the khân, and were placed in the provinces of Ak Kiermân and Kili. His ſon, Shâhbaz, changing his name, took the ſurname of Beg Mirza, which paſſed to his deſcendants. The Beg Mirza in the text uſed often to come into Moldavia, and told prince Conſtantine, that at the time his anceſtors were moſt preſſed by the khân, one of their family fled to the prince of Moldavia, and turned Chriſtian; on which account he affirmed, that he was prince Conſtantine's relation. Cant.

camp;

camp; as he accordingly did about the end of the ſame month.

In great diſtreſs.

During this interval the king of Poland advanced farther, with deſign to drive the Turks out of Moldavia: but on his ſecond encampment, found his ſoldiers began to want proviſions, becauſe all their ſtores had been waſted at Jaſſi, through negligence of the commiſſioners. To remedy this inconvenience he paſſed the Hieraſus, or Pruth, near Czoczura, imagining that before the Turks approached, he ſhould ſeize the richeſt magazines of the Tatars; but when he was ſcarce two days march from that city, the ſeraſkier came up and ſurrounded him; while the Tatars ſet fire to the graſs, and cut off the Poliſh foragers. The king, in deſpair, offered battle to the ſeraſkier, who evaded it; either thinking ſixty thouſand Poles too many for him, or elſe to draw them farther from Poland.

Plunders the monaſteries.

Sobieſki thus diſtreſſed, having repaſſed the Pruth at Vale Strimba, with great difficulty, and loſs from the Tatars, diſcharged his reſentment on the Moldavians, whom he gave up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. He himſelf burned two monaſteries at Jaſſi, ſeized the ſacred veſſels, carried away the relics of St. John of Soczava, with many jewels, the pious gifts of former princes, and made a priſoner of the metropolitan, for refuſing to deliver them. Afterwards coming to the monaſtery of the Three Hierarchies, he demanded the relics of St. Paraſceva (X) of Epibati; and on the archimandrite's refuſal, ordered the cannon to be brought, threatening to batter down the doors and ſeize the whole treaſure; but finding the prior inflexible, either touched with ſhame, or prevented by his officers, he deſiſted. The ſoldiers, ſtimulated by hunger, as well as the king's example, plundered the cities and villages, not ſparing any place, religious or profane [2].

His army waſted.

However, theſe violences ſoon met with due puniſhment; for the inhabitants being diſperſed by the cruelty of the Poles and Koſaks, the troops, finding the houſes empty, were forced to eat raw fleſh unſalted; which occaſioned

[2] Cant. p. 332, & ſeq.

(X) She was miſtreſs of the village Ephibati: which afterwards was poſſeſſed by the great Apokaukus, general of the emperor Andronicus. Cant. Mention is made of Apokaukus in the hiſtory of the Greek emperors.

caſioned ſuch a flux amongſt them, that five hundred died in the camp every night. Prince Conſtantine likewiſe, unexpectedly ſending his forces over the province, ſurpriſed them diſperſed, and took four thouſand priſoners, of whom he burned ſome, and impaled others. When the king arrived at Kotnar, the Tatar, with noxious herbs (Y), poiſoned the lake which watered that city, ſo that all the men and cattle who drank of it were deſtroyed. This circumſtance being diſcovered, the king avoided the open country, and encamped on the Siretus, ſurrounded by mountains; which being difficult for horſes to paſs, the Tartars left him to return to his country, and marched off laden with booty and priſoners.

Diſgraced at Nemez.

The king in his way, attacked the caſtle of Nemez (Z), deſerted by all its inhabitants, except nineteen Moldavian hunters, who happened to be there by chance. Sobieſki not knowing how inconſiderable the garriſon was, aſſaulted the place four days with cannon and bombs, while the hunters defended themſelves, and killed above fifty Poles, with the maſter of the ordnance; but on the fifth day, ſeeing ten of their number ſlain, they ſurrendered the city, on condition that the garriſon ſhould depart where they pleaſed. When the king ſaw only ſix hunters come forth, carrying three others on their ſhoulders, ſtruck with admiration, reſentment, and ſhame, he ordered them to be hanged; but diſmiſſed them at the inſtance of Yablonowſki; then leaving two hundred choſen horſe in the city, marched to Soczava, the ancient capital of Moldavia, which being deſerted, he ſecured with a garriſon.

Retires ſecretly.

On theſe ſucceſſes of the Poles, the Tartars were recalled to glean the ſtraggling ſoldiers; but on the 16th of Zilkaadeh, being met by the high treaſurer, ſent before by the king with eight thouſand men, they were defeated with great loſs. However, they took revenge, by cutting off great numbers of the Poles, who were now obliged to diſperſe themſelves through the woods in queſt of fruit for their ſubſiſtence. The king, perceiving this

(Y) This herb is ſo ſtrong a poiſon, that being thrown into the rapid river Pruth, a good way above the enemy's camp, all who drink of the water till the herb is carried down with the ſtream, die immediately. This, however incredible it may ſeem to others, the author has ſeen done himſelf by the Tartars, of whom not above three or four in all Tartary knew the ſecret. Cant.

(Z) A very ancient city of Lower Moldavia, ſeated on a high mountain, beyond the Siretus, near a river of the ſame name. Cant.

danger,

danger, fled privately in the night, with a few attendants, under the guidance of a Moldavian colonel, leaving the rest of the army with Yablonowski, who followed his master to Yavarovia, about the end of the same month.

Venetian successes.

The Venetians had this year better success. In the beginning of spring the Morlakhians took Ottokh, a city situated between the two branches of the Cettin, by storm, and put the whole garrison to the sword. The Kapudan Pâshâ attempted Khielafa, but retired on the approach of the Venetian fleet. Part of this fleet being sent to block up the Dardanels, the rest attacked Old Navarin, which being surrendered on the first day of the siege, New Navarin was closely invested. The seraskier of Morea flew to its relief; but in the way was routed by count Koningsmark and the marquis of Kurbon, with eight thousand two hundred men. Making another attempt with three thousand recruits, he was defeated a second time; on which the city surrendered on the 26th of Rajeb, July 7th. Three days after Methone, or Modon, was besieged, and on the 15th of Shaabân, June 26th, surrendered by the garrison, terrified by the defeat of the seraskier.

Napoli taken by Koningsmark.

To crown the work, Morosini, on the 10th of Ramazân, July 20th, layed siege to Neapolis in Romania, and though it was very strong both by nature and art, in a few days beat down the walls. On the sixth of the siege, the seraskier hastened to the relief of the city, but was met by Koningsmark, and presently defeated. However, knowing that if the place was lost he must answer it with his head, he raised a more numerous army, with which, on the 9th of Shawâl, August 18th, at break of day, he attacked the trenches of the Venetians, and took possession of a hill, from whence he could cannonade their camp. In this exigence Koningsmark advanced, and amused the enemy till Morosini came up with the rest of the army. Although the Venetians were superior, yet the Turks fought for seven hours, as if the whole Othmân empire was at stake; but at last were put to flight. Hereupon Mostafa, the governor, surrendered the castle, on promise of leave to depart[a].

Turks propose peace.

The Turks having been very unfortunate this campaign, the soltân, next year, sent a chaush to propose peace to the emperor; who made answer, that he could not enter into any treaty without consent of the Poles and

[a] Cant. p. 335, & seq.

Venetians

Venetians. Mohammed being disappointed of peace, prepared for war, and imposed great taxes, which added to the discontents of the people. Mean while the wazîr, who was at Belgrade, contrived how to supply and preserve Zigeth; but, in spite of all his vigilance, the Germans from Five Churches surprised and burnt the suburbs, whereby they made that and the neighbouring places more secure. However, the Turks fearing Alba Regalis would be attacked next, laboured to put it in a good posture of defence, not without much disturbance from the Imperialists; but of all places belonging to the enemy, Agria, or Erla, was in most distress. Tekeli, in his attempts to relieve it, was often routed, and in one conflict with the hussars, wounded, while his princess fortified Mongatz [b].

The pâshâ of Bosnia, early in spring, besieged Duare in Dalmatia; but on the approach of the Venetians, retreated with great loss. He made attempts on the enemy in other places also, but was repulsed with slaughter. The Venetians, elated with these successes, on the 7th of Shawâl (August 16th), under the conduct of Gornaro, attacked Zing, which Vallier had in vain attempted the year before; and having battered down the walls, on the second day of the siege, took it by storm, putting all the garrison to the sword. With like success, the Morlakhians made an expedition towards Constantinople; and having by stratagem drawn one thousand foot, and five hundred horse, out of the garrison, killed a great number, and pursued the rest with such vigour, that they entered the city with them, and having plundered, set it on fire. A.D. 1687. *Venetians take Zing.*

These misfortunes alarming the Ulema, and people of that capital, they threw out seditious speeches; alleging, that they were judgments for the breach of peace with the emperor, which could not be averted but by removing soltân Mohammed, who was the author of that unjust war, and all those who advised or approved of it. *Sedition at Constantinople.*

The soltân roused by the insinuations, instantly repaired to Constantinople, deposed the mûfti, and employed emissaries to persuade the people, that not he, but the prelate himself, and Kâra Mostafa Pâshâ, who had been put to death, were the occasion of the war. Farther to gain their good opinion, he sold the jewels in the treasury, to pay the soldiers; and the money not being sufficient, layed a tax on the jâmis, and every house. By these mea-

[b] Ricaut, ubi supra.

sures

sures the seeds of sedition were quashed; and the people induced to contribute more readily for the public service [c].

The Turks distressed.

But they were still more at a loss for men than money; for scarce six thousand troops arrived from Asia, instead of forty thousand; and the levies fell short in other parts also. This deficiency induced the court to order the wazîr to endeavour to obtain a peace at any rate; and offer the delivering up of Tekeli, as the first preliminary; but the emperor insisting on being paid six millions of gold, in satisfaction for damages, that all places held by the Turks in Hungary should be yielded to him, and equal advantages given to his allies, his answer was considered at the Porte as an absolute refusal to treat.

The grand wazîr's army, by a moderate computation, exclusive of the Tatars, Hungarians under Tekeli, garrisons and detachments, amounted to about fifty thousand strong; but that of the Imperialists did not fall short of sixty-four thousand brave troops, plentifully supplied with necessaries of all kinds [d].

Battle of Mohatz.

The duke of Lorrain marched with the Imperial army towards Essek, and passed the Drave, with intent to attack the wazîr, who had encamped about that place; but Solymân Pâshâ was so advantageously posted, that the duke, instead of venturing to attack him, was obliged to fortify his own camp, for fear of being assaulted. The two armies being so near, first tried their fortune by skirmishes, and then had recourse to cannon; which doing most execution on the part of the Turks, the Germans were forced to give way; and the Turks pursued them in their retreat towards the Danube. The duke of Lorrain encamped at Mohach, where, having refreshed his troops, he proceeded for Zikli: but he had scarce left his camp, when a great number of Turkish horse appeared, and attacked the Germans on all sides, as they moved slowly, in order to detain them, till the wazîr arrived with his whole army.

The duke attacked.

After three days skirmishing, the wazîr came and posted himself in a little wood, through which the Imperialists were to pass. Next day, which was the 4th of Shawal (August 1st,) he drew up his army; when observing the front of the Germans to be too wide for the wings to assist each other, he commanded his troops to annoy the enemy's right wing, with continued, but slight attacks; and at the same time to rush with their whole strength upon the

[c] Cant. p. 336, & seq. [d] Ricaut, ubi supra.

left

left wing. The Turks accordingly fell upon the left wing with such fury, that they must needs have routed it, but for the cannon placed among the enemy's soldiers; which killed great numbers of the Othmâns as they moved incautiously forward, and obliged them to retreat to the wood. Notwithstanding, they attacked the same wing a second time with a greater force, but were again repulsed.

The wazîr overthrown.

The duke of Bavaria, who commanded that body, imagining the courage of the Turks was abated by these two repulses, led his troops to attack them in the wood; but before he could execute his design he saw the Othmâns advancing in a body against him. Hereupon, he ordered his cannon to be placed in the front, loaded with small bullets and pieces of iron; which did such execution, that the enemy were forced to retire in haste. The duke followed them, but had scarce continued the pursuit an hour, when, to his great surprize, he perceived the Othmân camp entire, and fortified with a strong trench. However, the trenches being demolished by the Imperial cannon, he penetrated into the camp itself; and put to the sword almost all the janizaries, who were deserted by their horse. The wazîr, perceiving things in this desperate situation, fled with a few attendants; leaving the whole camp a prey to the victors [e].

In this battle eight thousand janizaries, with their aga, were killed, three thousand drowned, and two thousand taken prisoners. Of the Imperialists, only one thousand were slain [f].

Sclavonia invaded and quite reduced.

The wazîr, after this defeat, reinforced the garrison of Essek with several regiments; and having left six thousand men to guard the bridge of Peterwaradin, retired to Belgrade. The duke of Lorrain, perceiving these places too well fortified to be taken in the two months which still remained of the campaign, spread a report that he designed to besiege Temiswaer. The wazîr, deceived by this stratagem, sent the greater part of his army to defend that city. The Othmân forces in Sclavonia being by this weakened, the duke ordered Dunewald, with a body of troops, to drive them out of that country; and continued himself with the main army, to watch the motions of the Turks in Hungary. Dunewald, having passed the Drave on the 2d of Zilkaadeh, invested Burzîn, and battered down the walls; so that on the sixth day of the

[e] Cant. p. 337, & seq. [f] Ricaut, ubi supra.

siege, the garrison yielded themselves and castle at discretion.

This city being taken, he assaulted Walpo, whose governor, by a signal, informed the garrison of Essek of his danger, and desired their assistance; but the latter, terrified at the unexpected approach of the Imperialists, undermined the castle, and prepared to fly. Dunewald, being informed of this design, ordered Ladrone, with two thousand horse, to observe the garrison. These imagining that the whole German army was with him, abandoned the city with such precipitation, that they left behind most of their baggage, and even forgot to set fire to the mines; upon which the governor of Walpo surrendered rather than stand an assault. With equal success that general took Posshega, capital of Sclavonia, with Bellastin, Patrask, Shirask, Telikham, Walkowar, Erdeli, and several other castles, which the Turks had deserted, and reduced the whole country under the emperor's obedience. Mean while Areizaga, Ciokaku, and Polota, surrendered to the governor of Leopoldstadt; while Agria in Upper Hungary was invested by a small body of Imperialists, and cut off from all supplies.

Transylvania submits. The campaign on this side was crowned with the reduction of Transylvania. The prince of that country, Mikhael Apaffi, had agreed in the beginning of summer to quit his alliance with the Turks, provided they were once removed from his borders, and admit the Imperialists. But when the duke of Lorrain was preparing to take up his quarters in that province, Apaffi denied him entrance; alleging, that his province of granting quarters did not extend to the whole army, but only to some regiments. The duke thus refused, entered the country, without the prince's consent; and seizing Cibinium and Claudiopolis, the principal cities, obliged him to submit to the emperor.

Russian expedition. The Russians did not meet with the same success against the Krîm Tatars: for Basilius, prince of Galliczin, being sent against them by the young czars, with a numerous but confused army, after several days march through the frontier desert was surrounded by Nuraddîn Soltân. The misfortune of being thus cut off from provision and water, was soon followed by a pestilence, which destroyed above forty thousand of his men in a short time. Nevertheless, Nuraddîn Soltân, was afraid of the enemy, and in order to oblige them to return, pretended to march towards

wards Kiow; a feint which had the desired effect. But this stratagem would not have hindered the prince from entering Krim Tartary, if he had not been hastily recalled by the letters of Sophia, sister to the czars.

The Poles, under the command of James Sobieski, the king's eldest son, on the 24th of Shawal (August 2d), appeared before Kameniek: but after throwing in some bombs, and discharging their cannon twice or thrice, they, on news that the Turks and Tatars were advanced to Czuczera, raised the siege. *Poles retreat.*

With much greater vigour the Venetians carried on the war in the Morea; for landing their forces at Patras on the 23d of Ramazân, they marched under the conduct of count Koningsmark, against the seraskier, who, with his cavalry, attacked their left wing. But being repulsed with loss, he bent his whole force against the right wing, with such fury, that the janizaries with their swords endeavoured to remove the barricades, which secured the enemy's front: yet was he forced, after receiving a dangerous wound, and losing many of his men, with the pâshâ of Valona, to fly to the mountains, with the remainder, two thousand of whom were cut off in the pursuit. This victory secured to the Venetians, all that remained of the Morea in the hands of the Othmâns[s]. The strong fortress of Patras surrendered. *The affairs of the Morea.*

Mehemed Pâshâ, who had six thousand men to defend the castle of Rumelia, after blowing up the walls, deserted it likewise. This example was followed by Mehemed, governor of the castle of Morea, on sight of the Venetian gallies; and, what is more surprizing, the city of Naupactus Lepanto, strongly fortified both by nature and art, sent deputies to the Venetian fleet which was sailing thither, with offers of surrender. *Lepanto surrenders.*

Thus in the space of twenty-four hours, the Venetians became masters of four strong fortresses, with little or no loss, and sixty pieces of cannon, most of them brass, were found in them, besides eight in the seraskier's camp (who after his defeat, marched in haste to Korinth) and six in that of Mostafa Pâshâ.

When the affairs of the conquered cities were settled, Morosini, general of the Venetian army, appeared before Tornese and Misitra, which the governors surrendered, with all the stores, without the least opposition. The only city which made any resistance was Epidaurus *Korinth deserted.*

[s] Cant. p. 338, & seq.

Limeria (A); wherefore Morosini, after annoying it extremely with his bombs to no effect, sailed with his fleet through the Korinthian bay, directly to Korinth; presuming, that when this last city should be subdued, the passage into the Morea would be shut up to the Turks, and the remaining castles would be much more easily reduced. The seraskier, on his approach, considering that the four thousand men he had with him would not be able to oppose the enemy, set fire to the magazines; and demolishing most of the walls, retreated to the mountains of Thebes, slaying all the Greeks he met, on pretence that they were the cause of his misfortune. But Morosini perceiving the flames, sent and extinguished them, before the magazines were consumed.

Athens surrendered. He afterwards detached Koningsmark, with part of his army to Athens, which surrendered after a short siege; wherein the ancient temple, dedicated to the Unknown God, was blown up, by a bomb setting fire to the powder lodged there. The inhabitants of Megara abandoned that place, which the Venetians burnt, as being of no use [k].

Affairs of Dalmatia. In Dalmatia the Turks began the campaign, and under the command of Atlaglik Pâshâ, governor of Bosnia, on the 1st of Jamazio'lawel, besieged Zing, which Cornaro had taken the year before: but after assaulting it with great vigour for forty days, and losing a great number of men, he was obliged to retire on the approach of the Venetian army. Cornaro, on the other hand, with the assistance of the fleets of Malta, and the pope, on the 25th of Shawâl, besieged Castle Nuovo in Dalmatia, which the pâshâ of Bosnia hastened to relieve. Having forced through the narrow passes, guarded by the Morlakians, on the 8th of Zilhajeh, he attacked the Venetian trenches with such fury, that he would have defeated the forces which defended them, had not Cornaro, with the rest of the army, and Maltese auxiliaries, seasonably supported them when they began to give way, and obliged the Turks to fly, after they had lost about eight hundred men. Nevertheless, the garrison held out, till the Venetians having taken the city by storm, on the 21st of the

[k] Ricaut.

(A) Called by the modern Greeks Monembasia; by the Turks, Menewche; and by the Italians, Napoli di Malvasia. It is the strongest fortress in all the Morea. Cant.

same

ſame month, they, three days after, found themſelves under a neceſſity to ſurrender the caſtle [1].

The army mutiny, under Siavus Pâſhâ.

In the mean time, there aroſe in the Turkiſh camp, from a ſlight cauſe, a very great ſedition, which deprived the ſoltân of the Imperial dignity, and proved an almoſt irreparable detriment to the whole empire. The wazîr, Ayneji Solymân Pâſhâ, being informed at Peterwaradin, that Agria would be forced to ſurrender for want of proviſion, if not ſpeedily relieved, commanded a thouſand janizaries, and ſome hundred ſpahis, to march thither with ſupplies: but the ſoldiers, alleging their being quite ſpent with that year's ſervice, and accuſing him as the cauſe of all their diſgraces, refuſed to obey his orders; and when he renewed his commands, declared they would not move one ſtep without him. Theſe ſparks of ſedition were inflamed ſoon after by a new incident; for the wazîr having attempted to deſtroy ſeveral pâſhâs, by accuſing them to ſoltân Mohammed of neglect of duty in the laſt battle, thoſe officers, being informed of the danger by their friends at court, exaſperated the whole army againſt him.

Siavus Pâſhâ, a bold and haughty man, who was in the liſt of the accuſed, which had been ſent to the ſoltân, appeared at the head of theſe diſturbances; and by his perſuaſion the army demanded of the wazîr the payment of their arrears. That miniſter not having the money ready, told them their pay was on the road, and would be there in a few days: but the ſoldiers, not to be amuſed with fair words, commanded him either to pay them directly, or reſign the wazîrſhip, ſince they had a perſon ready, who was much more deſerving of that dignity, and would ſatisfy their demand. Solymân Pâſhâ hereupon, in fear of his life, ſecretly fled, and carried to the ſoltân the firſt news of this rebellion; laying the whole blame on Siavus, and ſome others, whom he accuſed of treachery in the German war.

Petition the ſoltân.

Soltân Mohammed eaſily credited the wazîr, and with tears ordered him to conceal himſelf, till he enquired into the deſigns of the rebels. Solymân, by this conduct, convinced of his ſovereign's good-will, retired to the houſe of Manolaki, a wealthy Greek, near the palace, where he lay hid for twenty-ſeven days, unknown to any body, excepting the ſoltân and his friend the kizlar âga. Two days after the wazîr's flight, Siavus Pâſhâ, calling a council of

[1] Cant. p. 341.

the chief conſpirators at Belgrade, engaged them in a deſign to depoſe the ſoltân, and put ſeveral of the great men to death. The reſt of the army imagining that the wazîr had fled to expoſe them to the enemy, or the ſoltan's reſentment, deſired Siavus to take on him the wazîrſhip. He, to gain the ſoltân's favour, refuſed the honour; alleging, that the dignity could be conferred by none but his majeſty, againſt whom he would not be ſo wicked as to attempt any thing; and therefore exhorted them, before they proceeded a ſtep farther, to ſend him a petition, and wait his anſwer.

Their demands rejected.

This advice being approved, Siavus, in the name of the whole army, ſent an arzmahzar or *petition*, to ſoltân Mohammed, ſetting forth, that the forces of the empire were determined to come to Conſtantinople, not to raiſe a ſedition, or attempt any thing againſt his ſacred perſon, but to demand juſtice againſt the treachery and deſertion of the wazîr; that, however, if he was deſirous immediately to appeaſe thoſe commotions, he ſhould ſend to the camp the head of that traitor, and the pay due to the army by the tefterdâr, and the gyumrukchi huſſeyn âga. The ſoltân was adviſed by his moſt intimate counſellors to ſatisfy the demands of the ſoldiers, for his own ſafety; but he had conceived ſo great an opinion of the wazîr's abilities, that he returned no other anſwer to the arzmahzar, than that the money was already ſent to pay them, and would ſoon be diſtributed, hoping the ſight of it would ſoften their reſentment to his miniſter; but the ſoldiers, perſiſting in their demand, exclaimed, that the ſoltân was equally culpable with the wazîr, for protecting him, and ought to be depoſed [n].

At length granted.

When Mohammed heard that for this purpoſe they haſtened their march, he ſent their leader the ſeal of the empire, and Mohammed's ſtandard, flattering himſelf, that Siavus Pâſhâ, having obtained what he wanted, would not be ſo importunate for the wazîr's head; but Siavus conſidering that the authority conferred on him would not be laſting, while his enemy, in ſuch favour with the ſoltân, was alive, receive dthe enſigns of power with ſtrong declarations of ſubmiſſion, from the ſilahdar âga; but at the ſame time informed him that it was not in his power to pacify the army till the wazîr, teſterdâr, and gyumrukch baſhi, to whoſe negligence they imputed the preſent calamities, were executed. The ſoltân, in conſequence of this decla-

[n] Cant. p. 341, & ſeq.

ration,

ration, ſent the wazîr's head (B); which not contenting the ſoldiers, Siavus adviſed his majeſty not to draw the reſentment of the army on himſelf, by an unſeaſonable clemency; aſſuring him, that if he would follow his advice, he hoped in a ſhort time to extinguiſh the rebellion.

Siavus gained over by the ſoltân.

The ſoltân having complied on this remonſtrance, Siavus Pâſhâ endeavoured ſincerely to perform his promiſe, and detain the army at Adrianople; but the rebels, inſtead of obeying his orders, reproached him with betraying them for the ſake of intereſt, and going over to the ſoltân's party, now he had gratified his ambition; in ſhort, they threatened, unleſs he led them on, to cut off his head, and chooſe another general, who ſhould depoſe the ſoltân, and place Solymân in his room. The new wazîr, finding it dangerous to refuſe, conducted them to Conſtantinople, where he was received with great honour by ſoltân Mohammed, who promiſed to confer favours on him, even beyond his hopes, provided he would appeaſe the tumults. Siavus Pâſhâ firſt excuſed himſelf for having accepted the command of the army without his knowlege; alleging, that when he ſaw them bent on ſome deſperate deſign, he judged it would be of ſervice both to his majeſty and the empire. He then ſaid, if the ſoltân had granted their firſt petition, he might eaſily have ſuppreſſed the ſedition; but that the rebellion now had taken deep root in their minds. Notwithſtanding, he promiſed, on his oath, to do his utmoſt endeavour to extinguiſh it, at the hazard of his life.

Becomes ſuſpected.

As ſoon as the wazîr returned to his palace, he ſent for the chief rebels, and endeavoured to diſſuade them from proceeding in their deſigns, by repreſenting, that the ſoltân had ſatisfied all their demands, and was not to be blamed for the misfortunes occaſioned by others; that no man of underſtanding could aim at depoſing him, as he had heard ſome did; conſidering, that as a wiſe and warlike prince, he was able to defend the empire; while his

(B) As ſoon as the chauſh came to the priſon, he ſaid, "I know for what you come; God's will be done:" and having ſaid his prayers, was ſtrangled; but firſt enjoined him two things, 1. To let the men in power know that he had given all his ſlaves their freedom. 2. To adviſe them not to torment his people to diſcover his money, for that he never had any thing conſiderable, and the little which he was poſſeſſed of was loſt in the camp; only he could wiſh the ſoltân would beſtow what furniture and other things there might be in his houſe at Skutary on his ſon. Jones.

sons were too young to govern, and his brothers, especially Solymân, were fitter to be monks than soldiers, being skilled in the laws, but not in arms." The conspirators, confirmed in their former suspicions of the wazîr's fidelity, feigned a readiness to divert the soldiers under their influence, from any such design; but as soon as they were out of the palace, they met in the Orta Jâmi (C); and accusing Siavus Pâshâ of being secretly in the soltân's interest, in violation of his oath, advised the janizaries to execute their purposes, before they should be circumvented by his artifices °.

The clergy agree to depose Mohammed.

Hereupon the sedition increasing like wild-fire, the soldiers ran armed in great bodies through the streets, crying out, "The soltân, both unfortunate and indolent, ought to be deposed, and Solymân advanced in his room, who, by his prayers, would appease the Divine indignation." They were joined by the Ulema, partly of their own accord, and partly through necessity; on sight of whom the common people, thinking it criminal at such a time to sit still, snatched up what weapons were at hand, and repaired to the church of Sancta Sophia. There the nakîb (D) and sheykh (E), offered themselves to the rest as leaders and directors of the intended consultation; but before any thing was proposed, they ordered the kaymakân, Kyoprili Mostafa Pâshâ (F) to be sent for, in the name of the whole Musulmân nation. When he

° Cant. 346.

(C) A temple in the midst of the janizaries chambers, where they consult about any matter of consequence; and therefore, when the soltâns are afraid of a rebellion, they chiefly observe what is doing in the Orta Jâmi. Cant.

(D) Or more properly nakîb ashrâf, *the holy overseer*, who is the keeper of the sanjâki sharîf, or *the holy standard*. He is the head of the âmîrs or descendants of Fatemah, Mohammed's daughter, and alone hath power over the rest; for without his knowlege, the soltân himself cannot so much as strike one of them. He is no way inferior in dignity to the mufti himself; but because it would be dangerous to trust any man long with so much power, the soltân often changes him, but cannot take away his salary. Cant.

(E) He is the prelate or the head of a temple; but the sheykh of Sancta Sophia takes place of all other sheykhs. Cant.

(F) Son of the great Ahmed Pâshâ, a man for holiness of life, integrity, prudence, and courage, famous above all the rest of the Turks. Cant.

came

came, the ſharîf of Sophia, in a long ſpeech, ſet forth how many provinces and cities had been loſt; how much blood and treaſure had been ſpent; and that greater calamities were ſtill to be expected, if the government ſhould be continued in the hands of ſuch an emperor, who took no care of the army or ſtate, and only minded his hawks and his hounds: then putting the kaymakân in mind of the great ſervices done to the empire by his anceſtors, he exhorted him to aſſiſt in averting the impending danger P.

The ſharîf was interrupted by a clamour, that the Shâzadeh were in danger; for the ſoltân finding that there was no way left to prevent his depoſition, but to put his brothers to death, had ſent ſome of his chamberlains to diſpatch them; but the boſtanji bâſhi being made acquainted with this deſign by ſome courtiers, bribed by the ſoltân's enemies, had ſurrounded the apartments of Solymân and Ahmed with a regiment of Boſtânji; and having repulſed the chamberlains, informed the aſſembly of this affair. The rebels, fired by theſe tidings, deſired the nakîb and ſharîf of Sophia inſtantly to proclaim the depoſition of Mohammed, and declare Solymân emperor; ſince the ſoltân's attempt on the life of his brothers was of itſelf a ſufficient ground; and the boſtânji might be bribed, if the deſign ſhould be delayed.

Send him notice.

The multitude would perhaps by force have depoſed the ſoltân, and even attempted his life, if the kaymakân had not prevented it, by pretending to approve their opinion. Having thus gained their favour, he told the aſſembly, that there was no occaſion for doing things in a hurry, ſince the ſhahzâdeh were ſecurely guarded by the boſtânji bâſhi; and adviſed them to proceed in ſuch a manner, as might both preſerve the honour of the Othmân family, and prevent more dangerous commotions; he ſaid it would be proper to ſend the ſheykh ſharîf and nakîb to the ſoltân, in order to declare him depoſed, in the name of the ulema, or *clergy*, ſoldiery, and the whole Muſſulman nation; then to deſire him to leave the palace of his own accord, and reſign the empire to his brother Solymân. This advice being approved of by the whole aſſembly, the nakîb and ſheykh ſharîf were ſent, much againſt their wills, with this fatal meſſage; which they humbly delivered to the ſoltân, and then aſked pardon for doing what they were forced to by the multitude.

P Cant. p. 343, & ſeq.

Soltân

The soltân's answer. Soltân Mohammed heard the messengers with great tranquility, and then told them, that they had brought him no news but what he expected; for he had long found the common people were corrupted by the ulema, desirous of change, and engaged by them in their rebellion, which he might have prevented by banishing them: next, having mentioned the justice of his government, and his many warlike exploits during a reign of forty years, he told them he could not think of any other pretence for their impious attempt, except the breach of peace with the emperor of Germany, and the four last years ill success of the war; and yet that they themselves first persuaded him to that war; and that the mufti, the head of their confederacy, by his fetvah, pronounced it just. That instead of endeavouring to appease the divine wrath by fasting and prayer, which was their proper office, they had instigated the people to trample on his authority, and the laws, of which they were the guardians. Then repeating the many concessions and sacrifices he had made to please the people and procure peace, he added, that although he knew the people by their (the ulema's) authority were too deeply rooted and confirmed in their wicked design, yet he also knew, that the righteous God would prove his avenger, and severely punish the corrupted people for the injury he now sustained.

His abdication. The nakib, unmoved by the soltân's speech, used still greater insolence towards him; and replied, without any sense of modesty, that he was not sent by the people to hear his apology, but to command him, in the name of the whole Mussulman assembly, to quit the throne; that therefore, if he was desirous to preserve his honour and life, he should, of his own accord, resign the government to his brother Solymân; since, if he pretended to oppose the will of the citizens, they would notwithstanding execute their resolutions. The soltân hereupon submitting to necessity, exclaimed, "Since I see the divine indignation, stirred up by the sins of the Mussulmans, discharged on my head, go and tell my brother, that God's decree is declared by the mouth of the people, and he is appointed governor of the Ali Othmân empire." Soltân Mohammed having spoken these words, on the 3d of Moharram, 1099 (G), resigned the imperial sceptre [q].

[q] Cant. p. 346, & seq.

(G) Which answers to Saturday the 29th of October, 1687; and our historians place this event on the 28th.

Soltân

Soltân Mohammed lived after his depoſition for five years, cloſely confined in his apartment. He died in his fifty-ſecond year, after he had reigned forty years, five months, and ſixteen days. He left by different wives ſeven ſons, two of whom, Moſtafa and Ahmed, were advanced to the empire; the reſt died in their infancy. *Mohammed's reign and character.*

He was a prince eminent for juſtice and warlike abilities; of great clemency, and his reign very happy, excepting the four laſt years of it. There was but one fault which his enemies could reproach him with, namely, his immoderate love of hunting in the latter years of his reign, to the neglect of ſtate affairs. He is reported by ſome to have been poiſoned by his brother Soltân Ahmed, at the inſtigation of the wazîr, Arabaji Ali Pâſhâ; who having ſought the death of certain great men, and meeting with a repulſe from the ſoltân, by Mohammed's advice, in revenge, ſuborned the munejîn bâſhi (H) to give out he had diſcovered by the ſtars, that Mohammed ſhould depoſe his brother and re-aſcend the throne; which artifice the wazîr made uſe of to irritate Ahmed againſt him; but it is cuſtomary on the death of a ſoltân to raiſe a report of his being poiſoned; beſides, it is well known that Mohammed, before his depoſition, was continually troubled with the gout in both his hands and feet: this, added to the hypochondriac diſtemper, occaſioned by his confinement, at laſt exhauſted all his vital ſpirits [s].

SECT. XXII.

The Reign of Soleymân II.

Troubles in the Othmân Empire. The Siege of Belgrade, and Battle of Niſſa.

WHEN the boſtânji bâſhi (I) brought Solymân the news of his brother's depoſition, and his own advancement to the Ali Othmân throne, that prince, con- *Soltân Soleymân.*

[s] Cant. p. 348, & ſeq.

(H) He is the chief aſtrologer; and third of the four officers in the inner Othmân court, who are reckoned eccleſiaſtics; the other three are, the hojeh, or *ſoltân's preceptor*; the hakîm effendi, or *chief phyſician*; and the jerrah bâſhi, or *chief ſurgeon*. Cant.

(I) The chief of the gardeners.

trary

trary to every body's expectation, was extremely grieved at the meſſage: "Why," ſays he, "in the name of the immotral god, do you endeavour to diſturb my tranquility? Suffer me, I beſeech you, to paſs in quiet, in my cell, the few days I have to live; and let my brother rule the Othmân empire; for he was born to govern, but I to the ſtudy of eternal life." The boſtânji bâſhi, at firſt, was amazed at theſe words: but, recollecting himſelf, continued to preſs the prince; alleging, that the reſolution of the wazîrs, ulema, nobles, and the whole people, could not be altered; nor Soltân Mohammed reſtored, without great detriment to the empire. Solymân, ſtill in ſuſpence, replied, "that he owed too great a reverence to his brother to take poſſeſſion of his throne, which he had quitted with reluctance:" I would come forth, however, continued he, but am afraid of my brother."

His timorous behaviour.

At laſt the boſtânji bâſhi, impatient of delay, "you muſt give way, (cried he) moſt reſplendent emperor, to the entreaties and wiſhes of the Muſſulman people:" with theſe words, he forced him, as it were, out of his chamber, and led him to the room where the throne was uſually placed. There he, not without ſigns of fear, deſired his conductor and the door-keepers to take care, leſt his brother ſhould be within; ſince he dreaded to appear in his preſence. Having been aſſured, that his brother was removed to another apartment, he, at length, mounted the throne, and was ſaluted emperor by all the courtiers. But, as ſoon as the ceremony was performed, he leaped down again, as from an impure place, and demanded abdeſt (B). This ablution being performed, he deferred returning to the throne; and, when the courtiers preſſed him, he put his finger to his mouth, and enjoined ſilence. At laſt, notwithſtanding his reluctance, he was replaced, and admitted the ulema and nobles to kiſs his robe.

A new ſedition.

Being thus advanced, he confirmed the wazîr, Siavus Paſhâ, and commanded him to appeaſe the ſedition. On the wazîr's return to his palace, the bulûk agalari or commanders of the janizaries, did him obeiſance, but at the ſame time, demanded their pay, and the bakhſhiſh or largeſs which uſed to be given to the ſoldiers at the beginning of a new ſucceſſion. Siavus Paſhâ, finding the treaſuries empty, amuſed the officers for ſome time with promiſes, and then endeavoured to ſeparate the chief authors

(B) That is, water to waſh his hands, head, and feet, as enjoined by the Korân, before prayers.

of

of the disturbances, under pretence of promoting them, in order to send them to remote cities. By this conduct, the former hatred of the soldiers was revived against him, when assembled in the Orta Jâmi; they ran through the streets, crying out, the wazîr ought to be put to death, as an enemy to Soltân Solymân, a deserter, and a violater of his promises.

Presently after they surrounded his palace, whither, on the first alarm of their meeting, he had retired with his officers; and, on being denied admittance to speak to that minister, attempted to break open the gates: but Siavus Pashâ repelled them with the arms which he found by chance in the palace; and killed above twenty janizaries. The soldiers, more enraged at this slaughter, rushed with their whole force upon the gates, and broke them open. Mean while the wazir shot several mutineers with arrows from his chamber opposite to the gate, while his officers, about a hundred in number, prevented the rebels from ascending, and forced them into the Diwân Khâneh, the hall where people's complaints are heard. A bloody conflict ensued, wherein above a hundred and fifty of the conspirators were killed upon the stairs, and as many wounded. But at last, many of the wazîr's party being slain, the rest fled to the top of the house, and threw themselves into the street. Siavus Pâshâ retired again to his chamber; and, in the door, killed twelve janizaries with his sword. At last, he was beaten down, and dispatched by the soldiers, who cut his body in pieces, and threw them into the street [a]. *The wazîr's bravery;*

After this murder, excited by a rage unheard of even among the Turks, they broke into the women's apartments; and, cutting off the noses, hands, and feet, of the wazîr's wife and sister, dragged them naked through the streets; and committed other execrable crimes upon the slaves and female domestics. That minister's family, being thus destroyed, they roved like ravenous wolves through the city, and killed and plundered all they met, as if partners with the wazîr in his guilt. The whole city would have been ruined, if the ulema, who were the first authors of the tumult, had not composed it; for, assembling at the Imperial palace, they there displayed the sanjâki sharîf of Mohammed; and, by their criers, proclaimed that all Mussulmans, who would not be deemed infidels, should re- *he is slain.* *The sedition quashed:*

[a] Cant. Hist. Othm. p. 350, & seqq.

pair

pair to that ſtandard. The ſummons was obeyed, firſt by the citizens, and then by the janizaries, who, that they might not appear rebels, preſently laid down their arms, crying out, that they had taken them up not againſt the ſoltân, but his enemy the wazîr; whom having puniſhed, they were ready to do whatever the ſoltân ſhould think proper [c].

The manner how.

According to Ricaut, this commotion was appeaſed after another manner. The tumult having now laſted three or four days, the rebels ſeemed to be abſolute maſters, for there were no officers alive who had any authority over them; when a ſmall accident put an end to their reign, after they had domineered for five months, killing and diſplacing the pâſhâs at pleaſure. Four janizaries having taken ſome embroidered handkerchiefs out of certain ſhops, the ſhopkeepers made a great clamour; and by the encouragement of an amîr, all roſe, fell on the plunderers, and killed two of them. The amîr fixing a piece of linen on a ſtick, and holding it up, cried out, "Let all true Muſſulmans repair to the ſaray, and pray the ſoltân to put forth the prophet's ſtandard, and deſtroy theſe rebels." Upon this intimation, the injured citizens crouded thither; the ſtandard was erected; and the people, by proclamation, ordered to come and fight under it.

Rebels puniſhed.

This having brought an incredible number together under the walls of the palace, a ſheykh, or *preacher*, called to them thrice from thence; and aſked, whether they were contented with the preſent emperor? They anſwered in the affirmative with three great ſhouts; but ſaid, they would have the gyurbas, or *ringleaders of the mutinous militia*, deſtroyed. Thirteen of them were thereupon taken, and cut to pieces; and the reſt fled. The mufti alſo was degraded for ſiding with them; and Tabâk Effendi, who had been depoſed by the mutineers, reſtored to that dignity. The niſanji bâſhi, an old man, was created wazîr; and a young man, fifth page of the royal chamber, made aga of the janizaries. Other vacant places were ſupplied, and next day, all being quiet, as if no diſturbances had happened, ſeveral Armenians and others, who, diſguiſed like ſoldiers, mixed with the rioters to rob, were diſcovered and hanged. This day might be called the firſt of the ſoltân's reign, who began with ſuppreſſing taverns and ſmoaking; in which reformation he was ſo ſtrict, that, one day walking incognito to ſee if his orders were obeyed, he

[c] Cant. ubi ſupra, p. 353.

commanded

commanded two poor fellows to be executed for selling tobacco [d].

But this calm did not last long; for Solymân having ordered the new wazîr, Kojâ Ismael Pâshâ, to seize privately the leaders of the rebellion, and put them to death (R); the janizaries again took arms, and threatened destruction to both. The soltân, to prevent the storm falling on his head, by the advice of Kyoprili Mostafa Pâshâ, threw the whole blame upon the wazîr; spreading a report, that he had acted therein without the soltân's knowlege; and to give it the better gloss, banished him to Rhodes; appointing Tekkiur Dâghi Mostafa Pâshâ in his room. *New disturbances.*

The flames from the capital spread into the provinces. In Rûm-eli, Eghen Ozman Pâshâ, assembled a considerable body of spahis, and engaged them to demand of the wazîr the bakhshish julus, or *largess*, due to them on Solymân's advancement to the empire. On the wazîr's pleading inability for the present, they levied the money on the inhabitants of the country, and plundered all Bulgaria, as far as Sophia. In Asia, Gyeduk Pâshâ moved his troops to sedition; and, being joined to several thousand banditti, threatened to attack Constantinople itself. Having plundered and subdued all the provinces of the anadol beglerbeglik, he marched to Ismid Gyechid, and prepared to besiege Krisopolis, or Skutari, thinking the janizaries were too busily employed to mind him; but they, laying aside their rage the night before the city was to be attacked, passed over and surrounded it with trenches; on which the pasha retired, and was soon after defeated by the Othmân army. *Rebellions abroad.*

While the Turkish empire was thus shaken by intestine commotions, the Imperial army subdued the most considerable bulwarks of Hungary. Agria, the strongest fortress of Upper Hungary, after four months close siege, was obliged by famine to surrender on the 20th of Moharram, 1099. The same fate befel Mongatz, an almost impregnable castle in the same country, fortified by Tekeli, and made the repository of his wife, treasures, and records. After he was seized, as before related, and Kassovia lost, his princess, the heroine of the age, assembled *Agria surrenders.*

[d] Ricaut, ubi supra.

(R) Ricaut says, above one thousand of the gyurbas, or *ringleaders servants*, were thrown into the sea one night after another; but speaks of no new commotion thereupon.

there

there a body of forces, and ſtored the place with plenty of proviſion; in hopes of being able to defend it till the war ſhould be finiſhed, or the Turkiſh army march to her relief. However, thoſe forces being withdrawn from the neighbourhood, count Terci, in the year 1098, attempted to take the caſtle; but after aſſaulting it for ſeveral months with cannon and bombs to no purpoſe, he blocked it up at a diſtance; and cut off all proviſion to ſuch a degree, that the princeſs Tekeli conquered rather by famine than the enemy's ſword, on the 14th of Rabio'lawel, 1099, ſurrendered both herſelf and caſtle to the emperor's mercy [e].

Mongatz yields.

This ſurrender having been made before the inſtructions which her huſband had ſent to her on that head came to her hands, he was ſo incenſed, that he deſtoyed all the places in his way, as far as Peterwaradin; and then fortified himſelf with ſome thouſand followers in the village of Theleigh, near that city. But general Heuſler, on the 6th of February, fell upon him in his trenches with ſuch fury, that he was put to flight, leaving ſix hundred of his men ſlain, and four hundred taken priſoners; among whom was Genay, the chief commander next to himſelf [f].

Other commotions ſeaſonably prevented.

The common people and ſoldiers at Conſtantinople were in hopes, that on the advancement of Solymân, a prince, as they imagined, of great ſanctity, the divine wrath would be appeaſed, and the enemy repelled. But when, on the news of thoſe misfortunes, they found themſelves deceived, they threw ſatirical libels, both in proſe and verſe, into the jâmi and divân, reproaching not only the wazîr, and other nobles, but the ſoltân himſelf, with negligence and other faults. The miniſter, to obviate farther miſchief, ordered a guard to paſs night and day through the city; prevented nocturnal aſſemblies, and ſeized ſome perſons who talked too freely; but not to add oil to the flames, diſmiſſed them without puniſhment. At laſt, the ſoltân's natural timorouſneſs produced a better remedy than courage could have done: for, under pretence of changing the air, he withdrew from the ſeditious, by removing with his court to Adrianople. The people indeed ſeemed to have reaſon to complain of the bad adminiſtration of affairs; but did not impute it to the proper perſons. How much the treaſury was exhauſted, and to how great a neceſſity that opulent empire was reduced,

[e] Cant. p. 353, & ſeqq. Ricaut. [f] Idem.

appeared

appeared on this occaſion: for there was not in the imperial ſtables a number of horſes, mules, and camels, ſufficient for the courtiers; nor money enough in the treaſury to pay for the hire of what were wanting: ſo that he ordered the gold and ſilver veſſels, with his jewels, to be publicly ſold, in order to ſupply his neceſſities. At length, departing with hired horſes and chariots, he prevented the ſedition which was juſt ready to break out.

Turks ſue for peace.

When he arrived at Adrianople, he pretended to apply himſelf to the care of the war; but, as his devotions were more agreeable to him, he ſent Zuo'lſikar Effendi, clerk of the janizaries, and Alexander Maurokordatus, interpreter to the Diwân, ambaſſadors to the emperor of Germany, under pretence of informing him of his election; but, in reality, to ſettle a peace upon ſuch terms as they could procure [a].

Tranſilvania revolts.

The Turks, brought to this extremity, diſpatched an aga to Apaſſi, prince of Tranſylvania, with a patent to confirm him in his principality; and orders to demand a conſiderable ſum of money, to pay the garriſons on the Boryſthenes, or Nieper, which the declining ſtate of the empire, he ſaid, obliged the Porte to exact: at the ſame time threatening him with a Tatar incurſion, in caſe he did not comply with the demand. General Caraffa, being informed of this affair, immediately haſtened thither; and ſo well diſpoſed Apaſſi, and the ſtates, then met at Hermanſtadt, that, rejecting the aga's propoſal, and deſpiſing his threats, they, on the 9th of May, 1688, abſolutely renounced all obedience to the Othmân Porte; and confirmed the treaty made with the duke of Lorrain. Hereby they put themſelves under the emperor's protection, and received his forces into their garriſon places, on condition, that their privileges, and the exerciſe of their religion, ſhould be confirmed to them [b].

Alba Regalis ſurrenders.

The wazîr Tekkiurdâghi Moſtafa Paſhâ, either through fear of the Germans, or leſt the ſoltân, in his abſence, ſhould be perſuaded to put him to death, declined the command of the army; and appointed Rejeb Paſhâ ſeraſkier of Hungary. But, before the Othmân forces took the field, the garriſon of Alba Regalis, which had been blocked up all the winter by the Imperialiſts, ſurrendered on the 19th of Rajeb. May 8, 1688, Caraffa had taken the city of Lippa by ſtorm, and the caſtle yielded in a few days. Soon after he reduced Solmoz and Logoſh, or

[a] Cant. p. 355, & ſeqq. & Ricaut.

[b] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

Lagos. That general, who commanded the Imperial army in the elector of Bavaria's absence, after he had taken Illok and Peterwaradin from the Turks, sent Wallis and Heusler to seize Tiral, a castle on the river Tibiskus, or Teisse; which being vigorously pressed, the garrison surrendered, on the 28th of Ramazân, with leave to depart[c].

Yeghen Pashâ's fear. Mean time Yeghen Bey was on his march to oppose the elector of Bavaria, who commanded the Imperial army (the duke of Lorrain being then sick), and designed to besiege Belgrade; but, before he reached that city, he returned to Sofia, declaring it impossible for him to keep such numerous forces in obedience, unless he had the seal and the prophet's standard. However, on news of the enemy's approach, he marched back to Belgrade; where all the forces in those parts submitted to his command, as general of Hungary. After this, he seized on Hassan Pashâ, on account of an old quarrel, and would have strangled him, but for the son of the khân of Tartary. Then, with ten thousand men joined to Tekeli's troops, he resolved to pass the Save, and encamp at Semlin on the other side: but, upon information, that prince Lewis of Baden, in conjunction with Caprara, had marched towards Illock, they changed their resolution, and sent letters by two peasants to the Imperial generals at Essek, to intercede with the emperor for peace. But the messengers, appearing more like spies than ambassadors, were imprisoned; and no notice was taken of what they came about: soon after, they seized Illok, as before mentioned.

The Turks defeated. In the interim, prince Lewis of Baden arriving at Possega, capital of Sclavonia, was perplexed how to pass the Save at Proot, where its banks were guarded by two thousand Turks: but Hofskirkin and Serini, passing the river in barges with five hundred Heyduks, and three hundred dragoons, routed the enemy. Then more troops ferrying over, they fortified the place. Three days after their passage, Topal Pâsha arrived with eight thousand Turks, and, at midnight, attacked the Germans; who, though but thirteen hundred in all, repulsed them with vigour. Being a second time attacked, they killed five hundred; then receiving a reinforcement, they sallied on the Turks, and beat them out of their trenches, killing seven hundred, and taking their baggage; after which exploit they set fire to the place and retired.

The elector of Bavaria, being arrived at the Save, was informed that the Othmân army, consisting of twenty-five

[c] Cant. p. 358.

thou-

thouſand men, lay intrenched on the other ſide of that river, with a deſign to obſtruct his paſſage. Tekeli alſo was poſted with a ſtrong body, in order to receive them at their landing. It was therefore agreed to alarm the Turks that night in divers places, whilſt the generals Serini, Strium, and Aſpremont, ſhould endeavour to paſs at ſome diſtance, with ſix thouſand men. This paſſage was effected without oppoſition: but, at day-break, they were attacked by eight thouſand janizaries, of whom ſix hundred were cut off. During this engagement, which laſted two hours, a bridge was thrown acroſs the river, and the whole army croſſed the ſame day. The Imperialiſts having gained this difficult point, the Turks quitted their trenches, aud fled; while the elector marched towards Belgrade, which was three days diſtant [d].

Belgrade beſieged.

The way being opened to Belgrade by the reduction of Tiral, or Titul, the elector of Bavaria marched thither with the army; and, having repulſed the Turks, who, at the iſle of Sabats, oppoſed his paſſage over the Save, proceeded to attack the ſeraſkier, who had encamped round the place; but that general, not caring to wait his approach, ſet fire to his camp, and the lower part of the city; and retired to Semendria. The Germans arriving, inveſted Belgrade on all ſides; and having demoliſhed the walls, on the 11th of Zio'lkaadeh, or Auguſt 26th, gave a general aſſault. After a ſharp battle of ſix hours, the Turks were driven from the walls, and retreated to the caſtle; but with ſo little circumſpection, that the Germans, mixing with them, ſeized the gate, where a fiercer battle than the former enſued; in which, it is ſaid, the whole garriſon, conſiſting of nine thouſand men, were put to the ſword [e].

A general aſſault, in four places.

Ricaut ſays, the elector himſelf commanded in the front; the prince de Commercy on the right; general Heuſler on the left; and Pini, ſerjeant-major of the regiment of Lorrain, in the quarter near the water. The aſſailants entered the ditch with much bravery, through ſhowers of bullets; and made themſelves maſters of the breach. From the top hereof they were diſmayed with the ſight of another more difficult ditch, well palliſadoed on the farther ſide, as well as with the loſs of their leader count Scaffenberg, the counts Emanuel of Fuſtinberg, and Henrik of Staremberg. In effect, the Germans be-

[d] Ricaut, ubi ſupra. [e] Cant. p. 358, & ſeqq.

gan to give ground; and the advantage muſt have been loſt, had not the brave elector expoſed himſelf on the breach, and threatened death to any who ſhould offer to retire. The ſoldiers awed, and animated by the example of their general, deſcended into the ſecond ditch, and mounted to the palliſades with ſuch ſurpriſing boldneſs, that the Turks fled; and, crowding into the caſtle, which was ſeparated from the town only by a bridge, hung out a white flag: but ſome of the moſt deſperate aſſailants got in after them, and put all to the ſword.

The city taken. They entered with the like ſucceſs in the other quarters; though in that of Commercy one hundred dragoons were cut off; and general Heuſler had his thumb carried away by a muſket ball: nevertheleſs, he boldly, with his ſoldiers, in ſpite of the enemy's fire, ſcaled the walls, and made himſelf maſter of an iron gate, by which they got into the town; where the Germans were inſatiable in their ſlaughter, putting all to the ſword without diſtinction. They would have ſlain the paſhâ, the aga of the janizaries, and other officers who had retired into a ſmall trench behind the caſtle, if the elector's clemency had not interpoſed [g].

Succeſs in Boſnia. After Belgrade was reduced, the Turkiſh ambaſſadors arrived in the Imperial camp; and declared that they came to ſettle a peace, as well as to notify the election of Soltân Solymân: but the elector told them, he was ſent only to conquer Servia and Belgaria, and that if they had any thing to propoſe to the emperor, they muſt proceed to Vienna.

The poſhâ defeated. The prince of Baden had no leſs ſucceſs in Boſnia; where having defeated a conſiderable body of Turks who oppoſed his paſſage of the river Unna, he purſued them ſo briſkly, that they abandoned Gradiſka and Koſtaniza. On the 10th of Zio'lkaadeh, or Auguſt the 15th, he was met at the little city of Brod by the pâſhâ of that province, with the whole army, which he routed with conſiderable ſlaughter [h].

The Raſcians ſubmit. Thus ended the campaign in Hungary; after which the elector of Bavaria was recalled to defend his own territories which were threatened by the king of France; who was incenſed at the choice made of prince Joſeph Clement of Bavaria, to be elector of Cologn, in prejudice of cardinal Furſtemberg, whoſe intereſt he reſolved to ſupport by force of arms. The command of the Imperial army

[g] Ricaut, ubi ſupra. [h] Cant. p. 359.

devolved

devolved on mareſchal Caprara, who marched from Belgrade, and took poſſeſſion of Semendria, the capital of Servia, and Poſkarowert, a ſmall town; both abandoned by the Turks. Theſe ſucceſſes induced the Raſcians to ſubmit to the emperor: having made up a body of twenty thouſand men, they ſurpriſed Waolva and Zolkolova, both on the Drina, killed a thouſand Turks, and routed the reſt. Mean while, twelve thouſand of the enemy, moſt of them rabble, waſted and plundered the country about the Morava; but were ſoon diſperſed by general Heuſler. The inhabitants of thoſe parts, provoked by their inſolence, took up arms, and ſeizing on the city of Uziga, killed five hundred Turks, and made two thouſand priſoners.

By this time prince Lewis of Baden, having fortified Prout and Gradiſka, marched towards Bertzka, the only place unſubdued in Boſnia, on whoſe approach the Turks abandoned the town. Prince Lewis, having in about nine weeks reduced that whole province, was called home to reſiſt the French, and left Picolomini to oppoſe the pâſhâ of Boſnia, who was raiſing forces in thoſe parts. *Boſnia ſubdued.*

Tekeli, reinforced by a party of Turks and Tatars, ravaged the borders of Walakhia and Tranſilvania; but on the approach of four thouſand Raſcians haſtily retreated, and endeavoured by letter to draw over the Tranſilvanians, telling them, they muſt by that time have experienced the inſolence of the Germans; and that now was the juncture to redeem themſelves and poſterity from the barbarous ſlavery they lay under [o]. *Tekeli retreats.*

In the mean time, the Venetians carried on the war in other parts with more variable fortune. In the Morea, the ſeraſkier was before them in the field, and obliged the garriſon of Athens to abandon the city with great loſs. Their army ſoon after marched to Egribuz, or Negropont; and paſſing the narrow ſea which divides the iſland from the continent, laid cloſe ſiege to the city; but were obliged, by the diſagreement of their own officers, and bravery of the beſieged, to retreat with loſs; on which, the valiant general count Koningſmark, to whom the Venetians owe almoſt all the victories gained in the Morea, fell ſick, and died [p]. *Venetian ſucceſſes.*

But neither of theſe aſſertions is fact, if we may depend on the Chriſtian hiſtorians, who are very particular in their account of this unfortunate ſiege. According to *Negropont beſieged.*

[o] Ricaut, ubi ſupr. [p] Cant. p. 359.

them, the captain-general Francisco Morosini, newly elected doge of Venice, resolving to besiege Negropont (S), set sail with the fleet, and on the 14th of July landed eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse. The city was garrisoned by six thousand men; its walls lined with earth, well fortified on all sides with bastions, forts, mines, and cannon: on the right hand of the bridge the Turks had raised a battery, and pitched their tents along the side of the aqueducts; and, on the left hand, had formed a line of communication between the suburbs and a hill, which had a battery commanding the sea, where Mostafa Pâshâ, one of the governors, was posted; the other, called Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, defended the outworks. There were besides, divers other trenches, in different forms, strengthened with pallisades, and a deep ditch, thirty paces long, reaching to the gate of the city, and covered with a horn-work. Below the mills, was another battery of three pieces of great cannon, which commanded the shore. Every work had some soldiers to defend it, who were skilled in throwing bombs and other fireworks. As a farther security, the seraskier of the Morea lay six miles off, with four thousand men. The Venetians prosecuted the siege with much vigour; and attacking the enemy's trenches, drove the Turks into the town with great slaughter. They even took possession of the suburbs; which, however, they could not keep. The place was so strong in itself, and so well supported by the garrison and covering forces, that the season insensibly slept away, and a malignant fever made great havock in the army of the besiegers.

General assault.

The Venetian forces, daily diminished by diseases and the sword, the gallies of Mâlta and Tuscany now left them also; yet, far from abandoning the siege, they resolved on a general assault, which was deemed practicable; and, on the 12th of October, began it about ten in the morning, with eight thousand men in four several places; but the besieged poured such vollies of small shot upon the troops appointed to storm the breach, that, after many officers and soldiers were killed, they sounded a retreat, not being supported by those who were to have assisted them. No better success attended the other attacks. In one place, they found the entrance into the town ob-

(S) It was anciently called Khalcis, and is seated on the famous Eurippus, or Narrow Channel, between the Isle and Greece, which ebbs and flows, at certain seasons, many times in twenty-four hours.

structed

ſtructed by a very ſteep deſcent; in another, the town being inacceſſible without, they ſtood in the ditch up to the middle in water, expoſed to the enemy's ſhot. The attack laſted for ſeveral hours, in which they loſt above a thouſand men, and divers officers. The gallies alſo ſuffered much on this occaſion.

It was now found impracticable, from the decreaſe of their troops, to make another attack; but, to avoid the ſhame of quitting the ſiege, after conſuming all the ſummer before the place, it was propoſed in council to continue there all winter; but the foreign troops declaring they would not ſtay, the ſiege was raiſed, with the loſs of many in getting away [q]. *The ſiege raiſed.*

Thus ended the unfortunate ſiege of Negropont. On the other hand, the Venetians had better ſucceſs in Dalmatia, where Kain, of which Steaglik, the depoſed ſofâ of Boſnia, was governor, with ſeveral thouſand ſoldiers, was taken; beſides the caſtles of Verlikka, Quonigrad, and Graſſach [r]. On the 17th of Auguſt, Klin was inveſted by the procurator Girolamo Cornaro; and a breach being made in the outer wall, the Venetians became maſters of it by the 2d of September, the beſieged retiring within the ſecond. By the 4th, ſeveral new batteries were raiſed; and the defendants magazine of power was blown up by a bomb. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, they maintained the caſtle and lower town with great reſolution. At length, the regiments of Corbon and Sebenica being ordered to croſs a water, which was all the defence the town had on that ſide, the ſoldiers ſwam over with their ſwords in their mouths, while the Turks retired from their intrenchment into the caſtle. The beſiegers, thus left in poſſeſſion of it, preſently cut off the pipes, and deſtroyed the aqueducts which conveyed water to the caſtle. Hereupon the pâſhâ, on the 12th of September, ſurrendered at mercy. *Klin taken.*

General Cornaro having a deſign upon Narento, an ancient port, where formerly commodities arrived from Thrace, Servia, Boſnia, and other parts, ſailed with his forces to the town of Narim, built three years before at the mouth of the harbour; there landing ſome troops, and battering the place from a galley, the garriſon fled; moſt of them were killed, and the reſt taken by the Morlâks, who afterwards ravaged the country, and returned with great plunder [s]. *Narim deſerted.*

[q] Ricaut. ubi ſupr. [r] Cant. ubi ſupr. [s] Ricaut. ubi ſupr.

Turkish proposals.

In the interim, the Turkish ambassadors repaired to Vienna, and being introduced to the emperor Leopold, in the name of the soltân, presented the letters, informing him of Solyman's election, but made no mention of peace, in hopes the Germans would first propose it, and so render the negociation more easy. When they found themselves baulked in their expectation, they offered to his Imperial Majesty his choice of a short truce, or a peace; that, in case he desired the former, all Hungary should continue in his hands; Transilvania be tributary to both empires; Kameniek dismantled, be restored to the Poles; and Belgrade to the Turks; but if a peace was more agreeable, some part of Hungary, with Belgrade, should be restored to the Othmân empire.

Demands of the confederate princes obstructed by France.

Leopold, having consulted with the ambassadors of the other confederate powers, made answer, that although, from the present state of things, he had great hopes, not only of recovering the rest of Hungary, but also of subduing the whole Turkish empire, yet he was ready to agree to a peace, provided the kingdom of Hungary, with the provinces belonging thereto, Sclavonia, Kroatia, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, and Transilvania, should be resigned to him; Moldavia and Walakhia remain free; the exercise of the Romish religion permitted throughout the Turkish empire; the Franciscan friars put in possession of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem; and Tekeli delivered up to him. The Poles demanded, that the ancient boundaries of their kingdom should be restored; and all Krîm Tartary, Moldavia, Walakhia, and the whole country extending on both sides of the Borysthenes as far as the Danube, resigned to them; and to shew themselves greater friends to religion than the other confederates, they insisted, that all the Christians, who lived under the Othmân government, should be freed from tribute. Lastly, the Venetians, besides the Morea, the several isles and cities elsewhere already in their possession, laid claim to the sea-coast of Negropont from Korcyra to Korinth; and part of Dalmatia, with the demolition of the havens of Dulcigno and Antivari.

The ambassadors immediately informed Solymân of the answer they had received; and, undoubtedly, the peace would have been settled, had not the most Christian king, jealous of the great advantages which the Christians had gained against the Othmân empire, proclaimed war, without any just cause, against Leopold, advising the soltân, by his ambassador Chateauneuf, not to make peace with the emperor

emperor (T); for that he (the French king) would next year penetrate into the heart of Germany, and had actually four hundred thouſand men ready for that expedition. He added, that if the event ſhould anſwer his wiſhes, he would reſerve to himſelf all Germany, with Vienna, its capital, but reſtore Hungary to the ſoltân. Theſe encouraging promiſes reviving the ſpirits of the Turks, Solymân neglected his ambaſſadors (U), whom he ſent to ſue for peace, and thought of nothing but war.

Rebellion ſuppreſſed.

He firſt exerted all his endeavours to ſettle affairs at home. As ſoon as the Germans were retired to winter-quarters, he ſent the greater part of his forces againſt Eghen Ozmân Pâſhâ and Gyeduk Pâſhâ, who had almoſt the whole year diſturbed the Othmân empire, which was freed from this danger by his army's taking the two rebels priſoners.

Yeghen ſlain.

According to Ricaut, Yeghen Pâſhâ, after his flight from Belgrade, quarrelled with Noraddin Gâlgu, ſon of the khan of Tartary; who thereupon calling him coward, and ſaying he was fitter to command thieves than ſoldiers, Yeghen ordered him to be ſtrangled before ſeveral Tatar lords. On complaint of this outrage at the Othmân court, the wazîr endeavoured to palliate the matter in favour of Yeghen; who, when he was janizar âga, had ſaved his life in a mutiny. But the khân himſelf arriving at Adrianople, to conſult about the operations of the enſuing campaign, ſo warmly urged the affair, that Yeghen was by the divan ſentenced to be put to death. On this occaſion he flew into open rebellion, wrote to his old maſter Yedik to revolt in Aſia, and plundered the country; but the pâſhâ of Sofia being ordered to take him dead or alive, he fled into Albania, to his old friend Mahmûd Bey Ogli; who, having been before gained by the Porte, cut off his head, and ſent it to the ſoltân.

Gyedûk's ſucceſs.

Mean while the followers of Yedik, or Gyedûk, increaſing in Aſia, the miniſtry, to pacify them, promiſed

(T) Likewiſe, by tranſmitting vaſt ſums into Poland, he ſo far corrupted the avaritious king, that, though he did not quit the alliance, yet he uſually took care to come no ſooner into the field than it was time to leave it. Ricaut.

(U) Ricaut ſays, that the ambaſſadors having propoſed to Leopold the quiet poſſeſſion of all he had conquered, the emperor, by what fatality our author knew not, not only rejected this, but, contrary to the cuſtom of nations, impriſoned them in the caſtle of Puffendorf, near Vienna, for ſome years.

to

to employ them in the Hungarian war, and make Yeghen their general; but as soon as news was brought of that rebel's death, the mind of the Porte altered; and orders were sent to the kaymaykân, not only to prevent the Asiatics from passing into Europe, but also to destroy them in their own country. Accordingly he attacked, and defeated a large body of them near Skutari: yet this assurance did not discourage Yekid, who, with six thousand men, marched towards Prusa; and, having defeated the pâshâ of that place, with the nesirân, or *miltia*, caused himself to be proclaimed king of Anatolia. After this step he laid siege to Angora, Enguri, or Ancyra, which was forced to redeem itself by the payment of eighty purses, each containing five hundred dollars.

He is killed. Hereupon the Turkish court returned to their old method of fair promises, assuring Yedik and his accomplices both of pardon and reward, in case they would return to their duty. But this assurance had no effect; for under pretence of zeal for religion, which they alleged was corrupted by the then governors, they summoned all the inhabitants of Anatolia to defend the faith. At length, the beglerbeg of that province being honoured with the title of teftish, or inquisitor, first exposed to the people the perfidious designs of Yedik against the faith; and then, with six thousand choice men, attacked his camp with such success, that he gained a complete victory. Most of the commanders were either slain (among whom was Yedik), or taken; and the men who survived the battle, were suffered to return to their respective homes. In the mean time, Rejeb Pâshâ was made seraskier, in the room of Yeghen; whose nephew, with forty of his followers, and the governor of Widdin put in by Yeghen, being taken, were put to death [u].

Affairs of the Morea. The domestic enemies being thus suppressed, the soltân was more at liberty to prepare against his foreign foes. And first, in order to secure the southern provinces against the Venetian arms, he set free Liberius Gheralkhari (W),

[u] Ricaut, ubi supr.

(W) Better known to Europeans by the name of Liberaki, which is a corruption of Liberius, according to the manner of the Greeks. He was a native of Mania, the ancient Laconia. He in his youth served in the Venetian fleet; then turned pilot for several years: but at length being taken by the Turks, was sent to the gallies.

who

who had been confined in the gallies; and appointed him prince of Mania, or the Maynottæ. He was induced to this measure, partly by the success of his arms in Moldavia, which convinced him that a Christian governor was best suited to keep his Christian subjects in obedience; partly, by the assurances of Liberius, that all the people of the Morea were alienated from the Venetians, for endeavouring to force on them the Romish religion; and that therefore, they would soon submit again to the Othmân dominion, in case a prince of the Greek church should be made governor of that province.

These previous steps being taken, Solymân, in order to terrify the enemy, and animate his own soldiers, declared, that he would command the army in person against the Germans; and having raised a numerous body of forces, marched towards Servia, as if he intended to besiege Belgrade: but being informed at Sofia, that Seghedwar or Sigeth, famous for the martyrdom of Soleymân I. had been forced by famine to surrender; and the imperial army, which, he imagined, had been wholly employed against the French, was marching from Belgrade against him with great expedition; he, in a fright, stopt at Sofia, and left the army to the conduct of the Seraskier Rejeb Pâshâ, with orders not rashly to hazard a battle, but only prevent the progress of the enemy. The seraskier being come to the river Morava, in sight of the Germans, and deceived by his astrologer, who, from his observation of the stars, promised him certain victory, bravely attacked them; but was obliged to retire, with great loss, to Nissa. Yet his eyes were so far from being opened by this misfortune, that having recruited his forces, he engaged them a second time, depending on the predictions of the same astrologer; however being quickly defeated, and almost his whole army destroyed, he escaped with a few followers, perceiving, too late, the vanity of his superstition. After this victory the Germans over-ran at once all Servia, took Widdîn, Nissa, Shehirkioi, and burned Siopia, a city of Bulgaria *.

Hej. 1100. A.D. 1688.

Sedhedwar taken.

The seraskier routed.

According to the forgoing account of the seraskier's defeat, the reader would be apt to conclude, that the Turks were much inferior to the Imperialists in number; whereas, if the Christian writers may be credited, they had the advantage of two or three to one. Prince Lewis of Baden, having reinforced Belgrade with two thousand foot, and

* Cant. p. 360, & seqq.

fortified

fortified Semendria, advanced with his army to the neighbourhood of Morava: but understanding the Turks retreated on the 2d of August, he pursued them towards Nissa with the rest of his army, which consisted only of eighteen thousand men; whereas the enemy amounted to forty thousand, besides irregulars. They had not marched far, before their out-guards were attacked by a body of Tatars; two of whom being taken, informed them, that a great body of Turks and Tatars under Soltân Galga, the khân's son, designed to attack them on one side near Passarovitz, while the seraskier inclosed them on the other side, with an army of fifty thousand men, in order to cut off their provisions. The prince in consequence of this discovery, resolved to dislogde the seraskier, who was encamped within two hours march, and, on the 29th of August, advanced against him. On this unexpected motion the Turks retreated for three hours; when coming to a pass, they stood their ground, but were soon routed, and dispersed in the woods, with the loss of four hundred horse and twelve standards. Many were killed afterwards by the hussars; and the roads strewed with arms and cloaths, which to escape the better, they threw away.

The Turks routed.

Encouraged by this success, owing chiefly to the conduct of the generals Veterani and Picolomini, the prince repassed the Morava, in order to attack Soltân Galga encamped with his Tatars beyond that river, before he could join with the Turkish cavalry so lately defeated. As the road lay by a very narrow passage through a thick wood, half an hour's march in length, which opened into a small plain, five hundred men were sent under count Solaro to secure that passage. In this service they were opposed by three thousand janizaries, and a strong body of horse. But general Heisler coming to their assistance, so advantageously posted himself within the woods and thick bushes, that he maintained the pass till next morning; when prince Lewis advanced with his main force in a great fog, and posted himself before the wood. On the right hand, he was sheltered by thickets, and bushy grounds almost impassable, and his left wing extended to the bank of the Morava.

The Tartars pursued.

But before the cavalry could arrive, the fog dissipated, and unexpectedly discovered the whole Turkish army drawn up in order of battle, just fronting the Imperial infantry; which the Turks instantly attacked with such unusual violence, that prince Lewis had scarce time to range his second line in a posture of defence. The Imperialists

Join the Turks.

perialiſts ſtood the ſhock from their great and ſmall ſhot, with much firmneſs; then being in a condition to act on the offenſive, the fight grew very hot for two hours together within piſtol-ſhot; when the muſic of the cavalry, which now came up, ſounding without the foreſt, the enemy was ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they retreated into the neighbouring wood, and thence into a plain behind it, where they entrenched themſelves. Here being followed by the Imperialiſts, the cannon was played hotly on both ſides for an hour and a half; after which, the Turks retired to another trench encompaſſed with a ditch of water, and acceſſible only in one place.

Both armies routed.

Count Palfi was ordered with his regiment to enter the wood, and ſound all his warlike inſtruments, in order to make the enemy believe ſome great body was advancing to fall on their rear, while count Picolomini with the van attacked them in front. This ſervice he performed with ſuch reſolution, in ſpite of their cannon, that they preſently quitted that poſt alſo, and retreated in diſorder through the woods, followed by the Imperialiſts; who would have made a dreadful ſlaughter, had not the ways been narrow and unknown: however they purſued them to their camp at Pataſchin, which they abandoned, leaving behind all their artillery (X), ammunition, proviſion, and baggage. In their way to Jagodina on the Morava, whither they fled in great diſorder, numbers of them were cut off by the Hungarians and Raſcians; who brought alſo to the camp many priſoners, and thirty-ſix pieces of cannon of the largeſt ſize [x].

Battle of Niſſa.

The prince, after he had refreſhed his forces, began his march to Niſſa, twenty leagues diſtant, through woods and mountains. The Turks had ſtill moſt of their army entire, and were beſides reinforced with twenty thouſand men; yet on his approach, the ſeraſkier quitted that city, and encamped near it by the ſide of the Niſſava. The prince encamped within a league of Niſſa, near a little river which falls into the Niſſava; and on the 24th of September, about five in the evening, poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſides of the hill over the enemy's camp, in ſpite of all their oppoſition. This aim being accompliſhed, leſt the Turks ſhould fortify their camp in the night, he reſolved to attack

[x] Ricaut, ubi ſupr.

(X) One hundred and five braſs cannon, and three mortars.

tack them immediately: extending his right wing towards the foot of the hill, and his left along the plain to the banks of the Niſſava. The ſeraſkier hereupon cauſed the greater part of his cavalry, drawn up on the declivity of the hill, to charge the infantry of the left wing of the Imperialiſts; but the Turks ſeeing them advance with their cannon in front, wheeled about towards the right wing; and attacked them at the foot of the hill on the flank, which could not be ſecured.

The Turks overthrown.

This charge produced ſome confuſion among the huſſars; but they being timely ſupported by other troops, the Turkiſh horſe muſt have been routed, had not ſome of their own troops fired on them, and forced them to ſtand their ground. However, the main body under Heiſler being ordered to attack the enemy on the hill, after a long conflict gained the top; whither the duke of Croy, who commanded towards the river, ſoon after arriving, the Turks were quickly driven from thence with great ſlaughter. Notwithſtanding this, the enemy's horſe rallying again in the plains, made another vigorous aſſault on the left wing, but were repulſed; when the janizaries, who were making new trenches, fired on them, and forced them to ſtand another charge, which they did with great firmneſs againſt the huſſars. Theſe, being ſuccoured by the regiment of Caprara, at laſt forced them entirely to quit the field, and furiouſly purſued them to their very camp. Mean while another party of Turkiſh horſe attacked their main body; but count Staremberg coming to their aſſiſtance, the enemy was put to a diſorderly flight, and purſued till night.

In this action ten thouſand Turks were killed, and not above three hundred Germans; a circumſtance the more ſurpriſing, as the former were reckoned to amount to eighty thouſand, the latter to a little more than a fifth part of that number. The booty too was very great, conſiſting of thirty pieces of cannon, many thouſands of tents, and divers ſtandards, beſides ſtore of proviſion.

After this ſecond victory prince Lewis ordered Niſſa to be ſtrongly fortified, and ſent out a detachment, which having advanced as far as Dragoman, within four hours of Sofia, brought word that the Turks had deſerted the fortreſs of Moſtafa Pâſhâ Palanka, and other caſtles in that abandoned country. The news of this great defeat was carried to court by Moſtafa Aga, who had been ſent thither with letters by Julfigar, the Turkiſh ambaſſador

Tekeli defeated.

baſſador at Vienna, and detained for ſome months by prince Lewis. Mean while this general being informed that Orſowa and Fetiſlau were burnt, and Tekeli, with ſome Turkiſh troops, was encamped near Widdin, where he had a ſtately houſe, he reſolved to return that way to the Danube and defeat him. Accordingly, ſetting out October 4th, with but a few forces, on the 14th he came unexpectedly on the enemy; who haſtily getting in order of battle to the number of twelve thouſand men, maintained a doubtful fight for ſome time with unuſual bravery, but at length was routed, leaving one thouſand ſlain, with a great quantity of ammunition and proviſion. The caſtle refuſing to ſurrender, was ſo battered, that on the 19th the beſieged, to the number of two thouſand five hundred and fifty-nine capitulated to be convoyed to Nikopolis, whither Tekeli had fled before the battle. The reduction of Widdin was the more important, as it ſecured all the country gained by the two laſt victories, and cut off relief from Temeſwaer and other Turkiſh garriſons in Hungary. *Widdin taken.*

Adminiſtration of Ahmed Kyoprili, with the Recovery of Belgrade, and other Conqueſts.

UPON the news of theſe misfortunes, Solymân haſtened from Soſia to Adrianople, and returned an anſwer, till then deferred, to his ambaſſadors at the German court; ordering them to inſiſt only on the reſtoration of Belgrade, without mentioning the other provinces of Hungary; but Maurocordatus finding ſuch things could not be propoſed, concealed his orders, and pretended the ſoltân would not give up any thing, excepting what he had before mentioned. Yet afterwards, being reminded by his colleague, that both their lives would be in danger if they ſhould be found to have neglected the ſoltân's commands, he communicated the real ſtate of the affair to the emperor, and received ſuch an anſwer as he expected; for although Leopold, who was unable to carry on the war with ſucceſs againſt two enemies, would gladly have made a truce upon terms, yet he was obliged to put off the affair till another time, becauſe the Turkiſh ambaſſadors had not full power to make peace, and he thought it diſhonourable, after ſo many victories, to ſend any of his own to the Porte, as it were to ſue for an accommodation. *The treaty renewed; but put off.*

Thus

Thus great advantages were loſt, never to be procured again, only to preſerve a triſling punctilio. Soltân Solymân, before he left Sofia, with conſent of his council, had agreed to almoſt all the demands of the confederates; and cauſed inſtructions to be drawn up for his ambaſſador, to the following purpoſe: that he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure a peace, and give no ear to the French promiſes; that he ſhould labour to perſuade the emperor to reſtore Belgrade, and make it the limit of both dominions; that, in caſe of any ſcruple, he ſhould firſt offer Kaniſia, then Giula, Temeſwaer, or elſe Great Waradin, inſtead of it; that, to content the Poles, he ſhould propoſe to demoliſh Kaminiek; and, if that would not do, to ſurrender it. Laſtly, as to the Venetians, that they ſhould keep what they had taken, and no mention be made of Negropont. Theſe inſtructions were carried back by Moſtaſa Aga, who brought the letters from the ambaſſador [y].

Ruſſians beſiege Or.

Mean while the two armies in Poland did nothing but ſhew themſelves to each other, being divided by the river Tyras or Neiſter. But the czars of Ruſſia raiſing four hundred thouſand men, ſent them, with fourteen hundred cannon, under the conduct of Baſilius Galliczin, againſt the Tatars. Yet theſe vaſt preparations were rendered uſeleſs by the czar's own regiment, which revolted while the Ruſſians were beſieging the city Or, commonly called Prækop (Y); and by drawing into their party many of the moſt conſiderable officers, the army was forced to return home without ſucceſs. In their retreat they were attacked by the Tatars, and ſuffered a great loſs in the rear. At their return Peter Alexiowitz, who then reigned alone, making a ſtrict enquiry into the ſedition, ſhut up his ſiſter, who had been the chief cauſe of the rebellion, in a monaſtery, baniſhed Galliczin, as privy to the conſpiracy, to Archangel, and confiſcated his eſtate; ordered twelve thouſand Strelitzes to be ſlain like wild beaſts publickly in the market-places and ſtreets, and having aboliſhed this military order, formed a regular militia after the manner of other Chriſtian princes.

Obliged to retreat.

y Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

(Y) It ſtands on the iſthmus, which gives entrance to the peninſula of Krim, called from thence, by ſome, Precopenſian Tartary.

In

In the Morea this year the Venetians beſieged Monembaſſia, or Malvaſia, while Liberaki, lately made prince of that country, attempted to relieve the city, but was repulſed with loſs[z]. The operations of the ſiege were proſecuted under the auſpices of the doge, Moroſini; but the place was ſo ſtrong, and ſo well defended, that after many unſucceſsful efforts, the ſiege was turned into a blockade, and the doge ſailed back to Venice.

Affairs of Albania.

Count Picolomini, who commanded in Albania, ſent word in October to prince Lewis, that all the Albanians having ſubmitted to him, he intended ſoon to ſubdue the country from Skutari to Novibazâr, but wanted forces; hereupon the prince ſent him three regiments under the prince of Hanover. With this reinforcement he marched from Procopia to Priſtina and Klin, where ſix thouſand Arnauds, or Albanians, met him with thirteen hundred carts of proviſions. Thus ſupplied, he advanced to Kazianek, a little city with a caſtle; from whence he marched to Scopia, or Uſkopia. The Greek and Turkiſh inhabitants had abandoned it, and fled to Mahmûd Pâſhâ, who was encamped in a valley with ten thouſand men. But theſe were ſo terriſied at the bare ſhouts of the Germans, and the noiſe of their cannon, which they fired for joy, that they fled alſo in great confuſion into the woods, where many were killed by the huſſars, and two thouſand carts recovered which had been preſſed in the country to carry off the inhabitants into ſlavery.

Places reduced.

Picolomini marching forward, burned the ancient ſeat of Ladiſlaus Cziocchi, and then returned to Kazianek, where his diſtemper, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the plague, greatly increaſed. From thence he removed to Panni, where he heard that the governor of Pyroth having invaded the enemy's country, and defeated a party of fifteen hundred Turks encamped near Dragoman before mentioned, ſome hours from Soſia, was afterwards defeated by ſeveral larger bodies who came againſt him. After much fatigue he arrived at the city of Proſſerin, where he was met by the archbiſhop of Albania, and patriarch of Klementa, with eight thouſand Arnauds, both Greeks and Turks, who came to ſubmit. Soon after this period the brave count departed this life, to the unſpeakable grief of the whole army, the command of which devolved on Veterani.

[z] Cant. p. 363.

Kyoperli made wazîr.

About the end of this campaign, Soltân Solymân labouring under a dropsy, by advice of his physicians removed from Adrianople to his other capital, where he put to death Rejeb Pâshâ, seraskier of Hungary, for fighting with the Germans contrary to his orders. He likewise banished the wazîr, Tesekiar Daghi Mostafa Pâshâ, to Malgara, a little town near Rodostus, as a man unqualified either for war or the administration of affairs, and advanced in his room Kioperli Mostafa Pâshâ, kaymakan of Constantinople. The new wazîr immediately sent for the mufti and kadio'laskers, with the rest of the ulemi, and generals of the army, who being met, he ordered the interpreters of the law to give their opinion, whether it was proper to desire peace of the Germans, or recover by force what the confederates had unjustly seized? The mufti first declared, that it was not contrary to the divine law to desire peace, even of infidels, in times of necessity. The same opinion was embraced by the Rumeli kadio'lasker; but the Anadol kadio'lasker (Z), either by the wazîr's instigation, or because he saw his provinces out of danger, asserted it was more eligible, that all the Mussulmans should perish by the sword than to make eynallak with the Gyawrs; since thereby the honour of the prophet and the Korân would be wounded.

Speech in council.

The wazîr, Kyoperli, in approbation of this speech, declared, that as often as he had considered the conduct of the ministry for seven years past, against the emperor of Germany, he could not sufficiently wonder at the imprudence of the Othmân generals, the blindness of the counsellors, and the fearful or perverse minds of the interpreters of the law; that the two first minded nothing but to raise large armies, and fill the treasury by any means; while the ulema, content with their stipends, and preferring ease to labour, never concerned themselves whether the Othmân state was well administered, or thought of reforming the vices of the people, which were the source of all the present calamities; but immediately approved of the proposals of peace, and almost forced it on the Mussulmâns. That when God, still more provoked by this infidelity, debarred them of peace upon honourable terms, they returned to their old practice, and cast the blame due to the subjects upon the emperor; that having obtained their ends, they foretold the soldiers, at their departure, out of the law, that the Gyawrs would

Censures former ministers.

(Z) That is the kadio'laskers, or *military lord chief justices* of Europe and Anatolia, or Asia Minor.

be

be driven from the Othmân borders: that this prediction was not accompliſhed; and it was no wonder God did not aſſiſt the Muſſulmân forces, ſince good works, purity in the ſoldiers, and juſtice in the rulers, thoſe neceſſary conditions on which the prophet Mohammed promiſed them ſucceſs, had all along been wanting; that for his part, to demonſtrate the truth of what he ſpoke, he deſired only twelve thouſand true followers of the Korân, men pure in heart and mind; with whom he truſted, by God's aſſiſtance, to humble the numberleſs forces of the Gyawrs, in ſuch a manner as to oblige them to reſtore all they had taken from the Othmân empire.

and peace adviſed.

The mufti replied, that, although the wazîr had traced out the true cauſes of the corruptions, and the misfortunes conſequent thereupon, yet they could hardly be corrected by the method he propoſed; ſince the army wanted ſpirit, and the treaſury money, the ſinews of war. He added, that all people were in hopes of an approaching peace, raiſed by the letters lately ſent by the ambaſſadors at Vienna. The wazîr then aſked who were the ambaſſadors, and what peace they were ſent to make? The mufti having informed him of the whole ſtate of that affair, he was fired with indignation; and, in a long ſpeech, explained, how much the authors of that embaſſy (of whom he deemed his predeceſſor to be the principal) had acted againſt the good of the empire. At laſt, raiſing his voice aloud, he exclaimed, "I account the ambaſſadors, with thoſe who ſent them, to be Gyawrs; and, as ſuch, do I think they will be treated in the divine judgment: for no true Muſſulmân, verſed in the precepts of the Korân, could have involved the ſoltân, a prince of great mildneſs and ſimplicity, in ſo heinous and execrable a crime."

War reſolved on.

This ſtrong diſpoſition in the wazîr to war was greatly encouraged by the French ambaſſador, who poſſeſſed the whole court with ſuch a confidence in the arms of France, that a diwân being called, it was unanimouſly reſolved to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. However, that the treaty, begun at Vienna, might not ſeem to be broken off without ſome reaſon, the wazîr wrote a letter acquainting the emperor's council, "that he had heard ſome perſons were arrived at Vienna under the title of ambaſſadors from the Porte, and had propoſed terms of peace in the ſoltân's name: but that they were impoſtors, and had either forged the letters, which they pretended to have received from that prince, or procured them from the former wazîr, without the ſoltân's knowledge [b]."

[b] Cant. p. 363, & ſeq.

His artful mandate for raising soldiers;

Matters being thus settled, he prepared for an early campaign, by applying his whole care to the raising an army, and providing warlike stores. But, finding what the mufti had said to be true, that the Othmâns were seized with such terror, there were but little hopes of raising forces capable of opposing the Germans; that the treasury was exhausted, and the people every-where unwilling to perform their duty; he took a different method of levying troops from that used by his predecessors, which he executed with wonderful art and success. The former wazîrs, in their mandates, had required all persons, whose duty it was, to attend the wars; but he published a fermân, importing, "That, as he found it necessary to trust the command of the Othmân army, against the haughty Germans, to none but himself, so he would not employ, in this expedition, any soldiers forced into the service, as knowing the will was of more value with God than the deed: that he would only put the Mussulmans in mind, that, by the precepts of God, and his prophet, every one is commanded neither to avoid martyrdom, nor despair of success, in defence of the law, and the extirpation of infidels: that every Mussulman therefore, who thought himself obliged by this law, and had resolution to suffer every thing for the faith, ought to come, and list himself in his army: but that he who was doubtful, was afraid of being a martyr, or detained by affairs, which he believed would excuse him before God, from the service, should have the liberty of staying at home; where, after purging himself from all criminal actions, he ought daily to intercede with God for the army's success."

its surprising effect.

By this artful mandate both the soldiers and people of Asia were rouzed as it were from a profound sleep: for till then, whenever they were called to the wars, the greater part, for fear of the punishment threatened to the unwilling, hid themselves; and escaped the enquiry of the pâshâs, partly by gifts, and partly by artifice and false pretences. But, when they found themselves called on, from motives of religion, to war against infidels, not only those who received the pay, but others, who had been dismissed the service, prepared for the campaign, for fear of being accounted cowards, or Gyawrs, in case they staid at home. Thus what the former wazîrs could not effect by the severest threats, or by the pâshâs Kapuji and Chaush, Kyoprioli Mostafa Pâshâ accomplished without any difficulty, by one word of the Korân; and raised more numerous forces than any wazîr had assembled, since Kâra Mostafa Pâshâ.

Having

Having, by this method, raiſed an army, he converted his attention to the treaſury, which he reſolved to fill by honourable means. He found the ſtate of accounts in great confuſion. The wazîrs, and other great men, in the time of peace, had conſumed moſt part of the revenue under various pretences: they had alſo for bribes granted to ſome an exemption from tribute, and laid on others a greater burthen than they could bear. Afterwards, on the breaking out of the war, the teſterdârs had invented various ſchemes to fill their empty coffers; by which they had ſo impoveriſhed the citizens, that nothing was heard but the cries of people calling for the vengeance of God on their oppreſſors. The wazîr, with great application, rectified all thoſe abuſes; reſtored to the treaſury all the money which his predeceſſors, the pâſhâs and ſecretaries, had taken away; eſtabliſhed new laws for raiſing tribute; and ordered that no perſon of a different religion ſhould be exempted from payment. *Reforms the treaſury.*

All the money which the devotion of their anceſtors had left to the treaſurers of the jâmi, he brought into the public treaſury; and anſwered the muteveli, who called it ſacrilege, that wealth deſigned for religious uſes, ought to be employed in religious wars; adding, that it was more conducive to the Muſſulmân intereſt, to maintain with it the defenders of the holy edifices, than enemies and robbers. He reſtored to their former integrity the judicial proceedings, which till then had been almoſt entirely venal; puniſhed the judges convicted of corruption with great ſeverity; reſcued thoſe who were oppreſſed by falſe accuſations, without reſpect of perſons; and ſcreened every body from being injured. He ordered that neither corn, nor any other proviſions, ſhould be violently demanded from the ſubjects, but purchaſed with ready money at ſuch a price as they ſhould think proper. By theſe meaſures having acquired a great reputation for prudence, juſtice, and ſanctity, he prepared for the campaign; and leſt ſo many alterations might in his abſence occaſion a ſedition againſt the ſoltân, he perſuaded him to remove to Adrianople in the ſpring[c], where we ſhall leave the wazîr for a while, to ſee what was doing in the interim in Hungary. *Seizes church treaſure.* *Reforms the lawyers.*

Hitherto the imperial arms had been proſperous to a ſurpriſing degree: but now the empire being furiouſly attacked within the very bowels of it, by the arms of France,

[c] Cant. p. 365. & ſeq.

which obliged the several German princes to provide for their own security, great part of the troops who served in Hungary were called home. So that the main burden of the war fell on the emperor, which was carried on with various success, but for the most part prosperous, whilst under the auspicious direction of prince Lewis of Baden. However the year 1690 began not very favourable on Leopold's side: for the prince of Holstein, who in Veterani's absence commanded the army in Albania, hearing that the Turks ravaged the country, marched to Prisseren, or Prisfina, with some troops to meet them. From hence, on the first of January, he detached the prince of Hanover and colonel Strasser with sixteen hundred men to relieve the pass of Kassenek, besieged by the Turks; where arriving next day, they posted themselves with their backs to a morass, and planted four field-pieces against the Turks, who durst not attack them in that place: but keeping to the hills and woods, they detached one thousand Tatars into the plain, on sight of whom, Strasser, quitting his advantageous post, forced them to retreat.

Kassenek besieged.

The Germans defeated.

The Germans, being now in the open field, found themselves surrounded by thirty thousand of the enemy, against whom they maintained a battle from nine till three in the afternoon; when having spent all their powder and ammunition, they were at last totally defeated. Here the prince of Hanover, colonel Strasser, and count Solari, with most of the officers and soldiers were slain on the spot, and most of the prisoners died of their wounds. However, five or six hundred men, by favour of the night and woods, got safe to Belgrade. On the fourth, Picolomini's regiment, which was to join Strasser, under count Montecelli, having had no advice of the defeat, drew near to Kassenek, and was presently surrounded by the Tatars: but the count retreating towards a morass, over which there was a bridge, sent a lieutenant, with thirty horse, to guard the other end of it. The Tartars after some time attacked them on both sides; but the lieutenant being relieved by two companies, they defended themselves valiantly till night; under shelter of which they retired to Prisseren, and thence marched to Prokopia.

Kaniffa surrenders.

By this time Veterani, appointed general in place of Picolomini, arrived with some troops from Transilvania, at Niffa; which being a place open to the attack of the enemy, he fortified as well as he could. Mean while the pass of Kassenek surrendered: but to pass by several small advantages of this kind gained by both parties; Kaniffa was so

ſo ſtraitly blocked up, that on the 16th of March, the garriſon being greatly reduced, the pâſhâ ſent two agas to count Bathiani, offering to ſurrender, in caſe he was not relieved in four weeks. But that alternative being refuſed, on the 19th the place was ſurrendered, on condition that the inhabitants ſhould march off with their arms and moveables into the Othmân dominions. The pâſhâ himſelf brought the keys of the city in a gilded baſon, hanging on a gold chain; and delivering them to the count, ſaid, "I deliver into your hands the keys of a fortreſs, the like whereof there is none in all the Othmân empire." This ſtrong city was yielded rather through diviſions among the officers, than for want of proviſions, of which there were enough for four months. On the walls were mounted fifty-ſix braſs and ten iron cannon. There were found alſo three thouſand ſeven hundred and forty muſkets, with abundance of warlike ſtores.

Tekeli's promotion.

It would be endleſs to take notice of every little action which happened before the opening of the campaign. But it is worth obſerving, that the French ambaſſador at the Othmân court, after long ſolicitation, procured a baratz or commiſſion, declaring Tekeli prince of Tranſilvania, with the ſame power and privileges as had been granted to Bethlem Ghabor. Of this inveſtiture Tekeli gave notice by his circular letters, bearing date the 26th of June, to all the cities and provinces, forbidding them to give any aſſiſtance to the Germans; and requiring them to join with him and the Turks, who were coming to deliver their country from the terrible oppreſſion of the Imperialiſts. In effect the many troops of Tatars which had already entered Walakhia, and the increaſe of Tekeli's troops, much alarmed the German generals; ſo that all the forces in and about Tranſilvania were ordered to march under general Heuſſler towards the paſſes which lead to Walachia.

Widdin attacked.

At length, about the middle of July, the Tatars coming up the Danube, appeared before Widdin with four gallies and ſixty other veſſels, having five thouſand men on board, and began to fire on the town. On the news of this attack, general Trautmanſdorf marching with his troops to the relief of the place, ſo plied the enemy with his cannon from the bank of the Danube, that they were compelled to fall lower down the ſtream to the other ſide of the river. Having furniſhed the town with a garriſon, and proviſions out of the boats which attended him on the Tinok, he returned to the rendezvous at Jugadina.

But in August general Veterani, receiving advice that the grand wazîr was on his route towards Nissa, ordered all the troops in those parts to march to that city; where having left a garrison of three thousand foot and five hundred horse, he went back with the rest of the army, and encamped at Alexin [b]. Now let us return to the Turkish historians, and attend the motions of the grand wazîr, who, about the beginning of Shawal, 1101, marched with the whole army towards Belgrade; and being informed in his passage through Kîz Darbend (A), that several thousand Germans from that city were coming to strengthen the garrison of Nissa; he detached Selim Gyeray, khân of the Tatars, with part of the Turkish army, who falling upon them, now within sight of Nissa, soon put them to flight. This victory revived the hopes of the Othmâns; and the wazîr, to render God propitious to their arms, ordered prayers to be made without intermission, both day and night, at Constantinople, Adrianople, and in the camp. Finding likewise that there were in the army a great number of boys unfit for arms, brought by profligate persons for detestable uses, he commanded by proclamation that all boys should be sent back, and if any should be discovered with any person for the future, he should be put to death without farther examination: since that sin above all others deprived those polluted with it of the divine blessing; and the most pure God could not favour with his presence the camp where such an impurity was practised.

Hej. 1101 A.D. 1689.

The wazîr advances.

Takes Shahrkyoy and Nissa.

Having made those regulations, he marched into Servia, and assaulted Shahrkyoy, a little city, which being better fortified by nature than art, five hundred Heyduks, who were in garrison, finding no succours appear on the fourth day, surrendered the castle, on the condition of having leave to depart. When the janizaries would have plundered them, they were restrained by the threats of Kyoprili-ogli, who told them it was neither honourable nor of advantage to take away the arms of the Gyawrs, since they could not injure the Mussulmâns with them. He then admonished those Heydûks not to go to Nissa, because as he intended to besiege that city, if any of them should be found there when it was taken, they could not

[b] Ricaut, ubi supra.

(A) That is, *the Virgin's Passage* (narrow gate or gap); one of the two passages over Mount Hæmus; the other is called Kapuli Derbend, or *the Passage of the Gate*.

expect

expect to escape death. The Heydûks however, as soon as they left the Turks, retired to Nissa.

Presently after, the wazîr laid close siege to that city, which was defended by count Staremberg, with three thousand German foot and fourteen hundred horse. Although that general made a brave defence more with a view to gain the Imperialists time to secure Belgrade, than with any hopes to save the place; yet the Turks pushed the siege with such vigour, that on the 25th day the garrison surrendered on condition of going out with their arms. Some of the Shâhrkyoy Heydûks, though in disguise, being discovered by the janizaries, were forced by torture to discover all their companions, who were mixed with the German troops, and Staremberg was obliged to deliver them up to the wazîr. He hanged part, and condemned the rest to the gallies, laying the same injunction on Staremberg, and under the same penalty, not to retire to Belgrade, towards which city the wazîr marched; and having by the way taken possession of Semendria and Widdin, whose garrisons had abandoned them, came in sight of it in the mouth of Zilkaadeh [c].

Widdin taken.

While the siege of Nissa was going on, prince Lewis of Baden joined Veterani at Jagodina, where matters were concerted for the relief of that city: but news arriving of general Heusler's defeat by the seraskier and Tekeli in Transylvania, it was resolved to march thither with the greater part of the army; so that nothing could be done towards raising the siege, the Germans being then very weak in Servia. The wazîr, understanding that prince Lewis was on the retreat, and had withdrawn his forces from Widdin and Semendria, detached part of his army (which was reported to be thirty thousand foot and fifty thousand horse, besides fifteen thousand Tatars daily expected) to besiege Widdin; whose garrison at that time being no more than eight hundred men, they surrendered on the 29th of August, before any breach was made in the walls; and on the 11th of September joined the prince's army.

The Turks found ninety cannon and mortars in Nissa, from whence they marched directly to Belgrade, by way of Semendria, the garrison of which, though consisting of no more than one thousand men, under lieutenant-colonel Weingartler, bravely sustained an assault of

[c] Cant. p. 368. Ricaut.

their

their whole army; but being overpowered were all put to the sword [d].

Belgrade besieged, and taken, by blowing up of the magazines.

As soon as the wazîr arrived at Belgrade he called a council of the pâshâs, to deliberate whether it was better to proceed by way of siege, or blockade. They all advised the latter course; alledging, that the city being well fortified by nature, and wonderfully strengthened by new works, as well as defended by a garrison of eight thousand Germans, besides many regiments of Bulgarians and Servians, could not be subdued within the campaign, nor besieged without great loss: that if the garrison should make a vigorous resistance, and repulse the Othmâns, they would immediately lose the courage they had hardly yet recovered by their present successes: but that if the wazîr, leaving Belgrade behind him, would with his army pass the Save, or fortify the banks, to prevent the enemies from passing, the garrison would that summer, or at fartheſt in winter, be obliged by famine to surrender. They added, that nothing was to be feared from the Imperial army, since the greater part of it was employed in the war against France; and the rest, being abandoned by the Hungarians, would be more solicitous to defend their own camp than attack the Othmân.

The wazîr, though far from being of this mind, acquiesced in the opinion of the majority, and surrounded the walls of the city for several days; but being informed that the Imperialists were hastening to its relief, he saw his error in complying unseasonably with his officers, and instantly opened the siege with one half of his army, directing the other to hinder the enemy from passing the Save. By this change of measures he gained the city; but probably would have failed in his design, if, on the eighth day of the siege, a tower had not blown up by means of a bomb, or by treachery, and demolished great part of the wall. Hereupon, the Turks, crying out, "That it was an evident proof of God's miraculous assistance," rushed into the breaches before the Germans could prevent them, and for an hour resisted the whole force of the garrison, who, overpowered by numbers, were then forced to retreat, after a great loss, though not unrevenged. A few, with their general De la Croy, escaped in boats across the Danube [e].

According to the Christian historians there were not above three thousand two hundred men in Belgrade fit for

[d] Ricaut, ubi supra. [e] Cant. p. 370.

service.

ſervice. The wazîr inveſted this city on the firſt of October, with his troops; who having fired their artillery without waiting till the 8th (on which day the duke of Croy arrived by water), ſtormed the paliſades like madmen. Next morning the blue ſteeple of the caſtle, which was the princial magazine for powder, took fire, which was ſoon put out: but in the afternoon it took fire again, and blew up with ſuch violence that it quite overturned the great bulwark which defended the caſtle; and deſtroyed one thouſand of the garriſon, who were drawn-up as well on the parade, as on the walls. So that there were not men enough to defend the breach againſt the enemy, who were ready to take advantage of the blow, and might have entered with whole ſquadrons. The duke of Croy alſo was wounded, and half buried in the rubbiſh.

It is thought this misfortune happened by the treachery of a Turk diſguiſed in a German habit; or of ſome Frenchmen, who had been employed in the magazines, and had that morning deſerted. However, the beſieged made the beſt reſiſtance poſſible, till their remaining magazines and ſtore-houſes took fire, and blew up one after the other in ſuch a dreadful manner, that not only the greater part of the garriſon periſhed, but one thouſand Turks, at that time ſtorming the walls, and entering the city, were alſo deſtroyed; while ſuch as remained alive were forced to retreat to their camp, unable to proceed for the ſmoke. But as ſoon as it had cleared up a little, the enemy, obſerving the conſternation which the remaining people were in, returned, and rather entered than ſtormed the city, where they found very few Chriſtians living, or houſes ſtanding. Moſt of the boats were ſunk with the rubbiſh which fell into them: thoſe who eſcaped ſaved themſelves by ſwimming over the Danube or the Save. General Aſpremont, who got off with the duke of Croy, being blamed afterwards for neglect on this occaſion, was cleared by an atteſtation under the hand of prince Lewis of Baden [f].

Temeſwaer relieved.

The wazîr, having thus reduced the bulwark of all Hungary ſooner than he expected, ſent off five hundred ſpâhis, each with two horſes, and as many buſhels of meal, to the relief of Temiſwaer; which the Germans had blocked up for three years, after finding it impracticable, by reaſon of its difficult ſituation, to take it by aſſault. The city was defended by Koja Jaffer Pâſhâ, whoſe authority was ſo great with the ſoldiers, that although many

[f] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

periſhed

periſhed by famine, yet the reſt refuſed to feed upon cats and dogs, which are eſteemed impure animals by the Turks. They were now reduced to ſuch a degree of neceſſity, that when the ſpâhis arrived, the janizaries ſeized on the meal like ravenous wolves. This avidity occaſioned a diſpute which ended in a bloody fight between the two parties; of whom a great number on both ſides being killed upon the ſacks, the reſt of the ſpâhis, with their pâſhâ, were forced by the janizaries to fly with precipitation.

Lippa reduced, with other places.

Kyoprili Pâſhâ, having repaired the ruins of Belgrade, paſſed the Danube, and taking Lippa, drove the German garriſon from Orſova. He then aſſaulted Eſſek, a city at the conflux of that river with the Drave; in hopes by ſubduing it to ſecure his new acquiſitions from the enemies incurſions, and recover Sclavonia: but he was forced to abandon his deſign, by the reſolution of the garriſon joined to the approach of winter; and eſpecially by the alteration of affairs in Tranſilvania [g].

After the loſs of Belgrade, the duke of Croy, having rallied about four hundred men, marched by way of Titul and Peterwaradin to Eſſek, draughting all the force that could be ſpared out of the garriſons to ſecure that place; which the wazîr had ordered the pâſhâ of Boſnia to attack, while he paſſed the Danube and beſieged Lippa, on the Maroſk, near Arad. At his approach the Germans quitted Lugos and Karanzebes. Lippa ſurrendered for want of priviſions, on very honourable conditions, after repeated aſſaults of the enemy, who loſt eight hundred men to ten of the beſieged. On the 29th of October, Huſſeyn, Pâſhâ of Boſnia, appeared before Eſſek with twelve or fifteen thouſand men, who, thinking to carry the place at once, immediately ſtormed the counterſcarps; but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by the garriſon, though conſiſting only of two thouſand men. The pâſhâ finding himſelf miſtaken in his account, began to open trenches and raiſe batteries; with which, by the 5th of November, they had demoliſhed almoſt all the houſes in the town, and ſeemed to prepare again for a general aſſault: but the duke and other generals having entered into the counterſcarps with undaunted reſolution to oppoſe them, they attempted nothing, as if ſtruck with fear. The duke then returned to his lodgings, where three Turks were brought to him; who being aſked why the enemy had made ſo violent an aſſault without either trenches or earth to cover them? an-

Eſſek attempted.

The ſiege raiſed.

[g] Cant. p. 370, & ſeq.

ſwered

ſwered, that their deſign was to have taken the town, if poſſible, before the Chriſtian army arrived, which they heard was haſtening to its relief. The duke hereupon ſent out all the muſic in the town to ſome troops beyond the Drave, with orders to march two and fro in the night, cauſing different marches to be beaten, and trumpets ſounded from ſeveral quarters; which ſo alarmed the Turks, that they immediately decamped, and fled towards Boſnia. The news of this deliverance being carried to Vienna, the duke of Croy and general Staremberg were highly applauded for the ſtratagem [h]. Let us new caſt our eye towards the affairs of Tranſilvania. About the beginning of this year Michael Apaffi, prince of that country, died without iſſue, and left all his dominions to the emperor of Germany. On the other hand, the Turks had appointed Tekeli to be prince, and ſent to his aſſiſtance the ſeraſkier, with ten thouſand Turks, the khân of Tartary, and Conſtantine Brankovan (B), prince of Walakhia. The confederate forces, under his conduct, penetrated into Tranſilvania, through the mountains of Walakhia, at the foot of which they unexpectedly incloſed Heuſler, general of the German troops appointed for defence of that province. Heuſler, finding himſelf drawn into this ſnare by the treachery of Brankovan, endeavoured to open a paſſage with his ſword, and bravely ſuſtained the firſt onſet of the enemy; yet in the heat of the battle the Hungarians deſerting the Germans, attacked them in flank; and they being terrified at this perfidy, attempted to eſcape by flight; but incloſed by the enemy, they were almoſt all either ſlain or taken; and among the latter, Heuſler himſelf [i]. According to the Chriſtian hiſtorians, the Turkiſh army conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand horſe, two thouſand janizaries, and five hundred talpats. With theſe Tekeli, under whom were nine pâſhâs, marched over mountains towards the paſs of Terezwar, about three leagues from Kronſtadt; where general Heuſler lay encamped, with ſeventeen hundred horſe, and five thouſand Tranſilvanians, called Zeklers, from the province ſo named, under general Tolecki. The Imperialiſts, undiſmayed at the appearance of ſuch unequal forces, with their right-wing, furiouſly at-

Tranſilvania taken,

and recovered

by Tekeli.

[h] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

[i] Cant. p. 371, & ſeq.

(B) Known in Europe by the three names of Kantakuzenus, Brankovan, and Baſſaraba; all which he pretended belonged to his family, though in fact they did not.—Cant.

tacked

tacked and put to flight the left of the enemy; who would have been entirely defeated, had the Zeklers seconded so good a beginning: but they flying without firing a musket, the Germans, after a long and bloody fight, were put to the rout. In this action six generals, including Tolecki, were killed, besides five hundred horse: the rest retreated to Hermanstadt with thirteen standards; twenty-nine colours, with four pieces of cannon, having been taken by the enemy, who lost three thousand men [k].

Driven out again. Tekeli, after this victory, penetrated farther into the country; and was received by all the inhabitants of the province with great acclamation: but before he could establish himself in his new acquisition, the prince of Baden, hearing that Belgrade, which he intended to have relieved, was lost, marched into Transilvania, and having taken several cities, endeavoured to subdue the rebellious prince. Tekeli, diffident of his strength, on the news of the other's approach, abandoned Cibinium or Hermanstadt, and retired again into Turkey; from whence he never after ventured to return [l].

Orsova taken. On the first of December prince Lewis arrived at Zatmar, on the Samos in Upper Hungary; at which time the wazîr's son, with fifteen thousand men, ravaged the country, and summoned St. Jobs; but the prince, having no more than two thousand horse with him, durst not hazard a battle. However, being joined soon after by Negrilli with two thousand troopers, he pursued a body of twelve thousand Turks, who ravaged the parts about Clausenburg, and drove them quite out of Transilvania.

The governor's folly. The campaign concluded on this side with the surrender of the isle of Orsova in the Danube, to the Turks, for want of ammunition. The governor, upon the articles granted, desired to be conducted to Belgrade; and although the Turks were honest enough to tell him, that it was then in their hands, he would not believe them, but insisted on being convoyed thither. In this demand at length they obliged him, to his sorrow; for, he and his people, amounting to six hundred men, besides women and children, when they came to that city, were confined in prisons, where most of them died, excepting those under twenty, who were circumcised, and compelled to become Mohammedans. As for the women and children they were sold, and all the effects of the unhappy cap-

[k] Ricaut, ubi supra. [l] Cant. p. 375.

tives

tives seized [m]. Let us now specify the progress of the war in other provinces.

In the eleventh month of the same year (C), the king of Poland at last brought his forces into the field, and passing the Niester entered Moldavia; but Cantemir, prince of that country, knowing what troublesome guests the Poles used to be, forbad the inhabitants, under a severe penalty, to supply them with corn. This prohibition obliged the king, who had already passed the Pruth, at Stephanasti, to send back some of his troops to procure provisions from other parts. These troops coming to Soroka, a city on the Tyras, and finding it destitute of defence, yet full of stores, took it without opposition; and leaving a strong garrison, returned with the provisions to the camp. *Poles invade Moldavia without success.*

The king, relieved by these supplies, marched as far as Yakobeni, a valley five miles from Jassi; but hearing that Buyukli Mostâfa Pasha, with Nûradîn Soltân, were advancing against him, he resolved to return to Poland. The provisions brought from Soroka being spent, he was again obliged to pass through the mountainous country; where he was closely followed by the Tatars, who killed or took prisoners, a great number of his people, as they were gathering fruits in the woods. His return would have been very difficult, if the prince of Moldavia, desirous to drive out the Poles, but not destroy them, had not diverted the seraskier from a pursuit; by telling him that they were then near their own borders, and unable to do the inhabitants any more hurt. Had that general advanced with his army, scarce a Pole could have escaped; for they were so greatly distressed by famine, that the horse voluntarily submitted to the Tatars, declaring that they would rather be captives than expire with hunger.

Of all the Christian powers the Venetians alone met with success. In the beginning of the campaign Malvasia, the only place which opposed them in the Morea, and had been blocked up for two summers, was again besieged, and obliged by famine to surrender. At sea, their admiral Daniel Delphino put to flight the kâpudân pâsha, near Mitylene, after sinking and taking several of his ships. Afterwards Cornaro reduced Kanina and Vallona; while in Dalmatia, Jîn Ali Pâshâ, governor of Hercegovina, *Venetian victories.*

[m] Ricaut, ubi supra.

(C) Which falls in August 1690.

assaulted

assaulted Nisikhos and Kuzzos, but was defeated, and taken prisoner [n].

But the affairs of the Venetians did not succeed so well this year by sea; for in March two of their men of war, the St. Isseppo and St. Mark, being attacked near Kandia by Mezzo Morto, dey of Algiers with ten soltânas, after the bravest resistance that could be imagined, the latter was blown up, and the other taken, although it sunk in the night with all its cannon, four hours after [o].

The wazîr triumphs.

The campaign being ended in Hungary, the wazîr returned with his army to Adrianople, where he was received by the people as their deliverer: but the physicians being of opinion that the air of that city did not agree with the soltân, who laboured under a dropsy, Kyoprili departed with him to Constantinople, which he entered in a triumphant manner. For three days there were rejoicings, accompanied with feasts and games, in which the French ambassador displayed great magnificence, thereby to shew them how acceptable the defeat of the Christians was to the most Christian king.

The wazîr afterwards employed all his attention in raising a new and more powerful army than the former, to prosecute the Hungarian war, the command of which he resolved to take in person. He appointed Mostafa Pâshâ to be seraskier against the Poles; and Kaplân Ali Pashâ against the Venetians. This last, encamping at the river Celidnus, restrained the Albanians, just ready to revolt. He also took possession of Kunina and Vallona, reduced by the Venetians the year before, and now deserted by them [p].

Affairs of Hungary.

As to the affairs of Hungary, it would be too tedious to relate every action which happened before the opening of the campaign in 1691. The prince of Hanover we find so early as January marching against count Tekeli, at the pass of Terez; but advancing before his troops, he was shot dead from an ambuscade near the village of Sernist. On the other hand, the castle of Tacket, and fort Waradin, were taken by colonel Pohland; who also defeated the general of Walakhia near Karansebes, and hindered a great body of Turks and Tatars from breaking into Transilvania. Of these he killed above a thousand, and took three hundred prisoners, besides much booty. In February the garrison of Great Waradin were defeated by count Nigrelli; and although the Turks took the castle

[n] Cant. p. 373, & seq. [o] Ricaut, ubi supra. [p] Cant. p. 375.

of

of Novi, yet the Kroats defeated them near that place, and killed a thousand upon the spot.

Nor were they less unfortunate at Lugos, where colonel Pohland drew the garrison into an ambush; and pursuing them to the castle, had it surrendered after eight hundred and fifty of the defendants were slain out of one thousand. Soon after this transaction, the garrison of Segedin having surprised the city of Khonad, and killed all the inhabitants, the Turks abandoned the castle in the night. In March the governor of Essek sent out Percilia, who, with four hundred men, surprised and destroyed Inik; routed a body of Turks and Tatars, killing twelve hundred; and returned with a great booty. In like manner Antonia, the famous Rascian captain, took the castle of Kârakowar, situated on a high rock, by stratagem. He afterwards attacked ten ships sailing from Widdin with provisions for Belgrade, and took two of them; two others fell into the hands of the Rascians near Modava; and the rest returned. He likewise by artifice dispersed a thousand Turks on their march to surprise Lugos. *Lugos and Khonad taken.*

In June, count Guido of Staremberg drew together the troops from several parts to Sausberg; while the Rascians surprised Titul, and put four hundred Turks to the sword. Veterani, the general in Servia, hearing that three hundred ships laden with provisions, under the convoy of four thousand men, were bound from Widdin to Belgrade, sent Pohland and Antonio to intercept them with four thousand men. These drawing together so close that they appeared not to be above four hundred, the Turks detached one thousand janizaries first, and then another party, out of which one thousand were killed, beside many drowned in their retreat; but the ships escaped by keeping to the other side of the river. Soon after this transaction, a party of Rascians took four hundred waggons, laden with provisions between Belgrade and Temiswaer. Another party attacked Kathina Mostâfa, and slew fifteen hundred of his men, near Mitrovitz, which the Turks thereupon quitted [q]. *Titul surprised.*

All things were now ready for the Hungarian expedition; but the wazîr deferred setting out on account of Solymân's illness; for he feared that if the soltân should die while he was absent, one of Mohammed's sons might succeed, and deprive him either of the wazîrship, or command of the army. At length soltân Solymân, ex- *Solymân dies.*

[q] Ricaut, ubi supra.

Hej. 1102. A.D. 165. hausted by an inveterate dropsy, died on the 26th of Ramazan 1102, having lived fifty-two years; and reigned three years nine months.

Person and character. Solymân was from his infancy a valetudinarian, of a gross body, low stature, a pale and bloated face, with eyes like an ox, a black long beard, with a mixture of grey hairs; of a heavy understanding; easily moved by the whispers of his chamberlains and domestics: but he was exceeded by none of the Othmân soltâns in sanctity, devotion, and observance of the law [r]. Ricaut says, that as books were his entertainment in his confined life, so he seemed to have had an affection for them in the choice he made of Kupriogli for his favourite, who was esteemed a learned man in that country, and to have had the best library of any man in the whole empire: after all, Solyman was no other than a dull, heavy, simple, and weak man, fitter to be a derwîsh than an emperor [s].

SECT. XXIII.

The Reign of Ahmed II.

Soltân Ahmed II. THE death of Solymân, though long expected and wished for, yet filled the Othmân court with new commotions. The nobles, with almost all the people, were for advancing either Mostafa or Ahmed, sons of Mohammed; and some were even for Mohammed himself, whom they had deprived of the crown. The choice of any of these was dangerous to the wazîr: for if Mohammed should be restored, he was apprehensive of his life, as being suspected to have been pretty deeply concerned in the sedition which deposed that monarch; on the other hand, if either of that prince's sons were elected, he was afraid lest those youths, who had been liberally educated in the palace, contrary to the custom of the other Shehzâdeh, and already instructed in the administration of affairs, might divest him of both his employments.

Numerous army of volunteers. In order therefore to avoid the danger, he resolved to advance Ahmed, younger brother of Solymân, to whom he was not at all superior in point of capacity. Accordingly, by the authority which he had acquired among the people by his successes in the course of the last year, he procured him to be unanimously saluted soltân the second

[r] Cant. p. 375, & seq. [s] Ricaut, ubi supra.

day

day after his brother Solymân's death. However, leſt the malecontents ſhould take occaſion from the new ſoltan's ſtupidity to raiſe a ſedition, he departed with him to Adrianople, in the beginning of Shawal, where he applied himſelf entirely to preparations for war. The Muſſulmâns, excited by the ſucceſs of the laſt campaign, voluntarily came from all parts, in ſuch numbers that there never was before ſo numerous an army ſeen in the Othmân camp. The wazîr hereupon ordered the paſhas not to bring more forces into the field than had been appointed: ſince being to fight againſt the Gyawrs, he ſaid, there was no occaſion for a great army; which beſides might want proviſions before they reached Buda.

But the ſoldiers, regardleſs of this order, flocked together in ſtill greater numbers; declaring, it was not for hopes of pay or plunder, but out of zeal for their law, that they entered into the ſervice, and therefore could be content with their knapſacks, and place their whole happineſs in either becoming gazi (E), under ſo ſucceſsful a general, or being crowned with ſhehâdet (F).

A plot laid againſt the wazîr.

The wazîr's fame thus greatly increaſing, envy, the perpetual attendant upon merit, could not but caſt her darts upon him from the court, her favourite reſidence. The kizlar agaſi, and other officers of the inner palace, uneaſy to find that Kyoprili Ogli was now poſſeſſed of the intereſt which before they had in the ſoltân and people, conſpired his deſtruction; and abuſing the ſtupidity of their maſter, filled his mind with ſuſpicions againſt the wazîr. They informed him, that the prime miniſter was contriving means to depoſe him, and had prevailed on the janizaries to ſet up Moſtafa, ſon of Mohammed, as ſoon as he ſhould decamp from Adrianople. The ſoltân, perſuaded by this accuſation, aſked what they thought was to be done? The kiſlar agaſi adviſed him to ſend the baltajilar kyehayaſi (G) to tell the wazîr he wanted to ſpeak with him, and then to do as he thought fit, when he had him in his power.

(E) Gâzi, or Ghazi, ſignifies one who conquers in a religious war, or on account of religion.

(F) That is, *martyrdom*; for the Mohammedans hold that all who are ſlain in battle againſt gyawrs, or *infidels*, die martyrs.

(G) The chief officer of the regiment of the Baltaji (*hatchetmen*, or *battle-axes*); he is ſubject, in other reſpects, to the kizlar agaſi. Cant.

Discovered by a mute.

While the eunuch was suggesting these measures to the soltân, Dilsîz Mohammed Aga, a mute (H), held the curtain of the door; and discovering by the motions of their lips and hands, that they were concerting a scheme to depose the wazîr, he hastened to that minister, and gave him, by signs, an account of the whole affair. While he was yet telling his story, the baltajilar kyehayasi coming in, acquainted the wazîr, that the soltân in haste wanted to speak with him. Kyoprili Ogli finding by this circumstance, that the mute's account must be true, immediately ordered a horse to be got ready for him, and the messenger to go before, telling him, that he would presently follow. When he was gone, the wazîr sent privately for the janizar-aga, and some other ojâk-agalari, whom he knew to be his friends; and, having, in a speech, related the services he had done the empire, by recovering several provinces lost by his predecessors, and what he was likely farther to do by the numerous forces he had raised, told them, that all was going to be overturned, and they with himself to be removed from the army, by the artifices of some at court, who had persuaded the soltân, a prince of great goodness, but unskilled in the administration of government, that the wazîr and janizaries were plotting to depose him. He added, that as he foresaw one of the haughty courtiers would succeed him, who might reduce the Othmân affairs to a worse condition than ever, he was therefore willing to remind those his friends, that after his removal or death (which, he said, he wished for, that he might not see the approaching ruin of the empire), they would take on them the care of the state, which the emperor was incapable of sustaining: "for, said he, I scruple to make any resistance to my soltân's commands; and therefore have determined to-morrow, with your consent, to resign to him the seal of the empire, and desire leave to go to Mekka[f]."

Sounds the soldiery.

The janizar-aga, and the rest of the officers, hearing the wazîr's declaration, inveighed with great acrimony

[f] Cant. Hist. Othm. p. 377, & seqq. in Ahmed II.

(H) There are many of these in the palace, whose only business is to hold up the curtain before the door of the room, where the soltan is talking in private with any of his great men. Nor are either they, or the dwarfs, and buffoons, ever employed, as most Europeans have affirmed, to put persons privately to death, or even sent on any serious message. Cant.

against

againſt the ſoltân as a ſenſeleſs ſimple wretch, ſwayed by his courtiers like boughs ſhaken by the wind: adding, that if he ſhould perſiſt in his deſign, they would rather depoſe him than Kyoprili Ogli, the defender of the law, the reſtorer of the Othmân empire, and the invincible general. They promiſed to ſhed their blood in defence of a ſingle hair of his head; binding themſelves by oath never to ſuffer any other general during his life, and to execute his commands with the utmoſt alacrity. The wazîr who had ſent for the officers only to ſound how they ſtood affected to him, finding that he might depend upon their attachment, ſent a talkhîſh, or letter to the ſoltân, importing, that as he was mounting his horſe, he was informed that the ſoldiers, for ſome injury received from the courtiers, were raiſing a ſedition; that he imagined he might ſafely defer his obedience to the ſoltan's command, in order to put a ſtop to it; that with ſuch a view he had ſent for the officers of the army, and would acquaint his majeſty next day with the courſe that ſhould be taken for appeaſing the commotion.

Next day he informed the ſoltân, by another talkhîſh, that he had done his utmoſt to extinguiſh the latent flame among the ſoldiers; but found them ſo preſumptuous as to refuſe to return to their duty, till the kiſler agaſi ſhould be diſmiſſed, and his ſecretary delivered up to a trial. He therefore intreated his majeſty, that now the army was ready to ſet out, and himſelf full of hopes of ſucceſs, he would not, by an unſeaſonable indulgence to his officers, ſtop the progreſs of victory, and expoſe himſelf to greater danger. The kiſler agaſi, who, by this letter, perceived his deſigns were betrayed to the wazîr, deſired the ſoltân to ſacrifice him, though a faithful ſervant, he ſaid, to the good of the empire. But Ahmed refuſing to give him up, the wazîr ſent a third talkhîſh; which obliged the ſoltân, for fear of worſe conſequences, to comply. Accordingly, the kiſler agaſi was baniſhed to Egypt; and his ſecretary, when brought to the wazîr, was ordered to be hanged in his habit, with a ſilver ink-pot at his girdle. *Ruins his enemies.*

That miniſter being thus confirmed in his poſt, to cut off all opportunity from the other court-officers to make the like attempts againſt him, removed the army out of Adrianople; and, encamping near the city, prepared every thing neceſſary for the campaign. Here he received, with great honour, an ambaſſador from William III. king of England, who came to offer his maſter's mediation for ſettling a peace. The wazîr declared he was ready to *Takes the field.*

agree to one upon honourable conditions; but, in reality, intended only to amuse the Germans, till he should have made himself master of Buda. With this view, he marched with his army to Belgrade; but, being there informed, that the Imperialists, under Lewis, prince of Baden, had taken the field, and were advanced to Peterwaradin, he directed his course thither; and on his approach the German general fortified his camp near Islankamen, on the banks of the Danube.

Battle of Islankamen.

The wazîr soon after coming up, occupied the ground to the right of the Imperial camp, in order to prevent their return. At the same time, five thousand Germans, marching in haste to reinforce prince Lewis, were intercepted, and inclosed by the Turks, in sight of the emperor's army, so that not one of them escaped being killed or taken prisoners. The Germans, who had designed to attack the Othmâns, on this disaster lost their resolution; and their general too late perceived his error, in suffering himself to be shut up in so narrow a space, where he could neither extend his troops, nor defend them from the enemy's cannon; so that there being no other way to extricate himself from this dangerous situation, he resolved to force a passage with the sword. While he meditated this design, the Turks, flushed with their late success, rushed furiously on the German camp, as if they would destroy the whole army at one effort. The battle continued for six hours doubtful, with equal courage, but with unequal strength. The Imperialists, now turning despair into resolution, passed the Turkish trenches; and the Turks, out of shame for the loss of the victory snatched out of their hands, drove the Imperialists back into their works, which they, in their turns, penetrated.

The wazîr slain.

At last, when victory seemed inclined to the Othmâns, the wazîr, to dismay by his presence those who still resisted, with his own troop attacked the right wing of the Germans, where he saw the greatest opposition; but, in the heat of the battle, being wounded in the temples by a musket bullet, he fell from his horse, and by his death transferred the victory, already obtained, to the Germans; for his chamberlains, confounded at this unexpected disaster, called their companions, and other officers, who were present, to take up their master's body; during which melancholy service, the tubulkhâna (B) ceased to sound. This

(B) Warlike music, which in battle is always near the wazîr, and continually playing to animate the soldiers; so that if

This ceſſation occaſioned great diſorder among the Othmân troops, who were now victorious; ſo that the horſe, ſeized with a panic, betook themſelves to flight, and were ſoon followed by the janizaries. The Imperialiſts, who fought not with any hopes of victory, but that they might not die unrevenged, beholding the unexpected flight of the enemy, advanced but ſlowly, that the janizaries might have an opportunity to retreat; fortheir ſtrength was ſo ſpent, that they could not have ſtood another charge.

The Turks overthrown.

The reſt of the Turkiſh foot, when they perceived the janizaries give way, quitting their cannon and camp, followed them with the utmoſt precipitation. There fell in the battle twenty-eight thouſand Turks, but not above three thouſand Germans, excluſive of the above mentioned five regiments. However, when Leopold was informed of the victory, he is reported to have ſaid, that he ſhould be unwilling to conquer often upon ſuch terms, ſince he could ſcarce repair the loſs of eight regiments in three years, whereas the ſoltân could ſupply the loſs of even eighty thouſand men in eighty days. After this victory, the prince of Baden recovered Lippa, which had been taken by the Turks the year before, and cloſely beſieged Waradin; while the Turkiſh army continued their flight to Belgrade, where they halted, and made Ali Pâſhâ their ſeraſkier [a].

The Turkiſh army briſkly attacked.

According to the Chriſtian hiſtorians, the Turkiſh army conſiſted of about one hundred thouſand men, of whom ſixty thouſand were the beſt ſoldiers in the Othmân empire, beſides fifteen thouſand of the veteran janizaries. They were advantageouſly poſted, at Iſlankamen, having the Danube on their backs, and in their front a very deep ditch, with earth thrown up behind them: but their left wing lay ſomewhat more expoſed than the right. On the other hand, the greater part of the Imperial infantry was divided into twenty battalions, flanked with two regiments of horſe, and moſt of the artillery. On the ſignal of a bomb the whole army marched in an equal line, till within two hundred paces of the enemy, and then the cannon, on both ſides, began to play. At firſt it was intended to attack the enemy's left wing before

[a] Cant. Hiſt. Othm. p. 381, & ſeqq.

if it happens to ceaſe, the janizaries take it for an ill omen, and can ſcarce be reſtrained from flight. Cant.

the right, to give room for the foot, who were placed on the rising of a hill, opposite to the main intrenchment of the Turks, which was fortified with eighty pieces of cannon; also to charge the enemy's horse, drawn up below the hill in the plain, with intent, after having overthrown them, to force through the camp, to that part where the enemy was less fortified.

The right wing, happening to be somewhat too forward, began the engagement before the left could come up: but, being arrived at the very intrenchments of the enemy, the janizaries fired on them so furiously from their breast-work, that the regiment of Souches was forced to give way, till it was sustained by the foot; and now both cavalry and infantry advancing to the very brink of the trenches, the latter made several attacks on them; and, though sometimes repulsed, yet, being relieved and directed by the brave dukes of Holstein and Aremberg, they continued the fight from three in the afternoon till night. In this contest, all the superior officers of the infantry were killed, excepting count Guido of Staremberg, and prince Charles of Vaudemont, who yet were both wounded.

Their camp forced.

Mean while the enemy, attacking the left wing, and out-flanking it, were bravely repulsed by Castelli and Hoffkerchen; but the Turks, collecting all their horse into one body, fell on with greater fury, and charged the brigade of general Sarau, which belonged to the right wing, and cut down two battalions; while those of Offing, Beck, with the old regiments of Staremberg and Brandenburg suffered very much: so that till six o'clock fortune favoured the Turks; at which time, things were in such a desperate condition, that the generals began to despair of saving one man, for there was no place of retreat. In this emergency, those who guarded the baggage, and formed the corps de reserve, advanced to their relief. At the same time, the main body of the army, under the Brandenburg generals Burfu and Brandt, coming up seasonably to succour count Sarau, he rallied again, and defended his post till an hour before night; when the brigades of Hoffkirchen and Castelli, with the right wing, commanded by prince Lewis, advanced towards that side of the enemy which was not intrenched; and at last, forcing their camp, drove them from the rising grounds, where they planted their cannon.

As soon as this advantage was observed by the Hungarians and Rascians, they resumed their courage, and

and cut down all before them in the camp, which opened a way for the right wing to advance: so that the Turks, being thus hemmed in, and attacked on all sides, in a narrow ground between their trenches and the Danube, were defeated, and began to fly. The horse, for the most part, escaped by the opening made for the right wing; but the infantry continued to defend themselves so resolutely in their trenches, that, although the field was yielded to the Imperialists, yet they received here their greatest loss; for this action cost the life of the duke of Holstein, serjeant-general, with a deluge of blood, to subdue the already conquered enemy. The remainder of the Turkish cavalry, among whom was the prime wazîr himself, were forced to break their way through the narrow spaces between the lines; in which attempt many were slain, drowned, or mortally wounded. Among these last were the prime wazîr, seraskier, and aga of the janizaries, who all died of their wounds at Belgrade. *Are quite overthrown.*

Besides these, and many more principal officers, the Turks were computed to have lost, at least, twenty-five thousand men (ten thousand of them janizaries); whereas, the loss of the Imperialists did not much exceed three thousand. Here the prince of Baden acquired immortal honour: and the booty was very great; for, besides one hundred and fifty-four pieces of cannon, the victors took a great number of ensigns, with the grand wazîr's standard, ten thousand tents, ten waggon-loads of copper-money in the wazîr's tent, fifty-four trunks in that of the treasurer, twelve in silver, and twenty-four chests of kaftâns, or *vests*. *Their loss great.*

The news of this great defeat coming to the soltân at Adrianople, he made Ali, pâshâ of Scio, and Kyehaya to Kyoprili, grand wazîr in his room, and sent him to Belgrade. Thither Sir William Hussey, and Mr. Collier, designed to accompany him to mediate a peace; but Sir William dying on the 14th of September, an end was put to the treaty; and the French ambassador encouraging the Turks by a powerful invasion in Germany, a continuance of the war was resolved on, notwithstanding the great distress which the Othmân empire was in, for want of men, money, and bread.

One consequence of the battle of Islalankamen, besides the taking of Lippa by Veterani, was the desertion of Brodt, in Sclavonia, by the Turks, who were defeated likewise in several small rencounters; but the prince of Baden's main design was converting the blockade of Great Waradin *Other advantages.*

Waradin into a formal siege, which he opened in October. Although the Turks deserted the city, and half the fortress was destroyed by a bomb falling into their magazine of powder, yet winter coming on, and the besieged resolutely holding out, he was obliged to turn the siege again into a blockade, after building a fort which commanded the fortress.

Affairs of the Arabs, of the Poles, and Venetians.

In the beginning of the year 1692, two Arab âmirs infesting the country about Damaskus, stopped the karawâns going to Mekka, till they paid kafar, or *custom*, and the arrears due to them from the soltân, on account of the pilgrims, were discharged. InFebruary, a Persian ambassador arrived at Adrianople, with three hundred and thirty-eight persons in his retinue, and sixty camels laden with presents for the soltân. He was lodged in a magnificent palace, and had his kitchen furniture all of silver. He came to congratulate the soltân on his accession to the throne, and made the longer stay under pretence of renewing the ancient leagues, in order to pry into the weak condition of the Turks. About the same time Tekeli arrived at court, where, at the solicitation of Chateau Neuf, the French ambassador, he had great honours done him by the wazîr; after which he returned to Hungary [b].

During the transactions at the Save, the Poles, in the last month of this year, passed the Niester, and made an incursion into Bessarabia; but, being pressed with want of provisions, they, on the report of the seraskier, Buyukli Mostafa Pâshâ's approach, returned home without having done any thing remarkable.

In the mean time the war between the Venetians and Turks was carried on by artifice rather than arms; for the latter became masters of Garbusa, an almost impregnable castle in Kandia, by the treachery of a Spanish officer. They attempted the same arts at Suda and Spina Longa; but the Venetians, more watchful of those fortresses, discovered their design, and put the conspirators to death.

In the interim, Arabâji Ali Pâshâ, kaymaykan of Constantinople, a man inferior to many in abilities, but to none in wickedness, being made wazîr by soltân Ahmed, in the room of Kyoprili Ogli, he revived the talk of peace, and lent a favourable ear to the ambassadors of the Christian princes; especially Paget, the English, and Collier, the Dutch envoys, who were sent for that purpose to the Porte: but, being informed by Mauro Kordatus, that

[b] Ricaut, in Achmet.

Germany

Germany was so exhausted of men and money, that, very probably, the emperor could not support the war above a year or two longer, he immediately cut off all hopes of peace, and applied himself wholly to measures for prosecuting the war. In order to fill the treasury, he put to death many eminent persons of the first rank, under various pretences, and confiscated their estates; nay, he even ordered such janizaries, and common soldiers, as were distinguished for their bravery, to be thrown, privately by night, into the sea, that no person might be left alive who should be esteemed more worthy of the wazîrship than himself.

Peace laid aside.

This cruelty being frequently complained of to the court, and those persons, whose lives were spared by accident, or Arabâji's ignorance, representing to the soltân, that all the defenders of the Othmân empire would be destroyed, Ahmed, at last, removed him from his post; and, having stripped him of his wealth unjustly acquired, advanced Tarposchi Ali Pâshâ, governor of Damaskus, in his room.

The new wazîr concerted measures for establishing a peace; but the ambassadors, who had been four years at Vienna, returning home, and being bribed, it is said, by the French ambassador, excited the Turks to continue the war, representing, that Germany was exhausted of its strength; that the emperor, being one hundred millions in debt, could not raise supplies; and that both Hungary and Germany were afflicted with a dearth; which representations were not without foundation.

Waradin surrenders to general Heusler.

The wazîr, therefore, laid aside all pacific measures; but, because the number of janizaries was extremely lessened by the German sword, and Arabâji's cruelty, while the soldiers, terrified by the late defeat, could not be assembled with expedition, he sent the seraskier, with what forces were ready, towards Hungary, with orders to defend the borders, relieve the Turkish cities, and avoid a battle with the Germans. He indeed kept the Imperial troops from approaching the Save; for, being weak, they were not desirous of an engagement; but could not hinder Heusler, lately set at liberty, from obliging Waradin, which had been blocked up the year before, to surrender for want of provisions, on the 21st of Ramazân, 1103[c] (May 25, 1692.)

Heusler, before the Turks took the field, drew together all the forces he could assemble, in order to reduce the

[c] Cant. Othm. Hist. p. 383, & seqq.

place

place by siege. To this end, in the beginning of May, he raised two bulwarks opposite to those of the enemy, called Rungar and Kapudan, he caused a bridge also to be laid from the Palanka of Oloschi to the old city, notwithstanding the sallies of the Turks; so that by the 7th, the Imperialists had surrounded the city, and lodged themselves in the ditch. The bombs and cannon played furiously on both sides, till the 19th, when a large breach being made, the besieged seeing the Imperialists preparing for the assault, thought fit to capitulate, on condition of being convoyed to Panzova. Fifty brass cannon, and twenty mortars, together with a prodigious quantity of ammunition and provision, were found in this important place.

Other advantages. The Othmâns, intent upon revenge, in June detached a strong party towards Essek, with a design to make an incursion into Sclavonia; but they were repulsed here, as well as at Titul and Titz, by the Rascians, while the Kroats plundered and burnt Behatz and Ostrosatz. In July, the Turks attacked the fortress of Portsen, near Peterwaradin, but were forced to give over the enterprize, which yet they attempted a second time, in vain.

There happened no considerable action on either side in Hungary this campaign, only the Kroats and Rascians made an incursion towards Meydan, with tolerable success [d].

Affairs of Moldavia. The seraskier of Bâbadâghi, Daldabân Mostafa Pâsha, in conjunction with Arap Pâshâ, governor of Trebizond, in the end of the month of Zilkaadeh, entered Moldavia. There being joined by the prince of that country, and twenty thousand Tatars, under the command of Shahbâz Gyeray Soltân, he marched towards Soroka; but, being detained for several days by a bloody flux, at the town of Orheyus, gave the Poles time to fortify that city, and reinforce the garrison. As soon as the seraskier was recovered, he invested Soroka, the garrison of which was at first terrified; but, finding that the enemy had only seven small field-pieces, and two mortars, they resumed their courage, and destroyed great numbers by sallies in the night. At length, the seraskier, finding that the walls could not be undermined, and the winter approaching, was obliged to retire after thirty days siege, and the loss of three thousand men [e].

Poles refuse peace. At the end of the campaign, the khân of Krîm Tartary Kior Sefa Gyeray, by advice of Daltabân Pâshâ, sent Dar-

[d] Ricaut. ubi supr. [e] Cant. ubi. supr. p. 385.

wish

wîsh Shabân Aga, one of his officers to the king of Poland, offering to reſtore Kameniek, with all Podolia and Ukrania, in caſe he would renounce his alliance with the emperor; but the Poles, who had conceived new hopes of ſubduing all Moldavia, from the ill ſucceſs of the Turks againſt Soroka, paid no regard to the khân's propoſals.

Venetian affairs.

In the courſe of the ſame year, the Venetians, having entirely ſubdued the Morea, reſolved to turn their arms againſt Kandia; and, tranſporting their whole army to that iſland, hoped to ſurpriſe Kanea. But the Turks, informed of their deſign by a French ſhip, had put ſo ſtrong a garriſon into the city, that the Venetians were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and obliged to retire, after a ſiege of fifty days. With equal ſucceſs Solymân Pâſhâ, governor of Arnaud, defeated the Monte Negrini, who meditated a rebellion: he likewiſe recovered Zuffa and Panduriza. The ſeraſkier of the Morea, encouraged by theſe advantages, made ſeveral incurſions upon the Venetians; but, attempting to ſeize Naupactum, or Lepanto, was repulſed with great loſs. Worſe luck in Dalmatia attended the pâſhâ of Hercegovina, who endeavouring, by Ali Beg, to recover Cracow, the beſiegers were ſuddenly attacked by the enemy; and, being put to flight, their general was taken priſoner.

Hej. 1104. A.D. 1693.

The campaign of 1103 being ended, the ſoltân next year had twins born to him at Conſtantinople, Selîm and Ibrâhîm. As this circumſtance had never happened to any ſoltân before, the Turks conſidered it as a preſage of future ſucceſs, and for eight days celebrated it with ſports uſual on ſuch occaſions. Amidſt theſe rejoicings, the wazîr Torpoſchi Ali Pâſhâ endeavoured to renew the negociations of peace; but, being reprehended by the mufti, and ſoltân Ahmed declaring it done without his knowlege, he was deprived of his dignity, as a betrayer of the law and the empire. His ſucceſſor, Buyukli Moſtafa Pâſhâ, endeavouring to put a ſtop to the rapine committed by ſeveral great men, through the negligence of former wazîrs, ſome of the offenders murmured openly, and others formed a ſecret plot againſt him; but their aſſemblies being diſturbed by the janiza ragaſi, his friend, and the ring-leaders either put to death, or baniſhed, the city was reſtored to its former tranquility.

The wazir removed.

Sedition begun by Mîtri Effendi.

While the new wazîr was employed in making preparations for war, and had now encamped without Conſtantinople,

tinople, the ſheykh of Pruſa, Miſri Eſſendi (X) erected his ſtandard in that city, and liſted above three thouſand volunteers, under the title of dârwiſhes, without pay, or allowance of proviſion, merely in the name of God, and in confidence of the divine aſſiſtance. With theſe he came to Adrianople, and marching to Selîm's temple at the time of noon-day prayers, firſt performed his oriſons with great devotion, and then made a ſpeech; in which he declared, it was revealed to him from God, that the cauſe of the Othmân ill ſucceſs of late, was not the valour of the Germans, nor the ſins of the whole nation, but the ill conduct of ſeventeen great men, and governors of the empire, as the wazîr, janizar aga, kaymakân, tefterdâr, reis effendi, and others whom he named; that unleſs theſe were put to death, no advantage could be hoped againſt the Germans, but greater calamities, and even the deſtruction of the whole empire were to be expected; that there being no occaſion for a numerous army againſt the infidels, he had, by God's command, collected a body of ſoldiers, few in number, and unarmed, but animated by a divine power, and untainted with ſin, with whom he would undertake, not only to ſtop an innumerable hoſt of Gyawrs, but likewiſe drive them from the borders of the empire.

The wazîr alarmed.

The noiſe of this affair bringing together great numbers not only of the common people, but janizaries, ſpahis, and others of the better ſort, the ſheykh harangued them for four hours together. The wazîr fearing a ſedition, ſent the kaymaykân to deſire the ſheykh to come to him; but Miſri Effendi anſwered, that he was the ſervant of God, ſent to the people of God, to declare what had been revealed to him, and could ſee no reaſon why he ſhould abandon his call in obedience to ſuch a Gyawr as the wazîr was. The kaymaykân perceiving, on account of the people, that he could uſe no compulſion, returned to the wazîr, told him what he had heard, and adviſed him inſtantly to diſperſe the aſſembly, ſince the ſheykh's whole diſcourſe tended to ſedition againſt the nobles, and probably the ſoltân himſelf. The wazîr having convened the janizar aga, and other officers branded by Miſri Effendi

(X) He was in great renown for his ſanctity; yet many thought him too great a favourer of the Chriſtian religion, for ſome expreſſions in the divine poems which he publiſhed, and ordered to be ſung in the jami. Cant.

with

with the name of infidels; they ſent to inform Ahmed, by a talkhiſh, that the ſheykh, with a body of ſoldiers diſguiſed like darwiſhes, was in the Selîmîyah, giving odious appellations to his majeſty, and charging the great officers of ſtate with being infidels, as well as friends to the Germans; whence he declared, that the divine bleſſing could not be expected upon the Othmân court.

The ſoltân, enraged at theſe miſrepreſentations, ordered the rebel to be ſeized; and, ſince he could not be put to death, as wearing the green turban (Y), to be baniſhed with his followers to Pruſa. Buyukli Moſtafa, thus authorized, ſent again the kaymaykân, attended by the janizar agaſi, and a great number of ſoldiers, who, in the ſoltân's name, ſaluted the ſheykh, and informed him, that his majeſty, hearing of his ſanctity, deſired to enjoy his converſation, and that he ſhould inſtantly come to the palace. Miſri Effendi told them, that although they ſeemed to be ſent rather by ſheytân than the ſoltân, yet he would go wherever they led him: he added, that to convince them he ſpoke nothing of himſelf, they ſhould, in a few hours, receive tokens of a divine evidence. So ſaying, he mounted the ſoltân's chariot, attended by the guards, and paſſed with great honour through crouds of people; but as ſoon as he was at ſome diſtance from the populace, they put him into a covered waggon, and conveyed him to Rodoſtus, from whence he was tranſported to Pruſa. *Gets him baniſhed.*

His prediction, however, was fulfilled two days after by a great whirlwind or ſtorm, which threw down almoſt all the tents in the camp; ſome of which falling on the fires prepared for dreſſing dinner, and the flames catching hold of the reſt, above a thouſand tents were conſumed in one hour's ſpace; nor were the reſt ſaved without great difficulty. The people looked on without giving their aſſiſtance, ſaying, it was a judgment for baniſhing the ſervant of God, and witneſs of the truth. The ſoltân himſelf, ſtruck with terror, ſent the ſheykh a reſpectful letter, and entreated his pardon, confeſſing himſelf entirely deceived by the treachery of his miniſters; and deſiring him to return to Adrianople in order to give the army his benediction. Miſri Effendi anſwered, that he knew at the firſt the fault of his baniſhment was in the great men, and not in the ſoltân; that he had therefore long ſince forgiven, and even forgotten the crime; but that he could not return to *His prediction verified.*

(Y) Which belongs to the amîrs, or kindred of Mohammed.

Adrianople,

Adrianople, because the spirit which had prompted him to the first journey thither, would not permit a second [g].

Fire at Constantinople.

In the mean time a fire happened at Constantinople, which burnt down twenty thousand houses and shops. This disaster was succeeded by the news that the new amîr of the Arabs, descended from Mohammed, threatened to besiege Bassora, in the Persian Gulf, to which he pretended an hereditary right; so that the soltân was obliged to send troops over, under the command of the pâshà of Bosnia, to reinforce the militia of those quarters. But these arriving in the neighbourhood of that city, which is all a flat country, the Arabs let out the river by sluices, which overflowing the camp of the Turks, six or seven thousand of them perished in the waters, and the rest were all put to the sword.

Since the reduction of Great Waradin, Ghiula and Jeno had been much straitened by the Imperialists. The latter particularly having been for some time blocked up by Heusler, that general, on the 16th of June, began to attack its suburbs, which he took, and, having in a few days, by his bombs and cannon, made a breach in the city walls, the Turks, not willing to abide a storm, capitulated on the 27th of the same month. Presently after which acquisition he went and took the fortress of Philagoras [h].

Jeno taken.

About the same time the wazîr marched from Adrianople, with a design to penetrate, by Tekeli's route, into Transilvania: but hearing at Distra that the Germans, after taking Gena and Villagothwar, had besieged Belgrade, he returned to Chenghe Dâghlari, and, with no less danger than difficulty, conducted his army through the streights of those mountains, scarce wide enough for an unarmed man to pass. The German general was informed that the wazîr attempting the conquest of Transilvania, loitered in his operations of the siege, which had continued twenty days already; but when he found Buyukli Mostafa had passed the mountains, he pushed it with such vigour, that, by his cannon and mines, he had, in eight days, not only demolished the outer walls, but also shaken the inner in such a manner as seemed to render him master of the city, although defended by sixteen thousand Othmâns, if the wazîr, leaving behind him his baggage and larger cannon, had not, on the eighth day, advanced to its relief.

[g] Cant. ubi supra, p. 386, & seqq. [h] Ricaut in Achmet.

The

The Germans perceiving, from the ſmallneſs of their numbers, that they could not, at the ſame time, carry on the ſiege and make a ſtand againſt the wazîr, who was about to attack their camp, broke up, and paſſed the Save with their whole army. The Othmân general, taking their retreat for a flight, informed the ſoltân that he had gained a victory; but not daring to croſs the river and attack their camp, he detached Selîm Gyeray Khân, with his Tatars, to ravage the adjacent provinces of Hungary, and cut off the Germans from all opportunity of procuring proviſions. The khân roving about incautiouſly, was ſurrounded at Khonad by the Imperialiſts appointed to guard thoſe parts, under the command of Hoffkirken, and ſhut up in ſo narrow a ſpace, that he could not make uſe of his horſe, or find any means of eſcape. Being thus reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting or ſtarving, if he continued in this ſituation, and finding no other way to get out of it, he engaged the Tatars in a project never before heard of, or practiſed, among them; this was, to kill their horſes, and fall upon the enemy on foot with their ſwords. So unexpected an attack at firſt confounded the Germans, till, reſuming their courage, they encloſed them a ſecond time, and made ſuch a ſlaughter, that, excepting the khân, and a few of his attendants, ſcarce a man of them was ſaved [1].

The Tatars overthrown.

Ricaut gives no account of this action, but mentions another of the ſame general, before Giula, on the 19th of October, citing his letter to the duke of Croy; in which he ſays, that he fell on the Turks and Tatars unexpectedly, drove them beyond the firſt palanka, and made his dragoons paſs the ditch on foot; that the enemy were very ſtrong, conſiſting of forty troops of horſe, one thouſand two hundred janizaries, and two thouſand eight hundred Tatars, who came to convoy proviſions into the fortreſs; that one thouſand of theſe laſt were killed, two thouſand five hundred beaſts taken, and all their proviſion burned. He adds, that he was preparing to follow the Tatars who were marching to Debrezin; and perhaps the defeat of them may be the action aſcribed to Hoffkirken by the Turkiſh hiſtorians.

Defeated at Giula.

While the Imperialiſts were revenging on the Tatars the many defeats given by them to the Poliſh armies, the Poles themſelves, either amuſed with new offers from Selîm Gyeray, or deterred by former misfortunes, continued inac-

[1] Cant. p. 390. See alſo Ricaut.

tive (Z). The Venetian arms were likewise quiet in Greece. However, in Dalmatia, they besieged Klobukhi, under the conduct of Erizzo, governor of Katarri, but were repulsed with considerable loss by the pâshâ of Hercegovina; who, notwithstanding, was soon after defeated by Canegotti.

The wazîr changed. Mean while the wazîr returned to Adrianople; but while he expected to be rewarded for raising the siege of Belgrade, and driving the enemy from the borders of the empire, he was deprived of his dignity on a very slight occasion: for going out one day to divert himself with hawking, the Koltûk Wazîrleri, who had long been his enemies, took a handle from hence to persuade the easy soltân, that he neglected the affairs of state, and minded nothing but his pleasures. In consequence of this remonstrance, Ahmed deprived him of the imperial seal, and gave it to Shâm Tarabolus Ali Pâshâ: yet, not to seem ungrateful for his services, the soltân did not take away either his estate, or his liberty, but made him governor of Damaskus, a rare example among the Turks.

Peace opposed. Ali Pâshâ, considering the distressed state of the empire, and despairing of victory, as soon as he was advanced to the wazîrship, endeavoured to make peace with the Germans and Poles, exclusive of the Venetians; but as on one hand the emperor refused to treat on any terms, unless they were parties; and, on the other, the French ambassador, by presents, and great promises, had gained both the nobles and ulema firmly on his side, they unanimously opposed that design. The wazîr being thus disappointed, in the end of the year 1105, sent the seraskier into Hungary, who, assaulting Titul, was repulsed with great loss by Caprara, general of the Imperialists; but the Germans were not able to improve this victory; the emperor, intent on the war with France, having left but a small army in Hungary [1].

Hej 1105. A.D. 1694.

The Germans attacked at Peterwaradin by the wazîr; Titul, in the Turkish account, seems to be a mistake for Peterwaradin; and one of the most famous actions in all this war is here passed over in silence. The Imperial army in 1694, not being so numerous as it used to be, the mar-

[1] Cant. p. 390, & seq.

(Z) Ricaut observes, that the French ambassador procured an ambassador from the Porte to be sent to Warsaw; so that it was generally believed a peace would be concluded; but he says, the Venetians neither did, nor attempted, any thing in the year 1693.

shal

ſhal count Caprara, who commanded it, underſtanding, that the wazîr intended to attack Peterwaradin, entrenched himſelf about that place. In effect, the wazîr did arrive with his army in view of the Imperialiſts; but, inſtead of falling on them, he alſo entrenched himſelf; and, what till then was unheard of, began his approaches againſt the retrenchments of the enemy. A fleet of one hundred and ten Turkiſh veſſels advanced likewiſe within cannon-ſhot of the Imperial ſhips, and caſt anchor in a line of battle. Count Caprara, ſurpriſed at this novelty, found it expedient to make another entrenchment between the former and the town; to which, upon occaſion, he might retire; and to furniſh it with mines before the ditches, in order to ſtop the wazîr's progreſs.

The camps and fleets began to fire furiouſly on each other; the attack of the Turks ſeeming to be a formal ſiege both of Peterwaradin, and the Imperial camp; for they plied both with their bombs and cannon from the 12th of September till the 18th, when they ſhewed themſelves beyond the Imperial intrenchments, but were quickly driven back by the huſſars. They likewiſe drew a new parallel line ſixty paces nearer to the Imperial camp, and endeavoured to cloſe it with their line of communication. On the 19th, the German left-wing, with great guns and muſkets, from an eminence, very much annoyed the firſt line of the Turks, who ran, horſe and foot from all ſides, to ſtrengthen their left wing; and that evening, ſix battalions of Brandenburg foot arriving, the enemy ſeemed to flag in their attack.

But what moſt incommoded them, was the loſs of twenty-five of their proviſion ſhips, taken by the governor of Titul, who alſo ſunk three frigates; and fifteen hundred Tatars were cut off in an incurſion, by general Baſſompiere. The ſon of the khân being among the ſlain, that prince threatened to return with his troops. Nevertheleſs, the wazîr perſiſted in his attacks till the 13th of October, when the rains falling for ſeven days ſucceſſively, ſo that the ſoldiers were up to their knees in the trenches, he, at length, drew off in the night [n]. Theſe terrible rains convinced the wazîr of his folly; nor could he have ſucceeded in his deſign, had his army been double the number [o]. The Turks thus ended the campaign; but the Germans, after this tranſaction, added Giula to their other conqueſts.

who is repulſed.

[n] Ricaut, ubi ſupra. [o] L'Etat. Milit. ubi ſupra.

Venetians take Khios. The Poliſh and Ruſſian forces this year alſo continued to guard their own frontiers, neither of theſe powers performing or attempting any thing remarkable. The Venetians alone puſhed the Turks this campaign with vigour, and effected that which would have gained them the dominion of the ſea, if they had known how to uſe their good fortune with prudence and moderation. Early in ſpring, they ſent out a fleet, by invitation of the inhabitants of Khios, who were devoted to the Romiſh religion (A), and attacked that iſland. Silahdar Haſſan Pâſhâ, who was then governor, had reſolved to make a brave defence; but finding the Chriſtian inhabitants endeavoured to deliver up the town without his conſent, and having but a few Turkiſh forces in garriſon, he, in order to avoid being made a priſoner, ſurrendered the place. The Venetians hereupon, to oblige the pope, ſhut up the Greek churches; and partly by force, and partly by artifice, compelled the inhabitants to conform to the Romiſh church; acting alſo in many other things contrary to juſtice, and the terms of the ſurrender.

Threaten Smyrna. Having ſettled at pleaſure the affairs of Khios, they reſolved to beſiege Smyrna; but the French, Engliſh, and Dutch conſuls, meeting them in their march, interceded for that city; urging, among other reaſons againſt a ſiege, that almoſt all the warehouſes were full of merchandize of their reſpective nations; and that, if they ſhould be deſtroyed, or plundered by the ſoldiers, the republic would be reſponſible to their maſters for the damage, with intereſt. Upon this remonſtrance, the Venetians deſiſted from their deſign, and returned with their fleet. In Dalmatia however, under the command of Delfini, they took Kiklut and Klobukh, which laſt they attempted the year before. The ſeraſkier, Solymân Pâſhâ, governor of Albania, endeavouring twice to recover the former, was both times repulſed; for which reaſon, being accuſed of negligence to the ſoltân, he was deprived of his poſt, and ſucceeded by Elmas Mehemmed Pâſhâ, governor of Boſnia, lately ſent from the ſaray.

Succeſs in Dalmatia.

The Arabs in arms. While the Othmân armies were fighting in all parts of Europe, a new ſedition broke out in Aſia. Amîr Moham-

(A) Originally from Italy, chiefly Venice. They poſſeſſed the greater part of the iſland; the Greeks the reſt; and enjoyed more privileges than the other ſubjects of the Othmân empire.

med,

med, one of the Arab princes, with ſeveral thouſands of his countrymen, plundered and ſpoiled the karawân, going in pilgrimage to Mekka (B).

Afterwards, augmenting the number of his troops, he beſieged Mekka itſelf; but, touched with reverence for the place, and the dread of ſacrilege, retired from before it. The beglerbeg of Shâm, or Damaſkus, attended by the other pâſhâs of thoſe parts, was ſent againſt him; but the ſheykh defeated them all by a ſtratagem, and put them to flight [P].

Ricaut ſays, the ſharîf (C) having plundered a very rich city, his army, which obſerved exact diſcipline, was divided in two parts: one diviſion remained with the ſharîf, encamped between Mekka and Medîna; the other marched to the province of Bâſrah, to oppoſe the pâſhâs on that ſide, and cut off all communication with Hâlep, or Aleppo. At length, the mufti, from a ſenſe of the empire's low condition, wrote to the ſharîf, exhorting him to peace; declaring that he could not, without betraying the Muſſulman intereſt, perſiſt in war againſt the ſoltân, at a time when the Othmân empire was oppreſſed on all ſides with enemies. This letter of the mufti was ſeconded by exhortations from many pâſhâs, mollahs, kâdis, ſheykhs, and other religious; even Kalailikos Ahmed Pâſhâ, who was ſent with forces againſt the ſharîf, became an advocate for peace, making uſe of the pen inſtead of the ſword. Theſe admonitions, in behalf of religion, had ſo good an effect, that firſt ſeveral Arab princes fell off from their alliance with the ſharîf; and at length, the ſharîf himſelf deſiſted from hoſtilities. *Perſuaded to peace.*

[P] Cant. p. 391, & ſeqq.

(B) After the time of Selîm I. forty thouſand gold crowns were paid yearly to the Arabs of the deſert between Damaſkus, Bâghdâd, and Mekka; by way of bounty under the denomination of ſurreh, as if paid them for ſecuring the roads, but, in reality, to reſtrain them from robbing the karawâns. Now the ſurreh not being ſent for ſome years, on account of the Hungarian war, was the occaſion of this attack. But the moſt illuſtrious khân of Tartary being taken among the pilgrims, the Arabs obliged him to carry their complaint to the ſoltân; and he never reſted till the arrears were paid. Cant.

(C) This muſt be underſtood of the prince of Mekka, who pretends to be a deſcendant of Mohammed.

Hej. 1106. A.D. 1695. The year 1695, began with a terrible fire in Constantinople, which consumed four thousand houses and shops: however, preparations for war went on both by sea and land [q].

Ahmed dies. Mean while the empire being surrounded with so many enemies, and almost entirely ruined, Soltân Ahmed, in the year 1106, left the world, having lived fifty years, and reigned four.

His character. In his temper and disposition, he entirely resembled his brother Solymân, to whom in devotion he was very little inferior; but was of a somewhat more lively, though not acute, genius. He listened to the calumnies raised by his domestic officers; and, on their suggestions, often, for slight causes, changed the most important designs. He affected to appear a lover of justice, though, by reason of his stupidity, he could not discharge the function of a judge; and believed every thing which his friends, bribed by the contending parties, represented to him [r].

Ricaut says, he was a very good-natured prince, who feared no hurt himself, nor intended harm to any body: that he was of a lively, free, jocund humour, being both a poet and a musician, so that he made verses and sang them. He played well also on the citern and kolosseo, after the Persian manner. In his last agony, he desired to speak to his brother Mostafa; but as this prince could not be persuaded to go to him, he ordered him to be told all his desire was, that he would permit his son to live [s].

His person. He had large black eyes, a pale complexion, a round sandy beard, with a mixture of black; a strait long nose, a middle stature, with a prominent belly, occasioned rather by the dropsy than fat [t].

SECT. XXIV.

The Reign of Mostafa II.

Transactions to the Battle of Olasch.

Soltân Mostafa. AFTER Ahmed's death, the wazîr Shâm Tarabolus Ali Pâshâ attempted to set aside Mostafa, eldest son of Mohammed IV. as Kyoprili Mostafa Pâshâ had acted on the death of Soltân Solymân II. but not with the like

[q] Ricaut, ubi supra. [r] Cant. p. 394. [s] Ricaut, ubi supra
[t] Cant. ubi supra.

success.

ſucceſs. To gain this point, he called a council of the principal officers of ſtate, and exhorted them to place Ibrâhîm, the ſon of Ahmed, a prince of three years old, on the throne; alledging, that it was unjuſt to give the crown from the ſon of a ſoltân, who had died in poſſeſſion of it, to the ſon of one who had been depoſed. Theſe were his pretences: but his true reaſon was, that he feared to loſe, under a prince of vigour, and verſed in affairs, as Moſtafa was, that abſolute power over the ſtate and army, which he had enjoyed under Ahmed, and hoped to continue, without danger or control, under his infant ſon. But, before he could gain the great men to his opinion, Nezîr Aga, the hazandâr bâſhi (D), informed Moſtafa of his brother's death; and, releaſing him from his confinement, called on him to aſſume the Othmân ſceptre. The prince readily followed ſuch grateful advice; and, while the wazîr was conſulting about the election of a ſoltân, without his knowlege aſcended the throne, where he was firſt ſaluted emperor by Chalîk Ahmed Aga, and Cherkies Mohammed Aga, two officers of great influence.

Confirms the wazîr.

This election being notified to the reſt of the courtiers, it was extremely agreeable to them, and all met to kiſs the ſoltân's robe. The wazîr himſelf, finding his deſigns prevented by the domeſtic officers, haſtened with an air of joy in his countenance to pay his duty; and was preſented with a robe lined with ſables by the new emperor: who, diſſembling his reſentment, ordered him to take care of ſtate affairs; and the third day after declared his intention to command the army in perſon againſt the Germans (E). He examined, ordered, and diſpoſed every thing; appointed great cannon to be caſt, and directed the military preparations: nor was he unmindful of his father's faithful officers, diſperſed in diſtant countries; theſe he rewarded with new poſts. Among the reſt, Elmas Mohammed Pâſhâ, his father's moſt beloved chamberlain, was ſent for out of Boſnia, and firſt made Niſhânji Pâſhâ (F), then

(D) Or keeper of the treaſure depoſited in the women's ſaray.

(E) According to Ricaut, on this occaſion, there having been only fifteen purſes left in the treaſury by Ahmed, the great officers and ulema were taxed: the wazîr in a million and a half, beſides five millions in jewels. The queen mother advanced ſeven millions and a half in ready money; and half a million was taken from the widow of the late ſoltân.

(F) He who ſets the tura,

then rekiub kaymaykân (G). By this ſpirited conduct the new ſoltân acquired ſuch reputation, that the people revered him as a ſun riſing from behind a thick cloud; and the ſoldiers came voluntarily, offering themſelves to ſerve under him the enſuing campaign.

Puts him to death. All things being ready, early in the ſpring, he commanded the wazîr to encamp without Adrianople. Three days after, diſguiſing himſelf to know what was ſaid of him, and his miniſters, by the ſoldiers, he found they ſtill ſuppoſed every thing was directed at pleaſure by the wazîr, without his knowlege. As this diſcovery increaſed his reſentment againſt that great officer, he reſolved to deſtroy him; and, perceiving, while he examined the warlike ſtores, that the carriages of the larger cannon were not ſufficiently ſtrengthened with iron, ſharply reprimanded him on the ſpot. The wazîr, to clear himſelf, caſt the blame on the topchi bâſhî (H): but this latter, in his own defence, declared, that the wazîr had refuſed to give him the iron which was wanting. The wazîr not being able to deny this charge, Soltân Moſtafa ordered him to be put to death, and his body to be expoſed for three days in the Sirik Meydân [u].

Takes Lippa and Titul. He was ſucceeded by Elmas Mohammed Pâſhâ before mentioned, a perſon of moſt acute genius, and worthy that dignity; but not without the murmurs of the old pâſhâs, who reſented that they ſhould be commanded by a youth unexperienced in affairs. However, Soltân Moſtafa, regardleſs of theſe murmurs, paſſed the Danube (I), with his army, near Belgrade, and took Lippa. Afterwards he reduced Titul, and demoliſhed the walls of both places. Mean while, being informed by the Tatar ſcouts, that Veterani, with ſeven thouſand Germans from Tranſilvania, was within eight hours march of the Imperial army, commanded by Frederick Auguſtus, elector of Sax-

[u] Cant. in Moſtafa II. p. 365, & ſeqq.

mark. or character of the ſoltân's name at the top of all the fermâns, or orders which are made. This is a very honourable place.—Cant.

(G) That is, deputy ſtirrupholder, who is appointed to tranſact affairs when the wazîr is at war.—Cant.

(H) Overſeer of the cannon.

(I) He ſet out on the 10th of June, with an army of fifty-thouſand men, ordering among other regulations, that no man ſhould be ſerved by boys, or ride into cultivated grounds.—Ricaut.

ony,

ony, he detached Mahmûd Beg Ogli, beglerbeg of Rûmeli, with the light-armed forces to intercept them, and followed haſtily with the reſt of his army. The ſecond day he came in ſight of the Germans, who might be called the moſt courageous troops which Germany ever produced: for, without any ſign of fear, they halted; and, in â manner, challenged to battle the Turks, pouring upon them in prodigious numbers.

Mahmûd Beg Ogli, though much ſuperior in ſtrength, ordered his troops not to engage, but only keep the enemy in play till the arrival of the ſoltân, who immediately directed his janizaries to attack them on all ſides. On the other hand, the Imperial general, leaving two regiments to guard the camp, had drawn out but five thouſand men into the field; who yet ſo bravely ſuſtained the ſhock of the Othmâns, that, after a ſhort oppoſition, they were obliged to retire. The ſoltân, perceiving from a diſtance ſo unexpected a ſlaughter of his men, advanced in a tranſport of anger; and, killing ſeveral runaways with his own hand, urged the reſt to renew the fight. The Turks, excited by the ſhame of their repulſe, paſſing by the left wing of the Germans, attacked their camp ſurrounded with carriages, and broke into it, though with conſiderable loſs. Veterani, obſerving this circumſtance, led back his troops; and, falling on the plunderers, made a greater ſlaughter than before. *Veterani attacked.*

The Turks again fled without ſtopping, till met by the ſoltân: who, ſeeing Shahîn Mohammed Pâſhâ, reproached him in theſe terms: "He was guilty of a great error who called thee Shahin, that is, the falcon, ſince thou doeſt not, like a falcon with rapacious talons, ſtrike at thy enemy's head; but, like a crane, draw after thee a company of fugitives." Shahîn, ſtung by theſe expreſſions, rallied with Mohammed Beg the flying troops; and, reſolving to conquer or die, made a third attack upon the Germans. The janizar aga, reprimanded by the wazîr, exerted himſelf in the ſame manner, among the diſperſed janizaries. Thus the fight being renewed, continued for ſeveral hours with great ardour; and the Germans would probably have withſtood all their efforts, if Veterani had not, in the heat of the battle, been obliged by a wound, (K), to quit his horſe, and get into a waggon: for, on *His brave defence,*

ſight

(K) He was ſhot through the body with a muſket-ball, and cut over the head with a ſcymeter, of which wounds he died.

fight of this accident, the Imperialists, destitute of a commander, retired.

and retreat.

This retreat was performed in such good order, that Soltân Mostafa, perceiving it dangerous by pursuit to drive such valiant troops to despair, privately ordered the mufti, by some means, to keep the Othmân army in the camp. This purpose that prelate effected by a fetvah, declaring, "That it is contrary to the precepts of the Korân to pursue too closely a flying enemy; and that he would lose the crown of martyrdom, who should perish in such a case." Indeed the soltân had many important reasons for restraining his soldiers from any farther engagement; since the death of one thousand horse and one thousand five hundred foot, slain on the enemy's part, had been revenged by the slaughter of the chief officers of the army, with about ten thousand common soldiers. The soltân therefore, leaving the Germans to make a secure retreat, led back his forces towards the Danube. In this march he took Logush and Karansebes, places destitute of all means of defence; and, demolishing them, returned triumphant through Walakhia to Constantinople. On the other hand, Frederick Augustus, having rather shewn his troops to the enemy, than led them to battle, without any trophies, sent them into winter-quarters.

The Poles quiet.

The Poles, either on account of the king's indisposition, or deterred by their former losses, did not re-enter Moldavia this campaign; content with having secured their conquests, and defended their borders from the perpetual incursions of the Tatars. These never failed every year to lay waste Podolia and Pokutia, as far as Leopolis, and take the inhabitants prisoners, who confided to much in the Polish arms: nay the winter was hardly over, when Kaplân Gyeray, Khân of Krîm, assaulted the very suburbs of that city, carried off four pieces of cannon from the very gate, and returned with above fourteen thousand prisoners. Peter I. czar of Russia, with a design entirely to destroy this chief, in the beginning of summer attacked Azak or Asof, the strongest bulwark of Krîm Tartary: but his soldiers, not being yet used to sieges, he was forced to retire without success.

Venetian affairs.

The war was carried on more successfully this year against the Venetians, who, flushed with their conquest

died. All his men were cut to pieces, having had to fight with eighteen thousand janizaries, and forty thousand spahis. Ricaut.

of

of Khios, claimed the dominion of the ſea; and the Turkiſh ſhips not daring to appear, frequent conſultations were held at the Porte, for the reſtoration of their naval power. In theſe Mezzo Morto (L), at that time no more than the commander of a ſingle ſhip, made a figure: being ſent for to the council, he not only adviſed them againſt a defenſive war, which the majority was inclined to, but undertook to recover Khios with four ſoltânas only, and eight gallies. The admiral, Amujeh Ogli Huſſeyn Pâſhâ, at this propoſal, treated him with contempt, as a preſumptuous raſh man; and even added threats to his reprimand. But the ſeraſkier Meſrli Ogli, who had the chief direction of the war againſt the Venetians, approving of his ſcheme, delivered to him the ſhips which he wanted [w].

Defeated by Mezzo Morto.

With theſe Mezzo Morto ſailed for Khios, followed ſoon after by the whole Turkiſh fleet; and, after having taken two of the Venetian ſhips, appointed for defence of the haven, obliged the reſt to fly. The garriſon, who before contemned the Turks, on ſight of this defeat quite loſt their courage. They never imagined, that the Turkiſh fleet, ſo often defeated, could be repaired ſo ſoon; or that there was any perſon among the enemy able to teach them the art of naval war: ſo that, truſting ſolely to their fleet, they had taken no care to fortify their city. And, as their whole buſineſs there had been to ſhut up the Greek churches, and commit other violences in breach of their faith; ſo now finding themſelves unable to defend

[w] Cant. ubi ſupr. p. 397, & ſeqq.

(L) Mezzo pronounced Metzo, an African, born of Mooriſh parents, famous for his piracies, when young, from Tunis. Being ſo grievouſly wounded in a battle, wherein he was taken by the Spaniards, that his life was deſpaired of, he got the name of Metzo Morto, or half dead. After ſeventeen years impriſonment, he was redeemed, and reſumed his old trade with great ſucceſs. For his ſervices at Khios, he was made captain of a galley; and, when the ſoltân was going to confer on him the honour of admiral and wazir, with three tûgs, he was allowed to retain his ſailor's habit. When urged by the other wazîrs to lay it aſide, he ſaid, the Turkiſh dreſs did not ſuit with ſailors, and that fine cloaths were the greateſt reproach to a mariner: ſo that, ſince that time, all the admirals and captains of ſhips have worn the ſea-habit. He inſtructed the ſailors and marine forces in the art of fighting at ſea.—Cant.

the

the place againſt ſo numerous an army, they turned their reſentment againſt their fellow-citizens; and, calling them traitors, reſolved to plunder and put them to the ſword. The Greeks, ſeeing themſelves in this dangerous ſituation, endeavoured to mitigate the fury of their tyrants, and incline them to mercy, by giving them ſtrong proofs of their fidelity; but, finding the calumnies of their accuſers prevail againſt them, for want of a better remedy they informed the ſeraſkier of their danger.

They deſert Khios.

That general, imagining this to be a ſtratagem of the Venetians to prevent a ſudden attack, deferred undertaking the ſiege of Khios; and ſo gave the Venetians time, after plundering the inhabitants and churches, to embark with their effects on board the ſhips remaining in the harbour. Next day the ſeraſkier, acquainted with the flight of the Venetians, took the city; and, dragging out from their lurking places, ſuch as their ſhips could not contain, put them to death. He likewiſe conſtrained thoſe Khians, who had turned Romaniſts, either to conform to the Greek church, or ſubmit to captivity; and, reſtoring to the Greeks the churches taken from them, ſhut up thoſe of the Latins: thus retaliating on the latter all the acts of tyranny which they had exerciſed on the former. Nor was their misfortune much alleviated by a victory gained by them near Argos, in which four hundred Turks were ſaid to have been ſlain.

The Arabs defeated.

In Arabia, the rebel Sheykh Amîr Mohammed was defeated by the pilgrims guarded by Arſlân Pâſhâ, governor of Tripoli, with ſome troops, and that dangerous wound of the Othmân empire healed for a time. Soltân Moſtafa, on his return to Adrianople, ſolemnized, with great pomp, theſe victories, as ſo many happy omens of his reign, and appointed Meżzo Morto, by whoſe conduct he had recovered Khios, high admiral. He likewiſe rewarded the reſt who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this campaign; while the Turks in general, animated by their late ſucceſſes, on iſſuing his commands for raiſing a more numerous army, liſted themſelves voluntarily in great numbers: but before he had made the neceſſary preparations for the field, Frederic Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, at the end of the year 1107, beſieged Temeſwaer with the Imperial army. The ſoltân haſtened to its relief, on whoſe approach the Germans abandoned the enterprize, and encamped eight hours diſtance from that city, with a reſolution to wait for the Othmâns.

Hej. 1107. A.D. 1696.

The

The Othmâns ſoon after came up, and pitching their tents in ſight of the enemy, by advice of Tekeli, who attended the ſoltân, fortified their camp with ſtrong ramparts, as well as wide and deep trenches; a method unuſual with the Turks. The night following the Imperial general reſolved on a bold attempt, which would have been very glorious if crowned with ſucceſs. There lay between the two camps a brake of briars, ſurrounded with a marſhy ground, ſcarce an Italian mile over; but ſo thick, that a perſon unarmed could not paſs through it. Here he ordered twenty-four different paths to be cut, and at day-break the army, with as many cannon, to march through, and attack the Turkiſh ramparts. The ſoldiers executed theſe orders with great bravery, and having diſcharged their artillery three or four times, made a vigorous aſſault on the ſoltân's camp; but, unluckily for the Imperialiſts, they happened upon the ſtrongeſt part of it, where the janizaries, and Meſrli with his Egyptians, were poſted. They penetrated their trenches, and made a great ſlaughter, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the whole army, that the ſoltân himſelf left his tent, and retired to the fartheſt part of the camp; but ſoon after the Imperialiſts were overpowered by numbers, and repulſed with great loſs of men, beſides their twenty-four cannon. *The Turks attacked, and Germans repulſed.*

This victory was chiefly owing to the wazîr Etmas Mohammed Pâſhâ, who firſt, with his men, ſtopped the fury of the Germans, now preſſing to the ſoltân's pavilion; and, by his example, encouraged the janizaries, who were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion by the ſudden irruption of the enemy. After the Germans had given way, they were entirely routed by the boſtanji; who, though deſigned only for the ſoltân's guard, and never employed before in any military ſervice, were, in this emergency, ſent by Moſtafa to aſſiſt the janizaries. There were ſlain on the ſide of the Turks, Moſtafa Pâſhâ, governor of Temeſwaer, the wazîr's brother, and many other officers of note, beſides ſeveral thouſand janizaries and Egyptians. Of the Germans, thoſe only were killed who were found in the trenches. The reſt of the army ſtood the whole day in order of battle, expecting the Othmâns; but the ſoltân, content with the preſent victory, ordered the mufti, by a fetvah, to prohibit any farther engagement; and a few days after, marching eaſtward, put an end to the campaign[x].

[x] Cant. p. 400, & ſeq.

Accord-

Their losses. According to the Christian historians, the approach of night put an end to the battle, which the Imperialists would have renewed next day, but that the Turks had so fortified their camp before morning, as to have rendered it almost impregnable. The Imperialists lost here a great many men, besides several brave officers; particularly general Heusler, and major-general Pohland, died of their wounds; they likewise lost some cannon in the heat of the action, because their carriages were shot to pieces. On the other hand, the Turks, had above eight thousand men killed, according to the report of a pâshâ taken prisoner in the battle[y].

Russians take Asof. The Poles, besides their usual slowness, were prevented this year from raising an army by the death of John Sobieski, after a long illness; whence ensued the cabals which attend the election of a new king of that nation. Peter, czar of Russia, assisted by officers and gunners brought from Germany, with a larger and better disciplined army than that which he commanded the year before, assaulted Asof with such vigour, that the garrison, after being reduced to four hundred, surrendered the castle; and their example was soon followed by those of the castle of Luttikh opposite to that fortress.

Venetian affairs. While the Russians prevailed on this side, the Venetians besieged Dulcineum, a port famous for the resort of Turkish pirates; but were obliged by the garrison to raise the siege, after they had bravely repulsed Omer Beg Pâshâ of Arnaud from their trenches; although it is likely they would have received a total defeat, had not Liberakhi, prince of Mania, drawn his countrymen by a stratagem to revolt; so that the Othmân forces being thus weakened, the seraskier thought fit to retreat. The Venetians, on the other hand, content with defending their former acquisitions, applied themselves to repair Hexamilion (N), in order to secure the Morea by land.

At sea, Mezzo Morto, kapudân pâshâ, regulated the fleet in a manner before unknown to the Turks; he avoided engaging, like his predecessors, without regard to wind or situation, and watched all the motions of the Venetians; who, struck with admiration at his conduct,

[y] Ricaut in Mostafa II.

(N) A wall six miles long, built across the Isthmus of Korinth, with a town not far off to the south-west.

durst

durſt not hazard an engagement; ſo that nothing memorable was performed on either ſide during the whole year.

Moſtafa having led back, and diſbanded his army at Adrianople, removed to his other capital, which he entered with as much pomp as if his victories had been far ſuperior to thoſe of the conquerors of Conſtantinople, Hungary, and Egypt. Yet the greateſt ornament of this triumph was the cannon taken from the Germans near Temeſwaer, followed by ſeveral noble captives made priſoners in the former battle againſt Veterani. On the third day after this public entry, the ſoltân viſited the monument of Abu Ayûb Anſâri, where he was girt with a ſword by the ſheykh of that jami [z]. *Moſtafa's triumph.*

On the 1ſt of November an ambaſſador from Perſia arrived at Conſtantinople, and, on the 20th, made his entry into Adrianople, in great pomp, with a retinue of a hundred and fifty perſons, and had audience of the ſoltân. The buſineſs of his embaſſy was to get Babek Solymân Bey removed from his government of Karamania, on account of his unquiet diſpoſition; to have a place aſſigned the Perſians to pray in the temple of Mekka, ſeparate from other nations, and that precedence might be given in the Holy Land to the Armenian patriarchs, before others of the Chriſtian ſects who were ſubjects of the king of Perſia. After twenty-five days ſtay the ambaſſador was anſwered, that Babek, being an hereditary prince, could not be removed without breach of the law; that the temple of Mekka being holy, and free alike to all Mohammedans, no ſeparate place could be aſſigned in it to the Perſians; laſtly, that in the time of the wazîr Moſtafa Pâſhâ, the pre-eminence in the Holy Land had been given to the Franks in ſo ſolemn a manner, that it could not be taken away or violated. Indeed, at his requeſt, a place of devotion at Balata in Conſtantinople was reſtored to the ſubjects of Perſia, as having formerly belonged to the Armenians; but after his departure it was taken away, and the Armenian commiſſary could find no redreſs [a]. *Perſian ambaſſador.*

The ceremonies before mentioned being over, the ſoltân applied himſelf wholly to warlike preparations; he ordered thirty-ſix large ſhips of war to be built, deſigning part of them againſt the Venetians, and part againſt the Ruſſians, who, ſince the taking of Azak, had begun to raiſe a fleet in the Euxine Sea, with a great number of gallies and galliots. He honoured Mezzo Morto, the admiral, habited in a mariner's dreſs, with three tugs, and *Preparations for war.*

[z] Cant. p. 402, & ſeqq. [a] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

gave

gave him the command of the whole sea, with the islands. He likewise bestowed liberal rewards on the rest of the sea officers who had distinguished themselves in former expeditions. To supply his army he had already enrolled twelve thousand yamaghi janizaries (O) and eight thousand levendi (P), exercised daily the soldiers and courtiers in the use of arms, and having published a firmân, ordered the whole strength of the empire to be assembled at Adrianople about Hedrelez [b], or St. George's day. To enable him to do all these things, his first care was to provide money, by laying taxes on the people and employments. He likewise made a new regulation in the coin, never thought of by any of his predecessors, and unprecedented in any country except in England the year before; which was, that all the pieces of gold and silver current through the Othmân empire should be stamped with his own name. In consequence of this regulation, the French five sol pieces, Venetian chekîns, and Dutch lion dollars, many millions of which had been imported in a few years, were carried to the mint, and when recoined were delivered out for bullion, or other coin. He likewise reduced the charges of officers as much as conveniently could be; amongst the rest, Tekeli's pension suffered a great retrenchment, no more than five dollars a day being allowed for the maintenance of himself, his consort and retinue; only to assist them, they were licensed to sell wine, which was at that time prohibited. Accordingly the prince set up a wine-cellar within the Greek liberties, where he followed the vintner's trade to great advantage.

A.D. 1697.

Alters the coin.

Battle of Zenta, and Panic of the Turks.

Rebellion in Asia.

THE soltân all the while was very intent on preparing for the campaign; but the troops of Asia were detained by the progress which the rebels made in that part of the empire, where they were grown so powerful, that they were forbidden by proclamation to transport themselves into Europe, on penalty of having their houses demolished, their

[b] Cant. p. 403, & seq.

(O) Those newly lifted, or taken occasionally out of the jebeji, or other new troops. Cant.

(P) A corruption of some Italian word. It denotes the marine forces, a disorderly kind of men: but brought under some regulation by Mezzo Morto.

timârs

timârs and ziamets deſtroyed, with all the lands they held of the ſoltân. Theſe menaces ſo incenſed them, as being ſoldiers, that they cut off the ears and noſes of all they took priſoners, and in that condition ſent them to Conſtantinople. However, ſoon after, the ſoltân promiſing them a general pardon, ten thouſand deſerted the cauſe, and came to ſerve him in his war.

Moſtafa ſets forward.

Moſtafa was now at Sofia, on his march to Hungary, where the Imperialiſts had been forced to raiſe the ſiege of Bihacz; and, though for want of recruits from ſeveral parts, he had not above forty thouſand men, yet he was reſolved to proceed. He was ſo well pleaſed alſo on hearing the prince of Conti was elected king of Poland, that he ordered the wazir to write Tekeli word that he had declared him king of Hungary; and at the ſame time ſent him his commiſſion, with a letter ſuperſcribed Orla Majjar Krâli, *To the king of Hungary.* This miſerable prince was gone to the baths of Pruſa, or Burſa, in Anatolia, for the benefit of his health; and though he was then grievouſly afflicted with the gout and palſey, was hurried away in a waggon by the chauſh, without the leaſt regard either to his dignity or indiſpoſition. At length the ſoltân marched to join the forces already in Hungary [c]. But it is time now to return to the Turkiſh hiſtorians.

Marches to Belgrade againſt the Germans.

The ſoltân, relying on this military force, though informed that the king of France had concluded the war with the emperor, yet rejected the peace offered by the Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors, boaſting that he was alone able not only to repreſs, but ſubdue him. Towards ſummer therefore he marched to Belgrade, where, on muſtering his army, he found it to conſiſt of one hundred and thirty-five thouſand men, beſides the families and ſervants of the pâſhâs, a very great number of which attend the camp, with a multitude of other uſeleſs perſons. To this ſtrong army the emperor had only oppoſed forty-ſix thouſand Germans, under the command of prince Eugene of Savoy, with orders not to attack the Turks, or engage in battle without compulſion, but only to guard Peterwaradin, and the other fortreſſes of Hungary, ſituate on the Danube.

The Turks, having extorted this intelligence from the priſoners by torture, it was reſolved in council to avoid the Germans encamped at Segedin, and penetrate into Tranſilvania. This advice was given to Tekeli, who al-

[c] Ricaut. ubi ſupra.

leged that it would be easy to subdue that country, both because the emperor's general had drained the garrisons of their men, and the Hungarian rebels, assembled to the number of fifty thousand, offered to join the Othmân troops. The army, having passed the Danube, was ordered to move towards Temeswaer; but the soltân, in his second day's march, hearing that the Imperialists were advanced to Titul, again called a council, wherein it was determined to attack the enemy, lest while the soltân was in Transilvania they should take Belgrade; and by defeating them, lay all Hungary open to the Turkish arms. To put this design in execution, the soltân ordered his fleet to go up the Danube to the mouth of the Teisse, and marched with his land forces towards Titul.

The Turks worsted. Mean while the Germans, though but six thousand horse, perceiving the approach of the Turks from the high mountain on which that fortress stands, to prevent their passage, fortified its banks with ramparts and cannon. The soltân, perceiving himself braved by so small a body, ordered several pâshâs to cross the river in open boats, promising to the soldiers fifty gold crowns for every German taken alive, and twenty-five for every head. Not knowing that the banks were fortified, they passed over without order; but when several thousands of them had reached the other side, and their number began to encrease, the Germans, who were quiet at first, discharged their cannon amongst the thickest of them, and mounting their ramparts, attacked them sword in hand. The janizaries, terrified at the unexpected noise of the cannon, and taking to flight, three thousand of them were slain; nor could one have escaped, if the fleet had not luckily come up, and seized the isle in the middle of the Teisse; by which means the janissaries crossed the river lower down, and then marched in a body against the enemy's ramparts. Hereupon a second, but slighter, engagement ensued; for the Germans, seeing the janizaries continually increase, to avoid being oppressed by numbers, retired first to the city, and thence to the plain of Kobila. In the evening some Heydûks, who stayed behind, set fire to the castle, and then followed their companions [d].

Attempt Peterwaradin. The soltân passing the Teisse with the rest of his forces, marched towards the enemy, still encamped at Segedin. Finding in the plain the bridge left entire by the Germans, he turned his army towards the Danube, and stopped at

[d] Cant. p. 404, & seq.

the

the lower end of the isle formed by that river opposite to Peterwaradin. Here, in a third consultation, it was resolved to besiege that fortress; and running a bridge over the stream, passed the army before the Imperialists could march thither from their camp. This bridge was computed a work of two days, and might have been finished the second day, if some of the garrison of Peterwaradin, concealed in the island, with four cannon, had not, when they saw the Turks near the bank, sunk several of their boats with great shot; for although, on the arrival of the Othmân fleet, they were obliged to quit the isle, yet they prevented the Turks from finishing the bridge till the third day, and by these means deprived them of the victory.

Prince Eugene, who, on news of the soltân's march, had left Segedin with great expedition, arrived that day at sun-set, and passing by the enemy's camp, hastened to the head of the bridge, in spite of the endeavours of Shahbaz Gyeray Soltân, who, to stop his swift progress, had, with twelve thousand Tatars, burnt up all the grass; so that neither forage nor water was to be found for the space of nine hours. On this unexpected arrival of the Germans, a fourth consultation was held, whether it was proper to attack the enemy in such an open plain, before they had fortified their camp, or to wait till the Imperialists should assault the Othmâns in their trenches. *The Germans appear.*

The prime wazîr endeavoured to persuade the soltân to approve the former opinion; alleging, that it was not honourable to suffer the enemy, who were so near, to escape without offering them battle; that the impatience with which God inspired the soldiers for battle, sufficiently declared, that then was the time to defeat the enemy; and that if this ardor should be repressed, it was to be feared the restraint would throw the whole army into a pernicious languor, or excite in them thoughts of sedition, for want of other employment. This opinion of the wazîr was boldly opposed by Koja Jâffer Pâshâ, an experienced soldier, who had been present in almost all the battles against the Germans. He urged, that he had observed whenever the enemy fought in an open plain, in which they could at pleasure open their front, advance, or retire, they had always gained the victory, even though the Othmân troops were much superior in number; whereas they had never so great an army in the field as at present; and that they were now commanded by a general of approved valour and conduct, who, as he imagined, would not provoke the Turks to a battle, unless he had *The wazîr's advice opposed by Jâffer Pâshâ.*

placed his own troops to such advantage, as to be in a manner sure of victory.

The wazîr observing almost all the pâshâs to be swayed by Jaffer's opinion, to prevent it taking place of his own, styled him an infidel and traitor for giving such advice, as if he had been bribed by the enemy, to prevent the soltân from taking wholesome counsel. Jâffer Pâshâ, finding the wazîr's obstinacy could not be surmounted any other way, desired the soltân to remove the curtain (B), and hear in person what he had to say for the advantage of the Othmân interest. This request being granted, Jaffer proceeded to this effect: "But if, brother, you have gained such high favour with God, that he inspires you with counsels, and assures you of the events, you cannot blame me if, not knowing it to be so, I do not believe it. I am content to be laid in irons, by his majesty's order, while you attack the enemy; and, if within an hour or two you do not betake yourself to a shameful flight, I will submit to suffer, like a stinking dog, whatever punishment his majesty pleases to inflict; but if, which God forbid, my prediction should be fulfilled, may you give an account of your imprudence to the Deity and the soltân." He added, that whatever happened to himself, he should adhere to his former opinion, and avise not to engage the enemy, but only fortify the trenches, and wait to be attacked; that, by this conduct, although the Othmâns should not prove victorious, yet he could, with certainty, promise they would not be defeated; that even in case the enemy should pass by their camp, and advance to the head of the bridge, he was of opinion they ought not to march out against them, but surround them with ramparts, which would oblige them, for want of provisions, either to attack their camp, or pass the Danube, and so give the Turks an opportunity of falling on them in their passage, without any hazard.

The soltân doubtful.

The soltân, although he approved of Jâffer's advice, yet adjourned the council till the next day; but commanded his men to keep in their trenches, and the chaûshi to beat back those who, of their own accord, had already taken the field. This precaution not being sufficient to restrain the ardor of the soldiers for a battle, the

(B) When upon an expedition, a galibe diwân is called: the soltân sits, indeed, in it, but in a particular place, with a perdeh, or certain curtain drawn before him, where he can hear all that is said, without being seen. Cant.

mufti

mûfti proclaimed by a fetvah, that whoever ſhould fall in ſuch a battle, would not only loſe the crown of ſhehadet, or *martyrdom*, but alſo lament their unſeaſonable boldneſs in hell.

Mean while prince Eugene, having advanced as far as the bridge, and with the waters of the Danube refreſhed his troops, who were almoſt dead with thirſt and heat, drew them up, and in this poſture remained all night. The Turkiſh ſoldiers were, on this occaſion, ſeized with great terror, thinking that they had been reſtrained from fighting by their general's fear, which they conſidered as the worſt of omens to the Othmân affairs. The wazir making uſe of theſe diſcourſes in the camp, to expoſe Jaffer Paſhâ to the ſoltân, urged how fatal that officer's too great caution might prove, unleſs immediately obviated: for that the enemy could not be deprived of neceſſaries, ſince they had the Danube open, and were maſters of all the towns above them; while by the Othmân inactivity time was loſt, the army languiſhed in idleneſs, and the Germans were every day ſtrengthened [a].

Moved at laſt to beſiege Segedin.

But although the ſoltân could not conſent to attack the Imperialiſts, yet he reſolved to go and beſiege Segedin, the wazîr ſuggeſting that it could not hold out above ten days; that when taken, the whole country between the Teiſſe and Danube would be reduced to the Othmân obedience, and the neighbouring parts of Hungary laid open to be waſted by the Tatars; that the German army was ſo heavy and fatigued as not to be able to follow them; that they might indeed beſiege Belgrade, but could have no hopes of ſucceeding againſt a place provided with ſuch a ſtrong garriſon, plenty of proviſions, and a fleet at hand to throw in ſupplies; that, however, the more effectually to ſecure it, Jâffer Pâſha might be ſent thither as governor, whoſe abilities in defending cities had ſufficiently appeared in the ſiege of Temeſwaer.

As this part of the wazir's advice was given with a view to remove Jâffer Pâſhâ from the ſoltân, and then find occaſion to put him to death for a warning to others, Moſtafa, who perceived it, would not conſent to the propoſal, under pretence that Jâffer's counſels would be neceſſary in the army. Next morning, being the 5th of Jomazio-'lâwel, at day break, he ſet forward with his forces, and after nine hours march pitched his tents near a lake, with a bridge over it, where the Germans had lately encamped.

Marches to Zenta.

[a] Cant. p. 405, & ſeq.

Next day, leaving Kyuchûk Jâffer Pâshâ (C) behind, with five hundred horse, he proceeded before day to Zenta, a castle, little noted before, on the banks of the Teisse, with extraordinary expedition.

Prince Eugene follows.

Prince Eugene, on hearing the tubulkhâna, imagined it was the signal for battle, and drew up his troops to receive the Turks: but when he understood by his scouts that they were marching to Zenta, taking this motion to be a flight, he ordered the Hungarian horse to haste before, and, leaving behind the heavier and weaker part of his army, immediately followed with less prudence than courage, at the head of only sixteen thousand men. The Hungarians that night coming to the lake, found the Turks sleeping, who expected nothing less than the enemy, and cut off the whole party, excepting the Pâshâ's chamberlain. This person, who escaped by means of the darkness, immediately fled to Zenta, and informed the wazîr of this disaster, and the approach of the Germans. That minister, to prevent the report from raising new commotions in the camp, immediately beheaded the messenger of it; and informed the soltân that the Hungarians had indeed surprised Jâffer Pâshâ, but were afterwards defeated by the Othmân forces. He had scarce made this report, when some Tatar troops arrived, and informed the camp that the whole German army were pursuing the Othmân forces with the utmost speed, and were now just at hand.

Mostafa flies.

The soltân immediately commanded his men to halt, and a bridge to be run over the Teisse; which was performed in four hours. At noon he passed over first on horse-back, and when the wazîr came to kiss his stirrup, received him with a stern countenance; at the same time bidding him take care to convey over safely whatever was in the camp, for that if the enemy should take but a single waggon, he should suffer an infamous death. The wazîr knowing it required at least two days to transport every thing, and that his ruin was inevitable if he should ever appear before the soltân, at first sent over eight cannon with their ammunition, and allowed the spâhis, with the troops commanded by the pâshâs, to pass, but

(C) Being taken here by the Germans, he gave them an exact account of the state of the Othmân army; for which he was set at liberty after the battle. Nor was he, at his return, punished by the soltân for this treachery, but restored to his dignity. He died next year. Cant.

stopped

ſtopped the reſt; alledging, that the remainder of the cannon and army, which was the greater part, ought to be detained for defence of the camp, in caſe the enemy ſhould attack it in the rear.

Theſe forces had ſcarce got over next day at noon, when the wazîr being informed the Germans were within three hours march of the camp, that he might not die without his rivals, ſent for all the pâſhâs who had already paſſed over with their troops, under pretence of conſulting them. They being obliged to obey his order, returned on foot, as the waggons on the bridge would not allow horſes to paſs; and being all aſſembled, except the kaymaykân, Bayukli Moſtafa Pâſhâ, the wazîr declared, that the enemy being now in ſight, they, who had refuſed to fight when they had a convenient place and opportunity ſhould now be forced to do it, without thoſe advantages: that they had but one happineſs left, to be gâzi, if they conquered, or ſhehîd, if they died valiantly; and as one of thoſe ineſtimable privileges waited for him that day, he thought it unreaſonable to defraud them, his brethren, of the right they had to be partakers with him. "Behold, therefore, continued he, paradiſe open before you, which I command you by the divine injunction to enter, and enjoy the delights promiſed by our prophet: but if you refuſe to obey the law, and my orders, my ſword ſhall deprive you both of the life which you deſire, and the paradiſe which you deſpiſe." *The wazîr remains.*

The pâſhâs, not daring to oppoſe the wazîr in the midſt of the camp, nor knowing how to eſcape, promiſed obedience, and retired to the trenches; which being too extenſive for the forces which remained, they began to form a leſſer trench within the greater. The ſoldiers indeed complained, and reproached the wazîr to his face with their imminent danger, yet obeyed his orders, as their own ſafety was concerned. Mean while the German army appeared, and covered the whole plain; at which ſight the ſoltân, enraged, ſent repeated khatiſhârifs to the wazîr; commanding him to ſend over the janizaries, cannon, and ammunition, let what would become of the other carriages: but Elmâs Mohammed concealed theſe orders from the pâſhâs, and anſwered the bearer, that he had rather die fighting valiantly with his ſword, than be put to death by the ſoltan: he alſo hindered the janizaries from paſſing. In this aim he was aſſiſted by the negligence of the herdſmen, who ſeeing the Germans approach, drove all the cattle appointed for drawing ſo *Reſolved to die fighting*

many thouſand waggons into the river. The ſtream forcing them againſt the bridge, they endeavoured to mount it, and thus ſunk three of the boats on which it was founded: ſo that no more than one man at a time could make a ſhift to paſs upon planks laid acroſs.

Battle of Zenta.

The imperial forces arrived about three hours before night; and imagining the Turkiſh camp to be only guarded by the carriages, fell on at once, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Finding, however, that beſides two rows of waggons, chained together, the Turks were fortified by a double trench, and that the forces on this ſide the river were much ſuperior in number to their own, they reſolved to alter their plan. The channel of the Teiſſe, when ſwoln by the autumnal or winter rains, is full of water, which falling in ſummer, leaves a ſandy ſpace of thirty paces at the foot of the weſtern banks of the river, which are high and craggy. Here prince Eugene ordered a trench to be dug a little below the Turkiſh camp; and ſeveral regiments to fall on the enemy that way within, while he attacked them without. Leſt the ſoltân, to reinforce the wazîr, ſhould repair the bridge, he planted two cannon near the head of it, by which it was quickly demoliſhed. To prevent this diſaſter, Moſtafa had ordered Arnaud Abdi, the kyehaya, with four cannon, to fire from the oppoſite bank; but having nothing to ſecure the engineers but a place covered with reeds, he was forced to remove them, after ſeveral had been killed.

The Turks overthrown.

Indeed every thing ſeemed to conſpire the deſtruction of the Turks: the janizaries themſelves having repulſed the Germans from the outer trench, retired into the inner, and declared their reſolution to defend it. But the wazîr, with the reſt of the pâſhâs, endeavouring to divert them from their purpoſe, firſt by entreaties, and afterwards by force, they turned their deſpair into rage, and deſtroyed not only the wazîr and pâſhâs, but all their own officers, excepting their aga Delli Bâlta Ogli. In the midſt of this confuſion, part of the German forces ſeized the outer trench abandoned by the Turks, and feigned to attack the inner; with a view to draw the enemy from that ſide of the camp next the river, and by diſpoſing their own men along the bank, to render the aſſault more eaſy. Theſe appearing ſuddenly at the head of the bridge, the Othmâns, ſtruck with terror, employed their whole ſtrength in that part to hinder the Germans from entering. The inner trench being thus left negligently guarded,

ed, the Imperialists, who were on that side, seized it, and fell in the rear upon the Turks at the river; who, now inclosed, and pressed on all hands, fought bravely, though in confusion. But at length, having in vain attempted to force a passage, in the space of three hours, were all slain to a man [f].

So considerable a number of men was never before known to have been destroyed in so short a space of time: for the whole action did not last above two or three hours [h].

By the lists there appeared to have been killed fourteen thousand and seventy janizaries, with their agâ; seventy-three Ojâk and Buljâk Agulari; three thousand seven hundred Topchi and Jebeji; seven thousand Arnauds; the wazîr Elmâs Mohammed Pâshâ; fifteen pâshâs of three horse-tails; twenty-seven pâshâs of one or two horse-tails; besides a great number of usual attendants on Turkish camps: so that the whole number of slain may be justly computed at above thirty thousand. The only person who escaped was Mahmûd Ebn Ogli, pâshâ of the Arnauds, who, being twice wounded, was saved by the strength of his horse, which conveyed him over the river. However, the Othmâns did not fall unrevenged, for six thousand Germans are said to have perished in that expedition. *Great slaughter.*

Soltân Mostafa, the melancholy as well as idle spectator of this misfortune, was seized with such a panic, that at midnight, without any guide or light, he abandoned his camp, although there was nothing to be feared from the Germans, who, fatigued with toil, could not repair the bridge in sight of his numerous army. He directed his course towards Temeswaer, putting to death the kâpuji bâshi, Shahîn Mohammed, a Venetian by birth, as a Christian, bribed by the Germans to suggest pernicious counsels, only because he advised him not to leave his camp dishonourably, and by an unnecessary flight give the enemy, who had destroyed but a small part of his army, an entire victory. To add to the misfortune, the night was so dark that the soltan's retinue, unable to discern the road, turning too much to the right, towards the Teisse, fell into marshy grounds, from which they were obliged to free themselve by leaving their horses and baggage behind. At length, about sun-rise, Soltân Mostafa came to the place where the battle had been fought the year before with the Germans, and there changing his horse, as *Strange terror of the Turks, and their flight.*

[f] Cant. p. 407, & seq. [h] Ricaut in Mustapha II.

well

well as habit, unknown to all, fled with the utmost speed to the city whither he was bound.

The army arriving at noon near the same place, and perceiving neither the soltân, nor any of the great officers among them, were struck with great consternation; which being increased by a rumour, that the soltân was taken by the Hungarians, or betrayed by his followers to the enemy, the soldiers dispersed themselves different ways, every one anxious how to escape the Germans, whom they every moment imagined to be at their heels. In the evening, when they came to Temeswaer, the governor, who had been ordered by the soltân to conceal his arrival, lest the Germans hearing of it should invest him there, shut the gates against them; a circumstance which increased the rumour of Mostafa's being taken, as well as their distress: for, having been too much in haste to bring provision with them, both men and beasts were ready to die with thirst [h].

Hej. 1109. A.D. 1698. At last, after the Othmân army had, for three days, been like a ship in a stormy sea, without either rudder or pilot, Soltan Mostafa, finding there was no danger from the Germans, discovered himself to his soldiers. These testified as much joy on sight of him, as if he had returned in triumph; exclaiming that they regarded not their misfortune, since they were assured of their emperor's safety, and would take a severe revenge upon the enemy. Next day Mostafa led his troops towards Belgrade, and being met at Ali-bunar, by Amûkje Ogli Hussèyn Pâshâ, governor of that city, whom he had sent for, he conferred on him the wazîrship. After a short stay at Belgrade, he returned in the end of Jomazio'lâwel, 1109, with his army, to Adrianople.

Affairs of Bosnia. Such was the fate of the Turkish forces after the battle. As for the Imperialists, they continued all night in the field, apprehensive of some stratagem usual among the Turks; but next day passed the Teisse, and gleaned up what Tekeli had left in the camp. Being discouraged from the siege of such strong cities as Temeswaer and Belgrade, by the lateness of the season, they turned their arms against Bosnia, took the castle of Doba and Mogla, set fire to Saray, the capital of the country, and reduced almost the whole province. The Turkish forces appointed to guard it, not knowing what other method to take, repaired to Dâltabân Mostafa Pâshâ, who then happened to

[h] Cant. p. 411, & seq.

be

be at Bichkia, a town of Bosnia, and forced him to take the command. Under his conduct the Turks resumed their courage, and not only repressed the victorious Germans, but obliged them to retreat beyond the Save, and took from them four-and-twenty castles, situated on both sides of that river.

Russian and Venetian inclinations to peace.

The Russians this summer employed themselves in fortifying Azak and Luktikh with new works, without any disturbance from their enemies; while the new king of Poland, Frederick Augustus, before elector of Saxony, was employed in conciliating the nobles, and preparing for the next campaign. The Venetians sent a fleet into the Mediterranean, and Kiel Mehemed Beg, with his gallies, attempted Tinos: but being repulsed by Bartolomeo Moro, quitted that island. Several other slight rencounters happened at sea with various success [1].

The Peace of Carlovitz, and Deposition of Mostafa.

SUCH were the events of this campaign. Soltan Mostafa, after his return to Constantinople, made all possible preparations for war; but with a mind troubled, and foreboding ill success. The Turks, who had before entered voluntarily into the service, were now backward in obeying even the soltân's commands, and inflexible either to intreaties or threats. Mostafa, while he passed in disguise through the assemblies of the people, frequently heard these words from the citizens and soldiers: "For the Othmâns to defeat the Germans, is a thing beyond their power. God has publicly testified that he is on the side of the Gyawrs. He has signified his decree in that respect by sufficient tokens. It is in vain therefore to shed such torrents of Mussulmân blood, while we are to contend as well against God as man." The soltân, who knew how necessary peace was to recover the exhausted state of the empire, earnestly wished for it: but was prevented from proposing it, lest the enemy should become elated, and the honour of the Othmân empire be diminished. The German emperor was no less impatient on his part for an end of the war; not that he despaired of victory against the Turks, but that he feared that if the king of Spain should die before the war was finished, the disputes which would arise, concerning the succession, might stop the progress of his arms. However, he thought

[1] Cant. p. 414—422.

it

it dishonourable to desire peace of a conquered enemy. The English and Dutch ambassadors, indeed, were at hand to mediate a peace: but their offers having been so often rejected, they chose rather to hear peace sought for, than to propose it.

Maurokordatus's contrivance to compass it.

The chief interpreter of the Othmân court, Alexander Maurokordatus, perceived the inclination of both parties; and as he was no less sagacious, and fond of glory, than devoted to the interest of the Porte, resolved to raise himself a great reputation by rescuing the Turkish empire from destruction. As his hopes were chiefly grounded on the pacific disposition of the wazîr Hussèyn Pashâ, he in a visit to him, turning the conversation upon the subject of peace, observed, that by considering the present situation of affairs in Christendom, he could with certainty affirm the German emperor was very desirous of a peace with the Othmâns. The wazîr answered, it was not probable that the emperor, flushed with his late victory, and full of hopes, would accept of peace, though offered, much less desire it. Maurokordatus replied, it might seem so indeed; but that if a week's time was allowed him to sound the Christian ambassadors, he would engage to procure not only the emperor's consent, but even his request for a negociation.

Having easily obtained leave, Maurokordatus waited on the ambassadors, and pretending, "that he came of his own accord, in gratitude for the favours he had received from the emperor, and to demonstrate the fidelity due from him as a Christian, said, he knew the emperor, from his apprehensions of a French war, was very desirous of peace; that he would not discover this to the Turks, lest it should make them more rigid in their demands, but that, if they would confide in him, and give him a power to manage the affair as he should think proper, he would undertake to settle a peace on such terms as the emperor might reasonably desire." In the mean time, he required of them an oath of secrecy, alledging the danger both himself and family should be exposed to, if suspected by the Turks of the least duplicity. The ambassadors replied, "that the emperor would not perhaps reject honourable conditions of peace, yet would never ask it of the Porte; but that in case the interpreter, in his own name, would propose the affair, he would lay a great obligation on his Imperial majesty."

Sounds both parties.

Maurokordatus, returning to the wazîr, told him, he found by the Christian ambassadors that the emperor was not

not only not averſe to peace, but very deſirous of it, and had requeſted them, by any means, to put an end to the war. The wazîr ſeemed by this ſpeech to be raiſed from the dead; and embracing the artful negociator, "If you execute this divine work (cried he) and reſtore the wiſhed-for tranquillity to our empire, you may be aſſured that you will highly oblige the ſoltân, and for ever endear the memory of your ſervices to the rulers of the Othmân ſtate." By theſe artifices of Maurokordatus, both the Turks and Chriſtians were induced to ſpeak a little more openly concerning the affair of peace, and think they might do it without detriment to the honour of their reſpective maſters, becauſe each party being deceived by the Othmân interpreter, imagined the firſt propoſal came from the enemy.

French oppoſition.

As ſoon as theſe things became public, Feriole, the French ambaſſador, endeavoured, by bribes, promiſes, and other arts, to prevent a negotiation; alleging that his maſter had only made a ſhort truce with the emperor, and that in a few years he would invade Germany with a greater force than ever. But the Othmân court having, by fatal experience, often found the inſincerity of French promiſes, that ambaſſador's efforts miſcarried; and he was ordered to deſiſt from his deſign [k].

Hoſtilities ſlacken.

In the mean time the Turks, omitting no meaſures proper to ſtop the progreſs of the Germans, Soltân Moſtafa, in the end of Zilkaadeh, 1109, removed to Adrianople; from whence, on the firſt of next month, he ordered the wazîr to march with the army towards Hungary, while he ſpent the ſummer in the village of Akbunar, expecting the iſſue of the conferences relating to peace. In the ſame hopes both armies, the Imperialiſts at Peterwaradin, and the Turks near Belgrade, continued without motion, and only guarded their borders. The like conduct was obſerved by the Ruſſians and Poles. The Venetians indeed had a ſlight engagement, near Mitylene, with the Othmân fleet, which was put to flight; and in Dalmatia attempted to take Stolaz by ſtratagem, but were forced to retire. The ſeraſkier, on the other hand, endeavoured to reduce Cing; but on the approach of the Venetians raiſed the ſiege.

Ambaſſadors meet at Carlowitz.

Thus much for the ſtate of hoſtilities this campaign. Let us now ſee what paſſed with regard to peace. The preliminaries having been ſettled at Conſtantinople, am-

[k] Cant. p. 422, & ſeq.

baſſadors

baſſadors were appointed by all the princes engaged in the war. The Turks choſe Rami Mehemed Reis Effendi and Alexander Maurokordatus, honoured with the title of beg and mahremî efrar (R); the emperor employed count Pettingen and count Schlik, his privy counſellors; the czar of Ruſſia pitched upon Prokopius Bogdanowitz Woznîcini; the Poles made uſe of Staniſlaus Mikhelowſki, waywod of Poſnania; and the Venetians deputed Ruzini; Paget and Collier, the Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors, were to act as mediators of the peace. They all met about the end of the year 1110 at Carlovitz, between Peterwaradin and Belgrade, where they pitched their tents on both ſides of the river of the ſame name:

At firſt diſputes aroſe concerning precedence and place in the conferences; the conteſt on this head grew ſo high, that what had been already done muſt have come to nothing, had not Maurokordatus found out an expedient to reconcile the ambaſſadors, now incenſed beyond meaſure againſt each other. He propoſed that a round building ſhould be run up for the place of conference, with as many doors as there were parties, each facing the country from whence the ambaſſador came; that the tents ſhould be ranged in the ſame manner round the building; and on the firſt day of the conference, the miniſters proceeding from their pavilions with an equal pace, ſhould reach the houſe at the ſame time, and ſaluting one another at the entrance, take the ſeats next to them.

Hejr. 1110. A.D. 1698.

This expedient being approved by all, after many conferences and diſputes, the peace wiſhed for by the whole world, excepting the French, was at laſt concluded on the 26th of Rajeb, 1110 (S), and the inſtruments were ſigned by all the ambaſſadors. The emperor made a truce for twenty-five years, upon condition that all Tranſilvania ſhould be reſigned to him in the ſame extent as it had been held by Mikhael Apaffi, and his predeceſſors; that Temeſwaer ſhould be left to the ſoltân; and to prevent its being blocked up by the adjacent caſtles, the walls of Lippa, Khonad, Karanſebes, Lugos, Herkoniſia, Bech, Bechkerek, and

Peace concluded.

(R) That is, *to whom ſecrets are diſcovered.* He invented this name himſelf, and long ſolicited the princes of Moldavia and Walakhia to give him the title of moſt illuſtrious in their letters, inſtead of moſt excellent, which uſed to be given him as chief interpreter, and is not reckoned ſo honourable as the other. Cant.

(S) This year begins June 29th, 1698; ſo that the 26th of Rajeb falls on January the 15th, 1698-9.

Sabbia,

Sabbia, were to be demoliſhed; that the navigation of the Teiſſe and Maros ſhould be free to the ſubjects of both empires; and the country between the Danube and Teiſſe, called Bachkâb, remain in the emperor's hands; that the boundary of the eaſtern part of Hungary, belonging to the emperor, ſhould be a right-line drawn from the mouth of the Maros towards the banks of the Teiſſe, to the mouth of the Boſſut, where it falls into the Save; that towards the ſouth the Save ſhould part the Turkiſh from the Imperial limits, till it receives the Unna; and that no new caſtles, beſides Belgrade and Peterwaradin, ſhould be erected, or old ones fortified, any where within thoſe boundaries.

Terms agreed on by all parties.

The Ruſſian ambaſſador made a truce only for two years (T), upon the foot of each party poſſeſſing what he had taken. The Poles made a truce on like terms with the ſoltân; namely, that they ſhould have Kaminiek, Podolia, and Ukrania, reſtored to them in the ſame extent as poſſeſſed by them, before ſoltân Mohammed's firſt expedition into Poland; and, on the other hand, reſign Soczava, Nemoz, and Soroka in Moldavia, to the Turks. The Venetians obtained theſe conditions, that all the Morea, as far as Hexamilos, ſhould belong to them; and the firm land, with Naupaktum, or Lepanto, Preveſa, and the caſtle of Romania, which had been demoliſhed, ſhould be reſtored to the Turks; that the bay of Korinth ſhould be common to both; and the Venetians poſſeſs Lenkade, with the adjacent iſlands. The yearly tribute paid by the iſlands in the Archipelago, to the Venetians, was to be aboliſhed; and Zakînth to be declared free from the like burthen by the Turks. In Dalmatia Knin, Cing, Kiklut, Verlika, Duare, and Vergoraz, were to be left to the republic, and fixed as the boundaries of their dominions on that ſide. The Raguſians were to continue free, and the Venetians to retain the caſtles of Caſtelnuovo, and Riſano, with what they poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood. Both parties were allowed to fortify their borders with new fortreſſes; or to repair thoſe which were decayed, except-

(T) But afterwards, on ſending an ambaſſador to the Porte, the time was enlarged to thirty years, on condition that the Ruſſians ſhould retain Aſof, and all other places on the Nieper taken from the Turks; only Kaſikermen near the mouth of that river was to be demoliſhed, and left to the Turks. Neither could our author, Ricaut, find that the Ruſſians could obtain a free trade in the Black Sea, with all the inſtances they made for it.

ing

ing Naupaktum, Preveſa, and the caſtle of Romania before mentioned.

Freſh murmurs againſt the ſoltân.

The Turkiſh ambaſſadors, at their return to Adrianople, received royal rewards for their ſervices from the ſoltân; who having ſettled a peace with all his enemies, diſbanded his army, and departed for Conſtantinople. There committing the whole adminiſtration of affairs to Huſſeyn Pâſhâ, he removed, with his court, to Karîſhtirân (U), to divert, by hunting, his regret for the loſs of ſo many provinces. But the people, eſpecially the ſoldiery, grew uneaſy at this receſs of their ſoltân, after ſo many toils, as if the peace was granted them for no other end but to watch and cenſure his words and actions. They bluſhed not to ſay in their aſſemblies, that he ſeemed diſpoſed to imitate his father in all things; and that, like him, after applying the firſt years of his reign wholly to the affairs of ſtate, he was now reſolved to follow dogs and hunting, though he was yet young, and not ſo conſpicuous for his ſervices to the Othmân empire as ſoltân Mohammed; alleging that he had recovered nothing from the enemy, nor done any thing deſerving the thanks of the public during the late war, except in hindering the enemy from penetrating farther into the empire. They therefore concluded, that ſince his father, illuſtrious for ſo many victories, was depoſed on account of his exceſſive fondneſs for hunting, it was to be feared that a like, if not a worſe fate, would attend the ſon, who was much inferior to him in every good quality [1].

Hejr. 1111. A.D. 1699.

Ruſſian preparations.

To avoid theſe reproaches, Soltân Moſtafa took a method often tried, and retired to Adrianople with the wazîr, and all the great officers of the empire; an expedient which had the deſired effect. During his ſtay there, he was informed by letters from the khân of Tartary, that the czar of Ruſſia having changed the habit and religious ceremonies of his country, had introduced thoſe of Germany, and raiſed a very numerous army, diſciplined after the German manner; that he was preparing a fleet with the utmoſt expedition, as well as building new cities and caſtles on the Don, Nieper, and other rivers; that therefore the ſoltân ought to take care leſt while he was at eaſe

[1] Cant. p. 425, & ſeq.

(U) A town between Chorlo, or Chiurli, and Purgaz, near the road to Adrianople, where is a fine palace built by Mohammed IV. for the conveniency of hunting in that pleaſant country. Cant.

from

from the Germans in the Weſt, a new nemche gyawr (W) from the North did not endanger the Othmân empire; ſince nothing could hinder the Ruſſians from over-running all Krîm Tartary in the firſt campaign, before the Othmâns could advance to its relief; that it was neceſſary therefore either to ſettle a firm peace, or immediately to declare war, before the enemy could ſtrengthen themſelves; and that if the ſoltân ſhould doubt the truth of this report, he would do well to ſend a truſty officer, who might examine it on the ſpot.

Kibleli Ogli's falſe report.

In conſequence of this intimation, Soltân Moſtafa ſent his maſter of horſe, Kibleli Ogli, ſon to the wazîr's ſiſter, without that miniſter's knowlege, into Krîm Tartary; with orders ſtrictly to pry into the conduct of the Ruſſians, and immediately return, without acquainting any perſon with the occaſion of his journey. Notwithſtanding this charge Kibleli Ogli, before his departure, ſecretly informed his uncle of the ſoltân's commiſſion. Huſſeyn Pâſhâ, leſt this ſpark ſhould become a greater flame than what had been extinguiſhed, directed his kinſman to come to him, at his return, before he made his report to the ſoltân. Kibleli obeyed his uncle's orders; and acquainted him, that the Ruſſians had built a large fleet at two places, Varoneſhi and Azak (X), and were every day increaſing it; that they had fortified Taganorok in a ſurpriſing manner; and that above twenty thouſand workmen were employed in building new fortifications; that the works at Kamenzaton, above the Nieper, were already finiſhed, and the cataracts of that river opened fit for navigation; that the Tatars had nothing ſecure beyond the Kherſoneſus; and were perpetually annoyed by the incurſions of the Koſaks.

The wazîr, conſidering that if theſe and many other facts of the like nature, were related to the ſoltân, they would occaſion a more dreadful war than the former, deſired his nephew to conceal them, and perſuade his maſter that the khân's report of things was a mere fiction, aggravated after the uſual manner of the Tatars, who were impatient for plunder; that the Ruſſians had, indeed, during the war, began ſeveral caſtles, but had now diſcontinued their works; were deſirous of nothing more than preſerving the peace and commerce between both nations; and for that end would ſoon diſpatch an ambaſſador extraordinary to the reſplendent Porte. Kibleli Ogli, furniſhed with this falſe

(W) That is, a *new German infidel.* (W) Veronitz and Aſof.

ſtory, next day waited on Soltân Moſtafa, as if juſt come from his journey, and told him exactly what he had been taught. The ſoltân, not ſuſpecting his fidelity, was extremely incenſed againſt the khân; and, in a letter, ſeverely reprimanded him for his falſe information. The khân perceiving by this that the ſoltân had been impoſed on by his maſter of horſe, anſwered, that he never dared preſume to offer falſehoods to his majeſty, but judged that Kibleli Ogli, bribed by the enemy, had concealed what he had ſeen and heard in the Krîm, and perhaps had accuſed him of falſehood, becauſe he had not received ſuch rich preſents from him as he expected; adding, that the account which he had before given his majeſty, was as evident as the light of the ſun; and that Kibleli Ogli himſelf would not deny it, in caſe he was ſtrictly examined.

Detected and puniſhed.

This anſwer of the khân being delivered by unknown perſons to the ſoltân, as he was coming out of the jâmi, he immediately ſent for Kibleli Ogli, who being threatened with death if he did not declare the truth, acknowledged that every thing which the khân had aſſerted was fact; and, humbly begging pardon for his crime, alledged that what he did was by perſuaſion of the wazîr, whoſe commands he could not refuſe on account both of his authority and relationſhip. The impoſture of both being thus detected, the ſoltân deprived Kibleli Ogli of his poſt, and baniſhed him: but ſoon after ordered him to be put to death. At the ſame time removing Huſſeyn Pâſhâ from the office of wazîr, he baniſhed him to a village near Sillebria, though without touching his eſtate. After his removal, the wazîrſhip, by a very rare example, was vacant forty days, till the arrival of Dultabân Moſtafa Pâſhâ, governor of Baghdâd, whom the ſoltân had reſolved to advance to that dignity, for having ſubdued the Arabs; and during this interval Silahdar Haſſan Pâſhâ had the adminiſtration of affairs under the title of vekil [m].

Doltabân made wazir.

As ſoon as the new wazîr was veſted with his office, he called for a liſt of the caſtles which the Othmân empire was poſſeſſed of before the laſt war with the Germans; and finding by it that a great many towns beyond the Saave, which he had taken from the Germans when pâſhâ of Boſnia, were reſtored to them by the peace, he was extremely provoked, declaring that the perſons who had made the peace were no leſs Gyawrs than the Germans themſelves, ſince they had delivered up, without

[m] Cant. p. 428, & ſeqq.

any

any neceſſity, ſo many places reduced to the Othmân obedience by his own blood; and had given Kaminiek, a city deſigned by Soltân Mohammed for the bulwark of the whole empire, as well as a noble monument of the Muſſulman religion, by the erection of a magnificent jâmi, in exchange for three towns of Moldavia filled with Chriſtians. Not content with reproaching the makers of the peace, he reſolved to break it, and particularly to declare war againſt the Poles, whoſe weakneſs, while ſeraſkier on that ſide, he had obſerved; and the rather as the confuſed ſtate of Europe, on the death of the king of Spain, was ſuch, that neither the emperor, nor any other Chriſtian power, could aſſiſt them.

Plots againſt the mufti.

His next buſineſs was to ſeek a handle for declaring war, leſt the people, thinking the truce violated, might fear the event: but having no pretence to accuſe the Poles of a breach of the treaty, he declared, that the Othmân ambaſſadors had acted contrary to the Korân, and the ſoltân's command, by giving up more than their orders would juſtify; for which reaſon he reſolved to put them to death. But perceiving that the mufti's authority would be a great obſtacle in this affair, ſince he had not only approved of the peace by his fetvah, but was alſo a profeſt patron of the ambaſſadors, he determined to diſpatch him privately, in reverence to his office. With this view he feigned a ſincere friendſhip for him, often viſiting him in a familiar manner, and diſcourſing with him about public affairs. At laſt, when he thought the matter ripe for execution, he invited the mufti to a ſplendid entertainment; directing ſome of his chamberlains ſuddenly to ſtrangle that prelate with a cord, when the water was pouring out for him to waſh his hands.

His kyehaya's treachery.

But this plot, through his own imprudence, proved his ruin: for having diſcovered the ſecret to his Kyehaya Ibrâhîm Aga, the latter, to ingratiate himſelf with the mufti, went with the kaſâb bâſhi, or chief butcher, and informed him of the danger. On this intimation, the mufti, pretending ſickneſs, threw himſelf on his bed; and, in a faint voice, anſwered the wazîr, who had come in perſon to invite him, that he was extremely ſorry his ſudden indiſpoſition ſhould prevent his going: but that he would ſend his ſon, the nakib effendi, to ſupply his place. When Huſſeyn Pâſhâ was gone, the mufti ſent for the reis effendi, Râmi Mehemed Pâſhâ, lately made a kubbeh wazîr, and maurokordatus: who being made acquainted with the deſign againſt them, it was agreed, by ſome accuſation,

cusation, true or false, to procure the wazîr to be removed; and, if possible, to be put to death. The mufti undertook this province, and next day informed Soltân Mostafa, that the wazîr was engaged in some new designs, destructive to the whole Othmân empire; had secretly listed a very numerous army; made his dependents officers in it; and ordered them to excite the soldiers to demand a rupture of the peace, with a charge to depose his majesty, if he refused to gratify their desires[n].

Put to death. The soltân readily believing what that prelate, for whom he had a great esteem, falsely charged upon the wazîr, ordered him to be sent for; and, having loaded him with reproaches, commanded him to be put to death, without suffering him to speak in his own defence, and gave his post to Râmi Rehemed Pâshâ. But from the wazîr's blood, as from a copious fountain, torrents of human gore flowed out. The ulema, citizens, and soldiers of Constantinople, hearing what had happened at Adrianople, began to complain openly of the present administration; declaring, that the new wazîr, mufti, and other great officers, were traitors; and that their whole management tended to the ruin of the empire: that for this purpose they had persuaded the soltân to put to death Daltabân Mostafa Pâshâ, one of the greatest heros of the age, who had twice signalized his abilities against the Germans and Arabs; so that supposing he had been guilty of some misconduct, he should rather have been banished, that he might, when occasion required, be let loose upon an enemy: but that they being jealous of his merit, would not suffer him to live; and had raised to the wazîrship Râmi Mehemed Effendi, a good scribe indeed, and a learned man, but unfit for such an office: that this

The people murmur. was the reason of persuading the soltân, to reside at Adrianople, and wander in the woods, while the capital of the empire, by the absence of the court and tyranny of governors, was reduced to the lowest poverty: that to disgrace it the more, Kyoprili Abdo'lla Pâshâ, a youth of eighteen, who, except the glory of his father, had nothing to recommend him but his marriage with the mufti's daughter, was appointed Kaymaykâm; as if no bounds could be set to the mufti's will, who wanted but little of ingrossing, with his family, the whole Othmân empire: that all the best mollaships were filled by his young sons,

[n] Cant. p. 430, & seqq.

or

or thoſe who could purchaſe them; for that his houſe was become the office of avarice, where juſtice and eccleſiaſtical dignities were ſold to the rich, inſtead of being beſtowed on men of integrity and learning °.

Such diſcourſes as theſe ſufficiently indicated the people's readineſs to revolt: all they wanted was a leader, and plauſible occaſion; which laſt was ſoon given them by the kaymaykâm himſelf. For in Moharram 1114, after the Janizaries had received their pay, the jebeji, who are next in order, went to the houſes of the kaymakâm and teſterdâr, deſiring alſo to be paid: but Kioprili Abdo'llah putting them off from day to day, about forty of them went to the divân, while he was hearing cauſes, and by an arzuhal beſought him to grant their demand in turn. This petition firing his youthful blood, he reproached the jebeji in very injurious language, and bad them wait, becauſe there was no money in the treaſury. The ſoldiers, provoked at this treatment, in going off, retorted the kaymaykâm's reproaches with great acrimony, on the very ſtairs of the divân, and ſo loud that the by-ſtanders could hear almoſt every word. Hejr. 1114.

New provocation given by the kaymaykâm.

The kaymaykâm being informed of this inſult, commanded the muhzurs (Y) to ſeize and carry them to their chief officer, to be put to death: for it is a capital crime among the Turks to contradict, or uſe reproachful terms to any judge, eſpecially the kaymaykâm, who is ſuppoſed to be the ſoltân's vicegerent. The muhzurs, uſing force, were reſiſted by the jebeji, who, raiſing a tumult in the ſtreet, in the uſual phraſe of the ſoldiers, "yoldaſh yokmidor? *are no companions at hand?*" called out for aſſiſtance. At this cry the jebeji, flocking from all parts, reſcued their fellows from the officers of juſtice, and returning to their quarters, gave an account of what had happened; adding, that it was in vain to expect their pay while the diſtribution was in the hands of a boy, whoſe brains were turned by his high and undeſerved dignity. Their reſentment thus kindled, was inflamed by Kârakaſh Mehemed, a man of great boldneſs, and fond of changes

° Cant. p. 432, & ſeq. See alſo Motray's Travels, vol. i. c. 13. p. 230.

(Y) Their name is derived from Ihzar, *to bring*; becauſe their buſineſs, beſides guarding the wazîr's palace, is to bring the guilty, and if any are to be confined, to keep them till the next diwân.

in the government; who, exciting the whole aſſembly to revenge the injury, they immediately took arms, and ran to the kaymaykâm's palace.

The ſoldiers riſe. Kioprili Abdo'llah Pâſhâ being informed of their approach, eſcaped through a back-door; while the jebeji, on their diſappointment, ran about in parties to ſtir up the janizaries and ulema. Next day the leaders of the ſedition met in the at-meydân (Z); and bound themſelves by oath either to deſtroy the wazîr, mufti, and other oppreſſors of the people, or periſh in the attempt. In this aſſembly Firâri Haſſan Pâſhâ offered to be their leader, and was by them appointed kaymaykâm in the room of Kyoprili Ogli. The Nakib Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi aſſumed the office of mufti, and Dorojan Ahmed Pâſhâ, a perſon of no note, who had been recalled from his paſhâlik, and lived privately, was made wazîr by the rebels. Kul-kyehaya Chalik Ahmed Aga was appointed janizar agaſi; and Diw Ali Aga, who had been deprived of the poſt of kul-kyehaya, was reſtored to that office. By their advice the conſpirators ſhut the gates of the city, and ſuffered no man to go forth, unleſs ſent by themſelves, to prevent the ſoltân being informed of their deſigns. They, in the next place, plundered the magazines of the arms kept there; and prepared themſelves for war with the empire.

March in arms towards Adrianople. Soltân Moſtâfa, when he heard of this ſedition, ſent Moſtâfa Effendi, the chief ſecretary, to enquire into the reaſon of ſo great a rebellion in his capital city, with a promiſe to grant all their deſires: but that officer arriving at the gate on the eighth day of the ſedition, the guard forced him from his horſe, and carried him to the at-meydân; where the people, ſeizing him as a ſpy, before their leaders could reſtrain them, beat him almoſt to death, and tortured him to ſuch a degree, as to make him confeſs what the ſoltân was doing, that they left him neither ſenſe nor ſpeech to declare any thing. Yet this ſilence, which they imputed to his obſtinacy, rather than their own cruel treatment, incenſing them more againſt the ſoltân, they aſſembled above 50,000 ſoldiers on the 19th day; and, leaving the city, reſolved utterly to deſtroy Adrianople, as the rival of the capital, in caſe the inhabitants ſhould dare to oppoſe them. Being come to Hapſa, a town not far from thence, they ſent to inform the ſoltân, "That they had not taken up arms either to fight againſt

(Z) Or Hippodrome, built by Juſtinian, near St. Sophia, and ſtill uſed to air and exerciſe the ſoltân's horſes. Cant.

him,

him, or the Muſſulmâns, but only to oblige the evil miniſters to ſubmit to be tried by the divine judgment of the Korân: but that, if he ſhould uſe the ſword to decide this affair, they would repel force with force; and he would be accountable to God for the needleſs effuſion of Muſſulmân blood." They likewiſe privately warned the inhabitants of Adrianople not to appear in arms, if they would avoid being plundered; ſince they came not to fight with their brethren, but to puniſh the betrayers and oppreſſors of the Othmân empire [p].

Army join them.

The ſoltân, on this meſſage, aſſembled his European troops with the utmoſt expedition, and ordered them to march under the conduct of the wazîr Râmi Mehemed, againſt the rebels: who, by a fetvah of the mufti, Feyzo'llah Effendi were declared Gyawrs; and thoſe promiſed a crown of martyrdom, who ſhould die fighting valiantly againſt them. But, when both armies were in ſight, the Nakib Effendi, who acted as mufti among the conſpirators, held up the Korân to the ſoltân's forces, and deſired them to conſider, "That they were brethren of the ſame religion, the ſame blood, and ſubjects of the ſame dominion: that the people of Conſtantinople had not taken up arms to overturn the empire, or attempt any thing againſt the ſacred law: but to puniſh the infidels, and contemners of the law, agreeably to its precepts; and that, if they endeavoured to oppoſe ſo pious a deſign, they would draw upon themſelves, not only the indignation of God, but likewiſe the ſevereſt puniſhments." The ſoltân's troops were ſo affected by this ſpeech, that they abandoned the wazîr, and joined the rebels, ſaluting them by the name of brethren.

The mufti tortured.

The wazîr, in this deſperate ſtate, fled with two ſervants in diſguiſe, to Varna; and, from thence, back to Conſtantinople, concealing himſelf, for ſome time, in a houſe which he had in the ſuburbs of Ayub. Mean while the rebels encamped under the city, at Solâk Cheſhmeſi; and, from thence, ſent to demand the heads of the wazîr, the mufti with his ſons, and Maurokordatus. The ſoltân, expecting ſuch a meſſage, had ſent off the mufti two days before, and ſeveral boſtânji's to attend him with deſign to ſtop his flight, if the danger increaſed: finding therefore the rebels more obſtinate in their demands, he cauſed him to be brought back and delivered up with his ſons. The inſurgents drove nails in his knees; and, by

[p] Cant. p. 433, & ſeq.

other horrid cruelties, endeavoured to make him discover the immense treasures he was reported to have amassed: but, being a man of great courage, he bore all with singular patience; and uttered not one word, excepting to imprecate vengeance from God on such an impious and ungrateful people. At length, exhausted with so many torments, he was put to death, and his body (A) thrown into river, as if he had been an infidel, unworthy of burial.

Mostafa resigns

The soltân, perceiving, from these circumstances, that the people were more exasperated against him than he had imagined, sent to Dorojân Ahmed Pâshâ (B), the wazîr of the rebels, the seal belonging to that employment; and confirmed the other officers chosen by them in their posts: with a promise to grant all their demands, and deliver up to them the wazîr, and Maurokordatus, who were fled, as soon as they should be taken. But, growing more presumptuous by the soltân's condescension, they concerted measures to depose him. For this end, they dispatched a letter to Ahmed, brother of Soltân Mostafa, desiring him, since they scrupled to enter the Imperial palace with an armed force, to come, if possible, to the camp, either with or without his brother's leave, and the army would immediately proclaim him emperor.

(A) As the laws of the Korân, and the empire, forbid putting a mufti or mollah to death (the highest punishment of the whole order of the ulema and kâdis being banishment), the rebels, to excuse their treatment of him, declared he was a gyawr; and would not allow his body Mohammedan burial, but hired a Greek priest to put him in the ground. This man got some person to drag him along, while he went before singing, instead of the burial hymn, Ordure be upon thy soul; and, at last, flung it into the river, having first, it is said, perfumed it with frankincense, and repeated two Turkish verses, whose sense is, neither yours nor ours, he is gone directly to hell; with which the Turks were so pleased, that they both praised and rewarded the pâpâ for his ingenuity. Cant.

(B) So called by the rebels, because like Doreshenko, Hetmân of the Kosâs, who was called Doroshân by the Turks. But he was before named Damad Ahmed Pâshâ, that is, Ahmed Pâshâ the son-in-law: because he had married the sister of the wazîr Amuje Ogli Husseyn Pâshâ, and granddaughter of Kyoprili Mostafa Pâshâ; the handsomest woman in her time, but so lascivious, that she kept many gallants, especially Franks.—Cant.

Soltân

Soltân Moſtafa, intercepting this letter, continued long in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould kill his brother, or voluntarily reſign the ſcepter to him. Many of his domeſtic officers adviſed the fratricide; alledging, that the conſpirators would be obliged to confirm him in the throne, in caſe there were no other heirs to the empire. But the ſoltân abhorred ſuch a deed, and reſolved to commit himſelf to the divine providence. He went therefore to Ahmed, and, embracing him with great affection, informed him, that he was univerſally deſired to fill the throne, and firſt ſaluted him ſoltân. At his departure, "Brother, (ſaid he) remember, that, while I governed the empire, you enjoyed the utmoſt liberty; I deſire you will allow me the ſame. Think alſo, that, although you by right aſcend this throne, as having been poſſeſſed by your father and brother, yet, that the inſtruments of your advancement are treacherous rebels, who, if you ſuffer them to eſcape with impunity, will quickly treat you as they behave to me (C) at preſent." So ſaying, he retired to the ſame chamber in which he had kept his brother; where, ſix months after his depoſition (D), he died of a diſtemper contracted through melancholy. He reigned eight years and ſome months. *the throne to Ahmed.*

Soltân Moſtafa was a prince of great expectations in the beginning of his reign; but fortune afterwards blaſted them. He had greater advantages from nature than both his predeceſſors: for he was of a mature judgment, great application, and ſtrict ſobriety. Neither covetous in collecting, nor profuſe in diſtributing, the public monies. He was a good archer, and expert horſeman. A lover of juſtice (E), and very devout in hisreligion. He gained great reputation by the peace of Carlowitz; which, having been in vain attempted by his father and uncles, he ſettled, by wonderfully reconciling all parties. *His character.*

He was, in his perſon, of a moderate ſize; his face was round, and beautified with red and white: his beard *His perſon.*

(C) Ahmed followed the advice of his brother, and, probably, by that means, eſcaped an early depoſition. However, that fate befel him at laſt: for he was depoſed in 1730, by a ſedition of the ſoldiery, which a corrupt adminiſtration had given occaſion to; and his nephew Mahmûd advanced in his room. Ahmed died in 1736.

(D) More properly his abdication, which is a voluntary depoſition; by which he prevented a forcible one.

(E) His treatment of Doltahân calls in queſtion both his judgment and juſtice.

red,

red, thin, and not long: his nose short, and a little turned up: his eyes were blue; and his eye-brows yellow. He left no son alive (B), although he had been father of several. He was particularly fond of Ibrâhîm, son of his uncle Ahmed, whom he always carried with him; and designed, as was thought, for his successor [q].

[q] Cant. Othm. Hist. p. 435, & seq.

(B) Motraye says, he left three sons, Jesus, Mustapha, and Mahomet. Trav. vol. i. p. 247.—Perhaps Mahomet is a mistake for Mahmûd, who succeeded Ahmed III.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Hiſtory of the Diſperſion of the Jews; or an Account of their diſtreſſed State from the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem to the End of the laſt Century.

IN this chapter our purpoſe is to reſume the thread of the Jewiſh hiſtory; and proceed to give an account of the moſt material events that have happened to that nation ſince the deſtruction of their metropolis.

Jews diſperſed into Galilee, Egypt, &c.

We need not repeat here what we obſerved near the cloſe of their hiſtory, of the deſolate condition to which both city and kingdom were reduced; or of the dreadful ſlavery to which the greateſt part of the ſurviving Jews were condemned by the conqueror. Thoſe that ſurvived this ſad cataſtrophe, and eſcaped the fury of the Romans, retired, ſome into Galilee, and a much greater number into Egypt and Cyrene, where we ſhall find them raiſing new rebellions, committing horrid maſſacres, and bringing again the victorious Romans againſt them. A learned countryman of our own [a], however hath imagined, that the Jewiſh ſanhedrin was not immediately deſtroyed, but only removed to Jamnia, and thence to Tiberias, where it ſubſiſted till the death of Judah the ſaint; and that there were likewiſe academies ſet up in other cities, whilſt the nation was ſtill governed by a patriarch. But this ſuppoſition reſts on the bare authority of their tradition, which is little to be depended upon where the Jewiſh honour is concerned, and is eminently falſe in this particular; for it doth not appear that the ſanhedrin had the leaſt ſhadow of power or authority left it by the Romans; but, on the contrary, that the whole nation was oppreſſed all manner of ways, on account of their frequent and bloody revolts; inſomuch that they were not even permitted any exerciſe of their religion, unleſs they paid the annual didrachma to the emperor's treaſury (A), over and above the other

Sanhedrin whether ſubſiſting after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

[a] Lightfoot, Op. poſthum. p. 70.

(A) This was a yearly tax, which each Jew was formerly obliged to pay to the temple, and amounted to about 1s. 3d. of our money: but which Titus, after the taking of Jeruſalem, ordered to be paid to Jupiter Capitolinus.

heavy

heavy taxes formerly laid on them; and we find that Titus, who appropriated that tax to his own use, as well as his successor Domitian, made them pay it with the utmost severity; insomuch that they stript men of all ages and conditions to discover whether they were circumcised, in order to extort that tax from them [b]. And is it credible, that a people, become so odious and oppressed, would be allowed to keep up such a supreme court, and endowed with such an extensive authority; or that, if Titus had made any such concession, Josephus would not have taken notice of it, both for the honour of that emperor, and the credit of his own nation? Domitian is known to have hated the Jews too much to have suffered them to enjoy any such signal privilege, and was rather a persecutor, than a friend or benefactor to them: it must therefore be under his successor Nerva, who proved a much more favourable prince to them (B), that we must seek for the first appearance and institution of those Jewish patriarchs, rather than in the two preceding reigns, during which they had met with nothing but cruelty and oppression.

Jews oppressed with taxes.

The rise of the patriarchs of Judea.

These are generally looked upon to have been rather of the Aaronic or Levitical race, than of the tribe of Judah, which, in these parts of Judea, was either extinguished, or, at least, so far depressed, that they were not only in no condition of resuming their former power, but the very

[b] Sueton. lib. vii. Xiphil. in Vespas.

(B) This emperor made three ordinances in favour of the Jews, viz. 1st, That all those that had been accused of impiety on account of their religion, should be released; and those that had been banished on that account, should be recalled; a circumstance which shews, that if Domitian had had any such favourable design towards them, as some attribute to him, he had been assassinated before he could accomplish it. 2dly, He forbad the molesting of the Jews on account of their religion: and 3dly, He ordered them to be discharged from the grievous taxes which had been imposed on them on that account in his predecessor's reign, all which seems farther proved by a medal of that prince with the following legend,

Calumnia fisci Judaici sublata.

From this some have imagined, that the impost of the didrachma, mentioned under the last note, was also taken off; but Origen doth so positively assure us, that it was still paid in his time, that it is likely this ordinance freed the Jewish nation only from the disgrace or calumny of those heavy fines which had been imposed upon them on account of their religion, or, as Domitian styled it, impiety.

[a] least

leaſt attempt to do it would have rendered them obnoxious to the reſentment of the jealous Romans; but that the prieſts and Levites ſhould be ſuffered to aſſume the power of teaching the people, and to that end to ſet up ſchools, to appoint maſters over them, and at length to inſtall one at the head of the reſt, with the title of Roſh Abboth, or head of the fathers, to which the Greek appellation of patriarch anſwers, is the more probable, becauſe neither their tribe, which had nothing to do with the regal dignity, nor their office, which was then confined to matters of religion, could give any umbrage to the Roman power, eſpecially as their authority over their flocks did chiefly owe its gradual growth to their great reputation for learning and piety, and conſiſted chiefly in deciding caſes of conſcience, and other controverſies about their religion. And as the towns of Tiberias, Japhne, or Jamnia, and Lydda, appeared to them the moſt commodious to ſet up the firſt academies in, not, in all probability, without the government's permiſſion, this might give occaſion to the Jews to affirm afterwards, that the Sanhedrin had been removed to thoſe cities. Theſe patriarchs having likewiſe gained great reputation for their extraordinary learning, zeal, and piety, might, in time, not only bring a great concourſe of other Jews from other parts, as from Egypt, and other weſtern provinces of their diſperſion, but likewiſe proves the means of their patriarchal authority's being acknowleged there. From them they ventured, in time, to levy a kind of tribute, in order to defray the charges of their dignity, and of the officers under them, whoſe buſineſs it was to carry their orders and deciſions thro' the other provinces of their diſperſion, and to ſee them punctually executed by all; that ſome ſhadow of union, at leaſt, might be kept up among the weſtern Jews. They likewiſe nominated the doctors who were to preſide over their ſchools and academies; and theſe were, in proceſs of time, ſtiled chiefs and princes, in order to raiſe the credit of that dignity, or to imply the great regard which their diſciples were to pay to them. Theſe chiefs became, at length, rivals of the patriarchs; and ſome of them poſſeſſed both dignities at once; an uſurpation which cauſed not only great confuſion amongſt them, but oftentimes very violent and bloody conteſts. However, as the Jewiſh rabbies have trumped up a much older æra for this patriarchal dignity, and have given us a ſucceſſion of them down to the fifth century, in which it was aboliſhed, it will not be amiſs to give our readers the ſubſtance of what they wrote of it in the mar-

Academies ſet up at Tiberias, Lydda, &c.

Their gradual riſe and power.

Fabulous liſt of patriarchs mentioned by the Jews.

margin (C); and, at the ſame time, to ſhew them the abſurdity and falſhood of that pretended ſucceſſion to this imaginary

(C) According to them, the firſt patriarch was Hillel, ſurnamed the Babylonian, becauſe he was ſent for from thence to Jeruſalem, about a hundred years before the ruin of their capital, or thirty years before the birth of Chriſt, to decide a diſpute about the keeping of Eaſter, which on that year fell out on the Sabbath-day; and it was, on account of his wiſe deciſion, that he was raiſed to that dignity, which continued in his family till the ſaid fifth century. He was likewiſe looked upon as a ſecond Moſes, becauſe he lived like him forty years in obſcurity, forty more in great reputation for learning and ſanctity, and forty more in poſſeſſion of this patriarchal dignity. They make him little inferior to that lawgiver in other of his excellencies, as well as in the great authority he gained over the whole Jewiſh nation. The wonder will be how Herod the Great, who was ſo jealous of his own power, could ſuffer a ſtranger to be raiſed to ſuch a height of it, barely for having decided a diſpute which muſt, in all likelihood, have been adjudged by others long before that time.

However Hillel was ſucceeded by his ſon Simon, whom many Chriſtians pretend to have been the venerable old perſon of that name, who received the divine infant in his arms. The Jews give him but a very obſcure patriarchate; though the authors above quoted make him moreover chief of the ſanhedrin; and Epiphanius ſays, that the prieſtly tribe hated him ſo much for giving ſo ample a teſtimony to the divine child, that they denied him common burial. But it is hardly credible, that St. Luke ſhould have ſo careleſsly paſſed over his two-fold dignity, if he had been really poſſeſſed of them, and have given him no higher title than that of a juſt and devout man.

He was ſucceeded by Jochanan, not in right of deſcent, but of his extraordinary merit, which the Rabbies, according to cuſtom, have raiſed to ſo ſurpriſing a height, that, according to them, if the whole heavens were paper, all the trees in the world pens, and all the men writers, they would not ſuffice to pen down all his leſſons. He enjoyed his dignity but two years, according to ſome, or five according to others; and was the perſon, who, obſerving the gates of the temple to open of their own accord, cried out, O temple, temple! why art thou thus moved! We know, that thou art to be deſtroyed, ſeeing Zechariah hath foretold it, ſaying, open thy gates, O Lebanus, and let the flames conſume thy cedars. Upon this, he is further reported to have complimented Veſpaſian, or rather, as ſome have corrected the ſtory, Titus, with the title of king, aſſuring him, that it was a royal perſon who was to deſtroy that edifice: on which

ginary dignity. By all which they will plainly ſee, that it did not begin to appear in Judea till about the time of the

which account they pretend that general gave him leave to remove the ſanhedrin to Japhne.

The Jewiſh writers add, that he likewiſe erected an academy there, which ſubſiſted till the death of Akiba; and was likewiſe the ſeat of the patriarch; and conſiſted of three hundred ſchools or claſſes of ſcholars. Another he erected at Lydda, not far from Japhne, and where the Chriſtians have buried their famed St. George. He lived a hundred and twenty years; and being aſked, what he had done to prolong his life? he gave this wiſe anſwer; I never made water nearer a houſe of prayer than four cubits: I never diſguiſed my name: I have taken care to celebrate all feſtivals: and my mother hath even ſold my head ornaments to buy wine enough to make me merry on ſuch days; and left me at her death three hundred hogſheads of it, to ſanctify the Sabbath. The doctors that flouriſhed in his time were no leſs conſiderable, both for their number and character, particularly the famed Rabbi Chanina, of whom the Bath Col was heard to ſay, that the world was preſerved for the ſake of him; and R. Nicodemus, whom they pretend to have ſtopped the courſe of the ſun, like another Joſhua.

He was ſucceeded by Gamaliel, a man, according to them, of unſufferable pride; and yet, of ſo univerſal authority over all the Jews, not only in the weſt, but over the whole world, that the very monarchs ſuffered his laws to be obeyed in their dominions, not one of them offering to obſtruct the execution of them. In his days flouriſhed Samuel the Leſs, who compoſed a prayer full of the bittereſt curſes againſt heretics, by which they mean the Chriſtians, and which are ſtill in uſe to this day. Gamaliel was no leſs an enemy to them; and yet both have been challenged, the former as the celebrated maſter of our great apoſtle, the other as his diſciple in his unconverted ſtate (2).

Simon II. his ſon and ſucceſſor, was the firſt martyr who died during the ſiege of Jeruſalem. The people ſo regretted his death, that an order was given, inſtead of ten bumpers of wine, which were uſually drank at the funeral of a ſaint, to drink thirteen at his, on account of his martyrdom. Theſe bumpers were in time multiplied, they tell us, to ſuch ſhameful height, that the ſanhedrin was forced to make ſome new regulations to prevent that abuſe.

Theſe are the patriarchs, which the Rabbies tell us preceded the deſtruction of the temple; and we need no farther confutation of this pretended

(2) Vid. Gantz Tzemach David. Vid. Baſnag. Hiſt. des Juifs, lib. iii. c. 1. §. 13, & ſeqq.

the emperor Nerva, lately mentioned; nor to be raised to that degree of authority which the Jews give it, till that

tended dignity, than the silence of the sacred historians, who not only make not the least mention of it; but assure us all along, that they were the high priests who presided in the sanhedrin; and before whom all cases, relating to the Jewish religion, were brought and decided. It was the high priest who examined and condemned our Saviour; that condemned St. Stephen; that forbad the apostles to preach in Christ's name; and who sat as judge on the great apostle at the head of that supreme court. The same may be urged from Josephus, who must needs have known and mentioned this pretended dignity, if any such there had been; and yet is so far from taking the least notice of it, that, like the evangelists, he places the pontifs alone at the head of all the Jewish affairs; and names the high priest Ananus, as having the care and direction of the war against the Romans; which is an evident proof that there were then no such patriarchs in being.

To all this let us add, that, if there had been any such remarkable succession, the talmudists would have preserved it to future ages; whereas neither they, nor any of the antient authors of the Jewish church, make any mention of it; but only some of their doctors, who have written a considerable time after them as of writers to whom little credit can be given in points of this nature; especially as there are such unsurmountable contradictions between them, as no authors of the Jewish or Christian, have, with all their pains, been hitherto able to reconcile (3).

Their succession, according to the generality of those rabbies, stands as follows:

1 Hillel, the Babylonian.
2 Simeon, the son of Hillel.
3 Gamaliel, the son of Simeon.
4 Simeon II. the son of Gamaliel.
5 Gamaliel II. the son of Simeon II.
6 Simeon III. the son of Gamaliel II.
7 Judah, the son of Simeon III.
8 Gamaliel III. the son of Judah.
9 Judah II. son of Gamaliel III.
10 Hillel II. son of Judah II.
11 Judah III. son of Hillel II.
12 Hillel III. son of Judah III.
13 Gamaliel IV. son of Hillel III.

According to Gants Tzemach David, who hath reduced them to ten. They are:

1 Hillel, the Babylonian.
2 Simeon, the son of Hillel.
3 Rabb. Gamaliel Rebona.
4 R. Simeon, the son of Gamaliel.
5 Rabban Gamaliel, his son.
6 R. Jehudah, the prince.
7 Hillel the prince, his son.
8 Rabban Gamaliel the Old.
9 Simeon III.
10 R. Judah, Nassi or prince.

(3) De his vid. Worst. Observ. p. 214. Basnag. ub. sup. l. iii. c. 2. sect ib. & seq. Calmet. sub. voc. Patriarch. &c.

of

of his ſucceſſor Trajan, or, perhaps more properly, till the reign of Adrian.

Allowing, therefore, the liſt and ſucceſſion given in the laſt note to be right in the main, though falſe with reſpect to the great power and dignity attributed to five or ſix of them, Gamaliel will be probably the firſt who took the title of Roſh Abboth, or Patriarch, in Nerva's time, and began to get ſome credit over the weſtern Jews; but if we are to date that dignity from the firſt contemporary author who makes mention of it, we ſhall be forced to bring it down to the reign of Adrian, who is the firſt that takes notice of it, and then Simeon III. will be the firſt who enjoyed it in that high degree; for he flouriſhed in that emperor's time, and was lineally deſcended from Hillel, in whoſe line it continued till its abolition, A. C. 429, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. *Its moſt likely beginning.*

Our deſign, however, is not to give an hiſtorical detail of thoſe pontiffs, eſpecially as we find it fraught with the moſt abſurd and fabulous legends: we think it ſufficient to take notice of their moſt material tranſactions ſtripped of all the rabbinic fables, and of every thing that is dubious, controverted, or impertinent.

Having thus far ſettled the moſt probable æra of their riſe, our next buſineſs will be to fix the place of their reſidence; which, though ſome ſuppoſe to have been Lydda, or Jamnia, yet is, by the far greater number, allowed to have been the famed city of Tiberias, ſituate on the lake of its name; and ſo called by Herod, who built it in honour of Tiberius, which became afterwards the capital of Galilee, and the reſidence of Agrippa, on whom Claudius the emperor beſtowed it, and from whom it was alſo called Claudia Tiberias. This city, famed for its advantageous ſituation, as well as for its medicinal waters, was choſen, as leſs liable to give umbrage to the jealous Romans, to be not only the patriarchal ſeat, but likewiſe that of the Jewiſh learning, a new academy being ſoon after founded in it, which became famous for its learned men; particularly the compilers of the Miſhna; of which more in its proper place (D). *Reſidence at Tiberias.* *An academy founded there.*

The authority of theſe patriarchs hath been much exaggerated by the Jews, in order to repel a powerful argument *The patriarchal authority.*

(D) Buxtorf adds, that it did ſtill ſubſiſt in Jerom's time; and that it was at this academy that the Mazorites, ſo famed in the Jewiſh hiſtory, made the nobleſt appearance; and where they are ſuppoſed to have invented the vowel, and other grammatical points.

urged by the Christians of those early ages, that the sceptre, or regal authority, mentioned by Jacob, was departed from them. But whatever they may allege to the contrary, it was rather a shadow of power, than a real authority; and the Romans were too jealous of it to let them enjoy it in any higher degree. It was mostly confined to religious and controverted matters. They had officers of several ranks under them, whose business it was to carry their decisions, and to regulate other matters, under their cognizance, in all places where their authority reached: and these were styled Apostoli, Legati. They likewise levied the tribute that was paid to the partriarch (F), and at their return, gave him an account of the state of the Jews under his dependance; and were also used as counsellors by him; on which account they held a rank superior to the rest. The chiefs of the synagogues, schools, and academies, were likewise nominated by, and obliged to receive their directions from him; and the imperial laws gave him the title of Illustris, or Clarissimus; and some of them forbad the Christians to molest or use them disrespectfully, though we find nothing in any of them that shews that they had the power of life and death.

Their apostles or officers;

(F) What this tribute was which he exacted from the Jewish nation, whether the didrachma paid formerly to the temple, and since to Jupiter Capitolinus, but released by Nerva either in part or wholly, or some other imposed by him, is hard to guess. But it is undeniable, from the origin of that tribute to maintain a new dignity and union among the dispersed, from the writings of the rabbies, as well as from some of the imperial laws, that such a tribute was universally paid to the patriarch of the West, and was conveyed to Tiberias from all the countries of the dispersion, and not to the chief of the captivity at Babylon, as Bartolocci hath affirmed. All the synagogues of the West were bound to pay it; and that which was levied in Egypt, where the Jews were richer than in most other places, amounted to a very great sum; and it was perhaps on that account, in part, that he went thither in person. Epiphanius tells us, that it was paid in all the provinces of Sicily, and the imperial laws mention its being paid in all the parts of the Roman empire where any Jews were settled. And we are farther told, that it was exacted with such severity that the people were at length forced to complain of the avarice of those pontifis, in order to obtain a relief; till at length we find it quite abolished by Julian the apostate, an. 363, if the letter quoted to prove it be really his (4).

(4) Jul. epist. κοινῳ Ιουδαιων, p. 223.

They

They could inflict ſevere cenſures, penances, and even excommunication, as well as ſome corporal puniſhments; but in this laſt they are ſaid to have abuſed the indulgence which the laws gave them; and to have ſuffered, if not ordered, delinquents, eſpecially thoſe that were found inclined to, or had embraced Chriſtianity, to be ſcourged to death. As their dignity was hereditary, and exceeding profitable on many accounts, it came at laſt to be ſo abuſed, that the emperor Theodoſius the younger was obliged to iſſue out an edict to ſuppreſs the exorbitant power they had aſſumed, and to reduce it to its proper limits. It was cuſtomary for them to enrich themſelves, not only by the exactions lately mentioned, but by ſelling places under them, ſuch as chiefs of the academy, of the ſchools, and of the ſynagogues, and, by-and-bye, depoſing them, and putting others in their place [b], licenſing new ſynagogues, ſetting up tribunals, and trying cauſes between Jews and Chriſtians.

Abuſe of their power.

Thus much for the origin of the patriarchate in the Weſt, and of its inſtitution in this firſt century of the church. The Jews, to raiſe the character of their nation, repreſent this and the next century as pregnant with learned men, to whom they attribute a great number of celebrated books, which, upon ſtrict enquiry, are much more recent, ſince they mention facts and writers which are poſterior to them by ſome centuries. We ſhall therefore wave the far greater part of them, as not worthy farther mention, and throw the others into the margin (G).

Great men of this century.

[b] Vid. Pallad. in Vit. Chryſoſtom.

(G) Beſides the famed R. Johchaides, author of the book Zohar, was Eliſha Hagaili, or the Galilean, who wrote a very myſtical treatiſe of the thirty-two properties of the law, anſwerable to the thirty-two roads to wiſdom (5). R. Eleazar wrote another of the meaſures of the temple, and is pretended to have lived whilſt it ſtood (6). The next was the poet Ezechiel, who wrote a poem on the exod, or the deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, probably to comfort his nation under their preſent calamities. He is ſuppoſed to have lived between the times of Joſephus, who makes no mention of him, and of Clement of Alexandria, who hath quoted him; ſo that he muſt have flouriſhed about the end of the firſt, or the beginning of the ſecond century (7).

The laſt we ſhall mention is the author of the Teſtament of the twelve patriarchs, who hath concealed his religion; but ſpeaks ſo frequently like a Jew, that the learned Dr. Grabe, who firſt publiſhed it in Greek,

(5) Bartoloc. & Wolf. Bibliot. Rabbin. (6) Bartol. ub. ſup. (7) Le Moyne Var. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 356. Baſnag. ub. ſup. lib. vii. cap 11. ſect. ib.

The chief events of the 2d century.

The next century produced several remarkable events; the most considerable of which were, 1. The rebellion they raised under the emperor Trajan. 2. The horrid slaughter they committed in Cyrene, a city of Lybia, and in the isle of Cyprus, and other places. 3. The appearance and punishment of the false Messiah Barchocheba; the taking of the city of Bither by the Romans; and the dreadful condition the Jews were reduced to after it. 4. The rebuilding of Jerusalem by Adrian. And, 5. The writing of the Mishna, by Judah Hakkadosh, or the saint.

Rebellion under Trajan, the year of Christ 115.

1. Their rebellion under so powerful a prince as Trajan can only be ascribed to their impatience under a foreign yoke, aggravated by the misery and hardships they endured. It began at Cyrene, where the Jews had been settled for some centuries, and were become powerful; and they now gained some considerable advantages over the Cyrenians and Egyptains. These fled immediately to Alexandria, and filled that city with such alarms, that they massacred all the Jews they found in it. Those of Cyrene, provoked at such a dreadful reprisal, chose one Andrea, whom Eusebius styles king Lacuas, for their head; under whom they presently destroyed two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, wasted the whole country of Libya, and fought many desperate battles against Martius Turbo, whom Trajan had sent with a powerful army against them; insomuch that Adrian was forced afterwards to send a fresh colony to re-people that wasted country [d].

Wars with the Romans; depopulate Libya.

Next

[d] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib iv. cap. 2. Gants Tzemach David, p. 104. Solomon, filius virgæ tribus Jud. p. 64.

believed it to have been written originally in Hebrew by some doctor of that nation, whom he supposes to have lived some time before our Saviour, seeing he follows the common notion of the Jews, in expecting a temporal and conquering Messiah. The bishop above named seems also to have been of the same mind, seeing he so bitterly complains of the jealousy of the Jews, who had kept that work so long concealed from the Christians, lest they should urge the prophecies that are in it, concerning the Messiah, against them.

These prophecies are indeed very many and pregnant against them, was the book itself of any authority: but it seems rather to have been wrote by some half-converted Jew, who puts into the mouths of the patriarchs sundry prophecies concerning Christ, but still retains a great number of Jewish prejudices, particularly that of his being a temporal, instead of a spiritual, Redeemer; and so is not fit to be quoted either against Jew or Christian. We shall refer our readers

Next year thoſe of Meſopotamia appeared in arms, and in ſuch a manner as made the whole country tremble; ſo that the emperor was obliged to ſend againſt them Lucius Quietus, the greateſt general in the whole empire, who ſlew ſuch vaſt numbers of them as quelled them for the preſent; but for fear they ſhould riſe up again after he was gone, Trajan appointed him governor of Paleſtine, and ordered him to ſtay there to keep them in awe.

This chaſtiſement did not hinder thoſe that were ſettled in Cyprus from making a much more dreadful inſurrection, in which they maſſacred two hundred and forty thouſand inhabitants [f]. *Maſſacre of the Cypriots.*

However, this revolt obliged Trajan to ſend his head general Adrian againſt them, who, with ſome difficulty, ſubdued them; after which an edict was publiſhed, expreſſly forbidding the Jews to ſet foot in that iſland, under the ſevereſt penalties.

3. The next inſurrection was raiſed under their falſe meſſiah Caziba, or, as he ſtyled himſelf, Barchocheba; who, taking the advantage of the heart-burnings which then reigned among the Jews, on account of Adrian's having ſent a colony to rebuild Jeruſalem, which he deſigned to adorn after the Roman ſtyle, and to call by his name Ælia; and his having forbid the Jews to circumciſe their children, ſet himſelf up as head of their nation, and proclaimed himſelf their long-expected meſſiah. He was one of thoſe banditti that infeſted Judea, and committed all kinds of violence againſt the Romans, and had become ſo powerful by this time, that he was choſen king of the Jews, and by them acknowleged their Meſſiah. However, to facilitate the ſucceſs of this bold enterprize, he changed his name into that of Barchochab, or Barchocheba; alluding to the ſtar foretold by Balaam [g]. 2. He pretended to be a ſtar ſent from heaven to reſtore his nation to its ancient liberty and glory (H). And, 3, Choſe for his precurſor the famed Akiba, who, being then in high repute among the Jews, as chief of their Sanhedrin, *The falſe Meſſiah Barchochab.* *His origin.* *Precurſor.*

[f] Euſeb. in Chronic. Jud. Hiſt. lib iv. c. 2. & ſeq. Xiphil. ex Dion. lib. lxviii. Oroſius, & alib.

[g] Numb. xxiv. 17.

readers to the authors quoted in the margin for the farther character of the book (8), and its pretended verſion into Greek by St. Chryſoſtom. And all that we ſhall add to it is, that it muſt have been very ancient, ſince Origen quotes it.

(H) For proof of which, he was wont to vomit fire and ſmoke out of his mouth when he ſpoke, to amuſe the populace.

(8) Calmet. ſub voc. Teſtament. Prideaux Connect. &c.

Makes Bither his residence.

declared him to be the ſtar that was to ariſe out of Jacob. The perſecution which they had ſuffered under Adrian had ſo far paved the way for theſe two impoſtors, that they quickly raiſed an army, out of their own nation, of two hundred thouſand men; making Bither the place of their retreat, and the capital of this new kingdom (I).

A. D. 134.

Declares war againſt Adrian.

Here Barchochab was anointed king, and cauſed ſome money to be coined with his name, by which he proclaimed himſelf the Meſſiah and prince of the Jewiſh nation; but deferred declaring war againſt the Romans, till Adrian had quitted Egypt; ſo that it did not break out till the 17th year of that emperor's reign, as a late author hath plainly ſhewn [h]. Adrian ſeems at firſt to have neglected this new revolt; and as the Jews had been ſo effectually humbled by his predeceſſor, he could hardly imagine they would be ſo ſoon in a condition to oppoſe his forces in the field. But when he found what ſhoals of banditti, and other ſtraggling Jews flocked to Barchochab, he thought fit to ſend Tinnius Rufus, with a ſtrong reinforcement, againſt them; though they did not prove ſufficient to prevent the impoſtor's gaining great advantages over him, and maſſacring all the converted Jews, as well as Romans and Chriſtians, that fell in his way. At length Julius Severus, then in Britain, one of the greateſt generals of his age, was ſent againſt them; who, not thinking it ſafe to engage ſo vaſt and powerful an army, contented himſelf with defeating them by parties, by which means he did at length ſo incloſe them as to cut off all ſupply of proviſions, and went and laid ſiege to Bither. The beſieged made a ſtout defence, and Triphon, a famed rabbi, was put to death for having propoſed to ſurrender the place; but they were forced at laſt to ſubmit, by the death of Barchochab, who had been killed in the ſiege; after which followed a moſt dreadful ſlaughter of the Jews, inſomuch that their writers affirm, a far greater number of them periſhed than at firſt came out of Egypt; and the ſcholars, who had defended the place ſo gallantly, though with no other weapons than their writing pencils, were flung by thouſands into the

Bither beſieged and taken.

Its dreadful fate.

[h] Vid. Baſnag. ub. ſup.

(I) St. Jerom calls it Bethoron; and both he and Euſebius place it in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem. However, there were two towns of that name; viz. this about twelve miles, and another about fifty-two, from that metropolis (9).

(9) Euſeb. & Jerom. loc. Hebraic.

flames,

ſlames, with their books tied about their necks (K). As for Akiba, after a very ſevere impriſonment, he was condemned to a cruel death; and with him, the Jews tell us, died the glory of the Jewiſh law.

Number of ſlain, &c.

The Romans, on the other hand, loſt a vaſt number of their own troops; and, if we may believe their authors, this was one of the bloodieſt wars they ever waged. Five hundred and eighty thouſand Jews were killed, beſides vaſt multitudes of others which periſhed by famine, fire, and other calamities[1]; a circumſtance which argues great loſſes on the enemy's ſide; as the Jews fought deſperately, and ſold their lives at a dear rate. Beſides, at the taking of the city of Bither, they had ſtill fifty ſtrong caſtles well garriſoned. Upon the death of their chiefs the reſt made but faint efforts; and the war was ſoon brought to an end.

A D. 137.

Adrian took the advantage of this peaceful interval for finiſhing his deſign of rebuilding Jeruſalem. It was carried on, not in favour of the Jews, who might the rather have been induced to new revolts, had they been allowed to ſettle in it. It was deſigned, on the contrary, to mortify and humble them, by rearing ſo many heatheniſh ſtructures, as ſhould induce them to avoid it as a place of abomination (L); beſides, a ſevere edict of that prince, expreſsly

Jeruſalem rebuilt.

[1] Dio in Adrian. p. 263. Hedron, Chr. p. 163.

(K) The Jews add, that when the head of the impoſtor was brought to Adrian, he expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing his body; but that, when they came to take it up, they found a ſerpent twined about the neck; which ſo ſcared them, that the emperor, being told of it, declared, that God alone was able to kill ſuch a man. But that did not hinder his cheat from being found out at laſt; upon which account they changed his name into that of Barchozab, or *the ſon of impoſtor* or *lie*.

They add, that the maſſacre was ſo dreadful and univerſal, that they found upon one ſingle ſtone the ſculls of above three hundred children, which had been daſhed againſt it: the brooks were ſo ſwelled with the blood of the ſlain, that they carried large ſtones quite into the ſea, though at four miles diſtance from it; and the ground round about was ſo inriched with the carcaſes of the ſlain, that it wanted no manuring for ſeven years (6).

(L) He ordered the ancient monuments to be demoliſhed,

(6) Vid. Lent. de Judeor. Pſeudo-Meſſ. p. 17, & ſeq. Baſnag. ub. ſup.

The Jews forbid to come to it.

expreſsly forbad them all farther acceſs to it. The more effectually to clear it of the Jewiſh inhabitants, he cauſed a prodigious number of them to be ſold at two different fairs, at the common price of horſes; and ordered the remainder to be tranſported into Egypt. After this diſaſter, the ſtate of the Jews became one of the moſt melancholy that can be imagined; and being thus doubly excluded the entrance into the holy city, they were forced to content themſelves with beholding it, though with floods of tears, from ſome of the neighbouring hills; neither could they obtain this liberty from the Roman ſoldiers, but by dint of money. The Mount of Olives, in particular, was often ſeen covered with men and women, with their clothes rent, bewailing the ruin of that once famed metropolis.

Vaſt numbers of them ſold.

A hard tax laid on them.

Some other impoſts we find laid on them for the liberty of profeſſing their religion; particularly for that of reading the ſacred books, and circumciſing their children: concerning which, authors, both Jews and Chriſtians, vary. As for the Jews of the Eaſt, they ſeem to have fared much better; for, though Trajan had carried on a war againſt them as far as Meſopotamia, yet Adrian, upon his acceſſion to the empire, having conſented that the Euphrates ſhould be the boundary of the Roman empire on that ſide; thoſe beyond the river had no other ſhare in the war we have been ſpeaking of, except that many of them came over to aſſiſt their brethren, and ſerved only to increaſe the number of the ſlain and conquered on this ſide.

Judah Hakkadoſh compiles the Miſhnah.

The laſt remarkable incident of this century relating to the Jews, is, the compiling of the Miſhnah by Judah Hakkadoſh. He was the ſon of Simeon ſurnamed the Juſt, and the third patriarch of the Jews. He ſucceeded him in that dignity; was born in the city of Tzipori, or Sephoris (L), and flouriſhed during the reigns of three emperors, who were great enemies to the Chriſtians, but very favourable to the Jews; namely, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and Commodus: ſo that he quietly enjoyed his patriarchate forty-five years [k]. He became very conſiderable on account of his ſanctity, and much more for his

[k] Vid. Gantz & al. ſup. citat.

and a theatre and other public buildings to be built of the materials. Statues of the heathen gods and goddeſſes were ſet up in the place of the temple; but the greateſt indignity to the Jews was his ordering a hog to be carved, and ſet up over the gate that led to Bethlehem.

(L) A city ſituate on one of the mountains of Galilee.

great

great learning, and preſided over the grand academy of Tiberias, with an uncontrouled authority. But he was eſteemed above all for his celebrated book called the Miſhnah, or repetition of the law, ſtyled by the Greeks Deuteronomy, or ſecond law; a ſhort account of which the reader may ſee in the margin (M). This work was ſo much *An account of that work;*

(M) We need ſay the leſs of this famed treatiſe, becauſe it hath been ſince tranſlated into Latin by Surenhuſius, with the notes of the learned Maimon, Barthenera, and Guiſius, in ſix vol. fol. an. 1702. It is divided into ſix parts; the firſt is intitled, סדר זרעים. Seder Zerahim, ordo ſeminum, and treats about ſeeds in the field, of trees, fruits, plants, &c. The ſecond, סדר מועדים, Seder Mohadim, ordo feſtorum, and treats of the right obſervance of the Jewiſh feaſts. The third, סדר נשים, Seder Naſhim, ordo mulierum, treats of women, and all matrimonial cauſes. The fourth, סדר נזיקים Seder Nezikim, ordo damnorum, treats of loſſes, damages, trade, &c. the law-ſuits ariſing from them, and the manner of proceeding in them. The fifth, סדרקדשים, Seder Kedoſhim, ordo ſanctorum, and treats of ſacrifices, oblations, and all other holy or ſacrificed things. The ſixth, סדר טהורות, ordo purificationum, treats of all kinds of expiations, and all things relating to purification. The author hath likewiſe added to the fourth part, or ordo damnorum, a chapter intituled, עבודה זרה, Abodah Zarah, or cuteus extraneus; ſuch they call idolatry, and the penalties annexed to it. Each of theſe books contained ſeveral tracts, amounting in the whole to ſixty-three.

This code or body of oral traditions is founded upon a fivefold authority, viz. 1ſt, Upon the writings of Moſes, whoſe expoſitions are contained in the Pentateuch, and are either deciſive of themſelves, or by conſequences fairly drawn from them. 2dly, Upon the ordinances of that lawgiver delivered to him on the mount, or as they are commonly ſtyled the oral law; which are looked upon to be of the ſame authority with the written; though no good proof can be given of any ſuch oral law having been given to that lawgiver. 3d, Upon the different deciſions of the ancient doctors, concerning which a man is at liberty to take which ſide he pleaſes, whether, for inſtance, thoſe of Hillel or Shammai. 4th, On the maxims and ſayings of the prophets and wiſe men, which are on that account ſtyled the hedges or fences of the law; but from which the rabbies do often ſwerve, though in the main they hold them in great eſteem. 5th, On the ancient rites and cuſtoms, which have ſince gained the ſanction of a law, and are made by it equally obligatory. This is the ſum of that ſo much boaſted treatiſe, which is therefore ſtyled a body

much the more neceſſary as the nation, having been forced to undergo ſuch frequent diſperſions and viciſſitudes, had, in a great meaſure, forgot the oral traditions about the rites, laws, and cuſtoms, of the ancient Jews, which were become very numerous by this time. This taſk he performed with ſuch ſucceſs, that all the Jewiſh academies have ſince followed him without any deviation. The time of his writing this book is variouſly conjectured. The moſt probable opinion is, that he finiſhed it about the year of Chriſt 180, or about the forty-fourth year of his life, when he was in the flower of his age; and had, by long experience, been enabled to decide the moſt arduous queſtions of the law.

when wrote.

Judah's character.

The great reputation and authority which his learning and works had gained, elevated him to ſuch a height of pride, as little anſwered his title of ſaint. He even indulged it to his dying hour, by the diſpoſal of all the places and titles under him; and among them, that of kacham, or wiſe man, to one of his ſons named Simeon; that of chief of the ſynagogue to Chanina; and that of prince, or chief, to his eldeſt ſon Gamaliel III. (N) He likewiſe ordered his own funeral to be performed in the moſt ſumptuous manner, and that his body ſhould be carried about through the moſt conſiderable cities, and there bewailed after the Jewiſh manner [1].

Exceſſive pride.

Gamaliel ſucceeds him.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Gamaliel, who is ſaid to have confirmed his father's Miſhnah, and to have died

[1] Vid. Oth. Hiſt. doctor Miſhnic. & auct. ab eo citat. p. 161.

a body of civil and eccleſiaſtical rights of the Jews, and as a collection of their oral laws, rules, &c. However it is likely this book was not publiſhed, or, at leaſt, received immediately, ſince we find mention in Hegeſippus of ſuch oral traditions being ſtill appealed to and canvaſſed towards the latter end of the ſecond century. Thoſe who want a fuller account of it may conſult the Latin verſion above mentioned, and the authors quoted in the margin (7).

(N) Theſe were the three chief dignities of the Jewiſh church. The prince, or as we have choſe to ſtyle him the patriarch, was the higheſt. The chief was the next, and preſided in his abſence in the council; and the kacham held the third rank. This laſt was to be learned above all the reſt, becauſe he was the perſon conſulted in all doubtful caſes, and ſat on the left, as the chief did on the right, of the prince.

(7) Bartoloc. Bibliot. Rab. tom. iii. Baſnage's Hiſt. Jud. lib. iii. cap. 3. Calmet. ſub voc. Miſhna, Prid. Connect. part i. lib. 5.

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an. 229. His ſon Judah did nothing worth notice, except that he left his dignity to his ſon the famed Hillel II. a perſon of great merit and learning; who is the firſt that began to compute the years from the creation. He was alſo author of the cycle of nineteen years, to conciliate the courſe of the ſun with that of the moon, by the help of ſeven intercalations. Some others have ſince put a helping hand to this emendation, particularly Rabbi Samuel, nicknamed Jarkin, or *Lunatic*, who was chief of an academy at Nahardea, about the year 240, and was eſteemed a great aſtronomer; but as his calculation was found ſtill defective, one of his ſucceſſors, R. Ada, greatly improved it, as Hipparchus had formerly done that of Calippus; upon which all theſe Jewiſh emendations were founded. However, Hillel, as prince of the captivity in the Weſt, introduced it by his authority, and thereby made way for the other two; though it is not improbable that they, as a conquered people, were forced, in this, as in other caſes, to ſubmit to the laws of the conquerors, and to adopt the reformation made by Julius Cæſar. Hillel made, however, ſome farther improvements on the Techuphath Haſhana, or revolution of the year; ſuch as changing the equinoxes and ſolſtices; by bringing them back thirteen days; as for inſtance, the vernal equinox from the 7th of April to the 25th of March [m].

Hillel rectifies the calendar;

and others after him.

But that which moſt endeared him to the Chriſtians was his converſion and baptiſm a little before he died (O), when he ſent for the biſhop of Tiberias, under pretence of conſulting him as a phyſician about his diſtemper; but in reality to own himſelf a Chriſtian, and to be baptized. The ceremony was accordingly performed, but in the privateſt manner; the ſervants who were ordered to bring in the water being ordered to leave the chamber; and the matter was concealed for ſome time, leſt his friends or domeſtics ſhould do him any prejudice on that account.

Hillel's converſion at the point of death.

[m] Vid. Scalig. Canon Iſag. lib. iii. p. 279.

(O) This fact is not owned by any of the Jewiſh writers, who were too jealous of his glory, as well as of that of their nation, to take any notice of it. But we have it upon the authority of Epiphanius, who tells us, that, being gone with Euſebius Vercellenſis to Scythopolis, to ſee one Joſeph, an intimate of the deceaſed Hillel, and guardian to his ſon, as well as one of his apoſtles, they had the whole ſtory from his own mouth.

Hillel

Succeeded by Judah, a minor.

Hillel left his only son Judah, a minor, under the guardianship of Joseph, an intimate friend, and one of his apostles. But the Jews, upon some jealousy that Joseph was such another dissembler as Hillel, persecuted him with such bitterness and violence, that he was forced to apply to the emperor, by whom he was graciously received; and not only protected from all future insults, but permitted to erect several sumptuous churches for the use of the Christians, in places where they were still wanting. He grew exceedingly rich, and built some stately houses in Scythopolis; and here it was that he gave Eusebius and Epiphanius the account of Hillel's conversion above mentioned. As for Judah, his pupil, he succeeded his father in the patriarchal dignity, and enjoyed it still in the year 356; when Joseph, who was then in the 70th year of his age, related the transaction to those two bishops. He seems to have outlived him but a few years, since Julian, in a letter to the Jews, dated an. 363, mentions another patriarch then in the chair, whom he names Julius; which is only that of his son and successor Hillel III. græcised, who governed the Jewish church till the year 385.

Joseph, his tutor. persecuted.

His account of Hillel's conversion.

Gamaliel IV. the last patriarch.

He was succeeded by his son Gamaliel, the fourth of that name, and last of the patriarchal race and dignity. St. Jerom speaks of him as of a learned man who had had several disputes with Hesychius, before A. D. 392; and it was not till an. 415, that we find him stript of part of his authority by an edict of the emperor Theodosius; but whether that pontiff had abused that patriarchal power, or by some other way disobliged him, or whether the male line was extinct, that dignity was quite abolished about the year 429, after having continued in the same family through thirteen generations; or about the space of three hundred and fifty years. The next dignity that succeeded the patriarchate, was that of the primates, which being inferior in honour and authority, as well as in point of time, will be spoken of in another place. It is time now that we go back to the remaining part of the 2d century, from which we have deviated in following this succession of the patriarchs from Judah Hakkadosh.

The dignity abolished,

We observed from the Jewish writers, that they enjoyed great peace and liberty under the reigns of Adrian's three successors, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and Commodus. The former of these they represent as a great friend and patron of their nation, and even a proselyte to their religion, and a disciple of Judah the saint, though outwardly a heathen, and much addicted to superstition. However,

as

as the edict of Adrian againſt their circumciſing their children was ſtill in force againſt them, they grew now ſo impatient under it, as to appear in arms, and oblige him thereby to recall it, and reſtore them to the free uſe of their religion. Antoninus ſoon ſuppreſſed the revolt, but uſed ſuch moderation towards them, as to grant them the liberty for which they took up arms; which, though it extended to all the Jews, did yet exclude the Samaritans from it; and, 2dly, forbad the former to make any proſelytes to their religion. *Jews revolt under Antoninus.*

The Jews were far from enjoying any degree of tranquility under Antoninus; yet they fared ſtill worſe under his ſucceſſor, M. Aurelius, who had ſuch an ill opinion of them, that, going through Judea into Egypt, he exclaimed he had found there a people as wicked as the Sarmatians and Marcomans [n]. What increaſed his reſentment, was their joining Vologeſes, king of the Parthians, againſt the Romans; and afterwards, Caſſius, his general, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at the inſtigation of Fauſtina, Aurelius's empreſs [o]. For, though he forgave Caſſius's friends, as will be ſeen in the ſequel, yet he renewed Adrian's ſevere edicts againſt the Jews, and cauſed them to be put in execution *The Jews ill treated by M. Aurelius.*

The laſt circumſtance worth notice in this century, is the riſe of ſome new ſects among the Jews, ſuch as the Emerobaptiſts, famed chiefly for their often waſhing in a day; and the Maſbotheans, who denied the Divine Providence, and attributed all events to chance (P). But the moſt conſiderable of all was that of the Helleniſts, which began ſoon after the verſion of the Septuagint, who had been ſo long diſperſed among the Greeks, as to have adopted their language, and forgot their Hebrew. Theſe rejoiced at the firſt publication of the ſacred books in that language, and from that time made uſe of no other; and on that account were deſpiſed by the reſt of their brethren, who made uſe of the original. This open rup- *New ſects ſtart up among the Jews.* *That of the Helleniſts.*

[n] Pap. ſtat. Sylvar. lib. iii.

[o] Vulcatii Caſſius, p. 40.

(P) To theſe Juſtin Martyr adds three others, which he calls the Geniſts, Meriſts, and Helleniſts. The two former are inconſiderable; the former, according to him, laying a great merit in being deſcended from Abraham, the father of the faithful; and the latter differing from the reſt in their canon of ſcripture, out of which they excluded ſome of the prophets. The laſt, therefore, is the only one worth the reader's notice here.

ture

ture is variously canvassed by the learned; some of whom pretend, that neither the Septuagint, nor any other version, was read in the synagogues; others join the Hellenists and Jews in one and the same synagogue [p]; a third sort extol that, not only above all other versions, but even above the original [q]; and as such, justly preserved by the Hellenists, for its exactness and perspicuity. However that be, it were madness to deny that the Greek Jews were not allowed the use of it in their synagogues, as it was then the tongue most universally understood, and, perhaps, the only one which those Hellenists knew.

Septuagint, why cried down.

But that which caused it to be afterwards so much cried down by the Jews, was the use which Justin, and other primitive Christians, made of it against them, in which they ran into the opposite extreme, and condemned it as dangerous and pernicious; and this condemnation produced a fourfold effect. 1st, It rendered the Hellenists, who stood up for it, odious to the rest, who were from that time looked upon as sectaries and schismatics.

New ones made.

2dly, It gave rise to the new versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus (Q); 3dly, The Gemarrists, not

[p] Oros Obser. in N. Test. p. 238. ap. Basnag. ub. sup. [q] Morin. Exercit. Bibl. p. 238. Voss. de LXX. Interp.

(Q) The chief design of them was to deprive the Christians of those advantages which the Septuagint afforded them, and became in great vogue among all the dispersed Jews. Aquila's was the first, and was used by the greater part of the Hellenists; though the Talmudists failed not to find some great faults in it, in order to bring the people back to the original Hebrew; and some Christians condemned it as done with an ill design; though they, and even St. Jerom, did afterwards make use of it, as more exact than the old one.

Theodotion, a heathen converted to Christianity, undertook a second; but, being afterwards brought over to Judaism, rather chose to copy the Septuagint than to attempt a new one from the Hebrew; and hath followed it so close, that Origen made use of it to fill up the chasms which were found in his copy of the Septuagint; and the Ebionites and Nazarites among the Christians preferred it to the others.

Symmachus made a third, which was esteemed more clear and useful than any other; that author having a greater regard to the sense than to the literal signification. But, as these three were calculated against the Christians, and had suppressed some pregnant prophecies, particularly that of Isaiah, "a virgin shall conceive," &c. the Septuagint, where it is still found, was preferred above them.

being

being able to aboliſh the uſe of the Greek verſion, confined it to the Pentateuch; becauſe it had fewer of thoſe prophecies which were urged by the Chriſtians againſt them. And, 4thly, it put the Helleniſts upon inventing ſeveral miracles to raiſe the credit of their own (R), whilſt the Jews, to render it the more odious, trumped up a double faſt, in memory of it; of which, however, the Talmud makes no mention. This ſect, therefore, as it is called by the latter, took its riſe ſoon after the time of Juſtin Martyr, and not before. And thus much for the firſt and ſecond century.

We read nothing farther worth notice concerning the Jews, till the revolt of Peſcennius Niger, who, being proclaimed emperor in Syria, in the beginning of Severus's reign, and having tried in vain to bring them over to his intereſt, proved a bitter enemy to them during his ſhort reign. Their firm attachment to the emperor did not however meet with a ſuitable return from him; for we are told that he made war againſt them and the Samaritans, at his return from the Parthian war[r]; and that the

Jews faithful to Severus;

[r] Euſeb. Chron. ſub an. 198.

(R) Thus we are told by Philo, who was one of them, (in Vit. Moſ.) that the ſeventy elders, who were employed in this verſion, had been confined all the time, each in a ſeparate apartment, and, that when the work was finiſhed, and brought to the king ſeated on his throne, and examined before him, there was found ſuch exact conformity between each other, as well as with the original, even to a letter, or point, that both he and the aſſembly were convinced that the Holy Ghoſt muſt have inſpired them; and ſome ancient fathers have been ſo fully perſuaded of it, particularly St. Auſtin, Hillary, and others, that where it differs, as it doth often, from the Hebrew, they have rather choſen to think both divinely inſpired, and both in the right; though there be no viſible way of reconciling them (6).

On the other hand, the Hebraizing Jews affirm, that the day on which that verſion was made, proved more fatal to their nation than that on which Jeroboam ſet up the golden calves of Dan and Bethel; and that the ſky was covered with darkneſs three whole days, in memory of which they appointed a faſt-day on the 8th of the month Thebet, anſwering to our December, to ſhew their abhorrence of thoſe who had preſumed to tranſlate the ſacred oracles into a ſtrange and impure language.

(6) De his, vid. Clem. Alexand. ſtromat. lib. i. Juſt. Mart. Exhort. ad Gent. & Dial. cont. Tryph. Iren. Epiphan. Chryſoſt. Homil. iv. Auguſt. de Doctr. Chriſt. l. ii. c. 15. & alib.

ſenate,

senate, confounding what the father had done in Syria, and the son in Judea, ordered him a triumph over the latter. He likewise kept up the laws against their making proselytes and going to Jerusalem, though he allowed them the liberty of circumcising their children during the first years of his reign [s]; but, at length, he grew more mild towards them, when he was apprised of their fidelity to him; or, which perhaps was a more prevailing motive, as he was beyond measure covetous, when he came to know that they had many rich and considerable persons among them who would be glad to buy his favour and protection upon his own terms. Accordingly we find them not only protected by him, but several of them raised to high posts; though he did not fail making them pay dear for the preference he shewed to them above the Christians, whom he grievously persecuted with heavy imposts. There was one clause however very much in their favour in that emperor's decree, viz. the liberty of refusing such places and offices as were rather burthensome than honourable, though they enjoyed by it all the privileges of Roman citizens; and this puffed them up with pride and insolence, especially against the persecuted Christians [t].

and favoured by him;

raised to high posts.

Under Caracalla.

It is very probable that they enjoyed the same privileges under his son Caracalla; at least we not find any thing to the contrary; and as that emperor had been brought up with one of them, for whom he expressed an uncommon affection (C), it is reasonable to suppose that he still retained so much kindness for them, as to leave them in possession of those franchises which his father had granted to them; and, that they made use of that quiet interval, in making their collection of traditions both Jewish and Hellenist, which were by this time grown very numerous, and the teachers and writers of both not a few. Among the latter were the Pseudo-Esdras, the author of the additions to the book of Daniel; those of the histories of

Apocryphal books wrote about this time.

[s] Spartian in Sever. [t] Vid. Tertul. Apologet. cap. 21.

(C) This Jewish boy, who had been brought up at court, and was Caracalla's play-fellow, who was then about seven years of age, having been ordered by the emperor to be whipt for some misdemeanor, that young prince, we are told, not only shed tears over him, but was so concerned for him that he could not see his father for several days (2).

(2) Spartian. in Caracal.

Tobith

Tobith and Judith, of the Book of Enoch, the Aſſumption of Moſes, and ſome others of the ſame apocryphal ſtamp, concerning which, and the moſt probable time of their being wrote, the reader may conſult the authors mentioned in the margin [m].

Jochanan compiles the Talmud.

In this century flouriſhed the famed R. Jochanan, the great diſciple of Judah Hakkadoſh, chief of the Amoraijm, or commentators on the Miſhnah, and compiler of the Jeruſalem Talmud. The moſt probable ſuppoſition is, that he was born about the latter end of the 2d century, or A. D. 184, or 185. Some writers pretend that he was choſen chief of the academy of Tiberias in the fifteenth year of his age [n]; which is improbable, and contrary to the practice of the Jews; becauſe his maſter was ſtill alive, and R. Chanina, whom he appointed his ſucceſſor, is affirmed by the Jewiſh chronologiſts to have enjoyed that dignity about ten years more; ſo that the ſooneſt that he can be ſuppoſed to have mounted the chair, is about an. 225, and about the fortieth of his age; by which time he had ſpace and opportunity ſufficient to finiſh his ſtudies under thoſe two maſters, in order to qualify himſelf for his great work; in which he was aſſiſted by two other learned rabbies, viz. R. Samuel, and Rab or Rau, who had likewiſe been diſciples of his two maſters, Judah the Saint, and R. Chanina. This famous piece, commonly known by the name of the Hieroſolymitan Talmud, together with the occaſion of its being written, and other particulars relating to it, the reader will find an account of in the margin (D).

R. Jo-

[m] Fabric. Apocr. V. Teſt. Bartoloc. Dodwel, de Cycl. Differt. ix. Prid. Calmet. Baſnag. & al. [n] Vid. Bartoloc. ubi ſup.

(D) The word Thalmud ſignifies *Doctrine*, and is emphatically given to this work, as being a complete ſyſtem or body of it, or of the religion and morals of the Jews. They have two of that name and import, viz. this of Jeruſalem, which is the ſhorter and more obſcure of the two; as likewiſe the more ancient by near one century; and that of Babylon, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. It is properly a comment upon the Miſhnah of Judah Hakkadoſh.

Judah had ſcarce finiſhed his own work, before he had the mortification to ſee a collection of traditions quite different from his, publiſhed under his noſe by Rabbi Chua, with the Chaldee title of Bara-Zijethoth, or *Extravagants*, which was afterwards inſerted in the Miſhnah, in order to make that

R. R. Ase, and Ame, disciples of Jochanan, A. D. 279.

R. Jochanan is said by the Jewish writers to have lived 95 years, and left two famed disciples, viz. R. Ase, the compiler

piece more complete. It had, indeed, two considerable defects, viz. first, It only collected the various traditions and sentiments of the Jewish doctors, without enquiring which of them was most to be preferred. And, secondly, It was so concise as to be in some measure useless, because it reached but to few doubtful cases, in comparison of the many questions that began by this time to be canvassed among the Jews. To remedy these defects, those three great men wrote this comment upon it, which being compiled in Judea, in the Hebrew then in use, was styled the Gemarrah, or *Perfection*; and this and the Mishnah together made that which is called the Talmud of Jerusalem.

Neither Jews nor Christians are agreed about the time of its being finished; some placing it about 150, others about 200, and Buxtorf 250 years after the destruction of Jerusalem; that is, about the 300th year of Christ. Its mentioning the emperor Diocletian, shews that it must have been compiled in or after the reign of that emperor; but Morinus is of opinion, from several barbarous terms he has observed in it, which are of Vandalic or Gothic extract, that it did not appear till the 5th century. The Jerusalem Talmud being still found not only too succinct, as well as too obscure, by reason of the barbarous terms it had borrowed from other nations, gave birth to the Babylonish Talmud, compiled by Rabbi Ase, a learned disciple of the great Jochanan, who left the academy of Tiberias, and went to preside at that of Sora, near Babylon, where he continued in that dignity about forty years, during which he compiled his Gemarrah, or comment upon the Mishnah of Judah the saint; and from the place where he wrote it, it came to be styled the Babylonish Talmud. Ase did not live to finish it; but this was done by his sons, and some of his disciples; so that it became a vast body or collection of traditions, concerning the canon laws of the Jews, and of all the questions relating to the Jewish law, wherein the Mishnah is the text, and the Gemarrah the comment upon it.

The Jews in general prefer this Babylonish Talmud, on account of its clearness and fulness, much above that of Jerusalem; and though it is stuffed with ridiculous fables and stories, yet they will not suffer any one to call it in question without the censure of heresy. Insomuch that they even give this book the preference to the books of the Old Testament: for these they compare to water, the Mishnah to wine, and the Gemarrah to the choicest wine (3). They own all three to be equally of divine autho-

(3) Vid. Hornbeck cont. Jud. lib. ii. Basnage, iv. l. iii. chap. 6. Calmet. sub. voce. Prid. Connect. part II. lib. viii.

rity;

compiler of the Babyloniſh Talmud, and R. Ame, who boaſted to have written 400 books; not that he either was the author, or even tranſcriber, of ſo many volumes; but only that he copied ſome ſentences out of each; for we are told, that even the tranſcribing of a ſentence out of Deuteronomy, v. 9. gives a man the title of having wrote that book[o]. Both thoſe diſciples received the impoſition of hands from their maſter, and both were chiefs of the academy of Tiberias, to the great mortification of one of their ſchool-fellows, named Sceman Bar-Abba, who almoſt broke his heart for not being raiſed to that dignity.

Hitherto the Jews had lived in peace and happineſs, but had nearly ſuffered a moſt dreadful perſecution in the reign of Heliogabalus. That whimſical prince cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed, and abſtained from ſwine's fleſh, out of devotion to his gods; a diſcipline he had probably learned from ſome Jews, in whoſe neighbourhood he had been brought up, and with whom his family, particularly his aunt Mammea, was very intimate. All this predilection, however, could not have ſaved them from his fury, had he not been aſſaſſinated by his ſoldiers, before he could bring his mad project about, of making his god Heliogabalus, as Lampridius tells us he deſigned to have done, the only object of worſhip all over his empire; for the Jews would have ſuffered the ſevereſt perſecutions rather than have joined in it. But this danger was ſoon over, and they began again to feel the effects of peace under the reign of his ſucceſſor. *Jews in danger under Heliogabalus;*

The mild diſpoſition of Alexander Severus, joined to the prejudices he had imbibed in his youth, in favour of that nation and their religion (E), diſpoſed him to ſhew ſo much favour *In high favour with Alexander Severus.*

[o] Bartoloc. tom. iii. p. 673.

rity; but the laſt to be preferable in point of clearneſs, and without the help of which the former is but as a dead letter. We ſhall diſpenſe with giving a farther account of that voluminous work, and only obſerve that the learned Maimonides hath given us an excellent abridgement of it, in which he hath thrown out all that was puerile and ridiculous, and confined himſelf to the collection of the moſt material caſes and deciſions that are contained in it. This epitome, which he ſtiles Yad Khazachah, or *Strong Hand*, is therefore much preferable to the Talmud itſelf, as being one of the moſt complete bodies of the Jewiſh laws that ever was written.

(E) That prince had received ſuch a ſtrong tincture of Judaiſm from his mother Mammea, that though he never

favour towards them, that the then wits used to give him the title of Archisynagogue of Syria. He was no less an admirer of the Christians, and often repeated their maxim of not doing that to others which we would not have done to ourselves.

Peaceable under his successors.

His successors suffered the Jews to live in peace and full liberty, particularly Philip, who, being born in Arabia, had been conversant with, and was a great favourer of them, as well as of the Christians, and, in whose time the famed St. Cyprian wrote his treatise of Testimonies, in which he mentions a vast number of prophecies which were fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Among the Jews flourished the famous R. Sceseiah, who, though blind, acquired great reputation for learning, and held several disputes against the Christians, and particularly opposed their praying towards the east. They attribute two works to him; one a cabalistical exposition of the Sephiroth, the manuscript of which was kept in the library of Heidelberg; and the other a Targum, or paraphrase on the sacred books [p]. As Decius raised a persecution against the Christians, out of spleen to Philip who had protected them, some have thought that the Jews bore a share in it; but, as the difference between the Christians and the Jews was better known by this time than it had been formerly, it is more likely these escaped it. That which raged afterwards in Valerian's reign against the Christians, hath been thought by some, in a great measure, owing to the Jews; and Dionysius of Alexandria tells us, that prince was stirred up to it by the archisynagogue of Egypt. But it is probable that our author hath given that title to the chief of the magicians, out of hatred to the Jews; for it was really an Egyptian magician that induced him to it, and it doth not appear that the Jews had any hand in it.

Learned rabbies in this century.

Eastern Jews, their state.

We have now gone through the history of the western Jews during the three first centuries: it is now time to pass over the Euphrates, and give some account of the eastern Jews; of their princes or chiefs; of their captivity; their academies, and most celebrated doctors; and such other transactions relating to them as we think worth our reader's notice. And this place is so much the more proper

[p] Saghi Nahor ap. Bartholoc. Bibl. Rabb.

forsook the worship of the heathen gods, yet he had adopted into their number Abraham, the father of the faithful and patriarch of the Jews.

to

to begin their hiſtory in, becauſe in the third century, and not before, theſe chiefs and doctors began to make a figure, and to found their moſt celebrated academies; we therefore think, that this new dignity was not introduced into Babylon till the time of Huna, the ſon of Nathan, who was contemporary with Judah the ſaint, and flouriſhed about the year 220, or, at the earlieſt, under his father, about the beginning of the third century. Even then their authority could be but ſmall, conſidering the ſlavery under which the Jews groaned from the Parthians, Romans, and other tyrants, whatever titles they might beſtow on them to raiſe the credit of their nation. *Chiefs of the captivity.*

We need not repeat what hath been ſaid in other parts of this hiſtory concerning theſe wars, and the triumph of Severus over Artaxerxes, the famed reſtorer of the Perſian monarchy. This laſt died about an. 244, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Sapor, from whom the princes of that new ſucceſſion took their name. Both of them became great favourers of the Jews, and ſhewed an extraordinary eſteem for their rabbies; and under them we find the celebrated Samuel Jarchi, or the Lunatic (G), not only honoured with the title of naſſi or prince, but likewiſe with the names of thoſe two monarchs, being firſt ſirnamed Ariochus, or Artaxerxes, and, after his death, Sapor, the name of his ſon, to ſhew the high degree of authority they had gained at that new court. This great man came from Judea hither; and, among his other dignities, had that of councellor of Huna, the chief of the captivity [q]. He is ſaid to have died an. 250, and to have been ſucceeded by R. Ada, who perfected the reformation which he had left defective. The other doctors that flouriſhed in this century, and raiſed the fame of that univerſity under Huna, the reader may ſee particularized in the margin (H). *When firſt begun.* *Favoured by the Perſians.* *Learned men there.*

But

[q] Gantz Tzemach, p. 113. Bartoloc. ub. ſup. tom. iv. p. 388. Vid. Baſnag. ub. ſub

(G) So called from his great ſkill in aſtronomy; ſome tables of which he is ſaid to have calculated, which are ſtill preſerved in the Vatican library. He was moreover well verſed in the Jewiſh laws, and was preſident of the famed academy of Nahardea, where he became famous for his aſtronomical and other lectures; and particularly for the improvements he made of Hillel's reformation of the calendar.

(H) Rabbi Jehudah, the ſon of Eliezer, raiſed himſelf by his great learning; inſomuch that we find ſeveral of his deciſions

But this their felicity soon proved the prelude of a violent persecution under Sapor, the second Persian monarch of this race. That prince, who loved to converse and often dispute with them, having one day questioned them about their custom of burying the dead, and insisted upon their producing some express and decisive text in their law for it, received such an evasive answer, that, from a favourer, he became their furious persecutor. It is plain from the famed inscription engraved in Gordian's tomb, which Capitolinus tells us was written in the Persic and Hebrew characters, that there were still great numbers

cisions in the Babylonish Talmud; though, in most of them, he betrays his aversion to the heathen and strangers. He had a successor named Nachman, who filled the chair with no less reputation; and, in general, the professors of Nahardea are said to have excelled those of Sora, its rival; only these latter were more in favour with the prince of the captivity.

Among these we may, however, put in the first rank the famed R. Abba Aricka, who was emphatically styled רב Rab, or Rau, or *the Great*, and is chiefly known and quoted by that title. Both he and Samuel Jarchi had spent some time in Judea, and studied under Judah the saint; but, after the death of their master, they both returned and settled, the former at Sora, and the latter at Nahardea. Rab was so well beloved by one of the Babylonish princes, named Adarchan, that he used to assist at his lectures, and at length caused himself to be circumcised about A. D. 243. He wrote, they say, a comment on the Book of Ruth, and some other pieces, and was of opinion that the Romans would be masters of the whole world nine months before the coming of the Messiah.

He was succeeded in the chair of Sora by Huna, a relation of the prince of that name, and was so proud of his affinity to him, that he is the first who took upon him the title of Prince of the Academy, or ראש ישובה *Rosh Jeshubah*. He had 160 volumes of the law; one of which was found פסול passul, or *illegal*, merely because it was as broad as long; which we chiefly mention to give our readers a taste of the doctors and learning of those times.

We shall only add one more learned, viz. R. Cohanah, of the priestly order, as his name imports, and of the family of Eli, the high priest; though that is by some called in question. He had likewise studied at Tiberias under R. Jochanan and the patriarch Samuel; and indeed it was then a common custom so to do; insomuch that a man was not esteemed learned, unless he had studied some time in that academy. All this is a proof that the Jews not only lived peaceably, but were in high favour with the then Persian monarch.

of

of the Jews in Perſia [r], conſiderable enough to be thought worthy of reading that emperor's praiſes in their own language. Sapor is ſaid to have reigned from A. D. 241 to 272; and how unſucceſsful he was in his wars, not only againſt the Romans, but eſpecially againſt the great Odenatus, and his celebrated queen Zenobia, hath been ſeen in a former part of this work. It was under that glorious princeſs that the Jews made the moſt conſiderable figure all the time of her reign, and in every part of her dominions, which were of very great extent.

She had been brought up in their religion, and was a zealous profeſſor of it. Both ſhe and her huſband were ſo ſucceſsful and powerful over thoſe eaſtern tracts, that they carried all before them; ſo that there is no room to doubt but the Jews made the moſt of the favour and protection of two ſuch powerful friends. She, in particular, is recorded to have built a great number of ſtately ſynagogues, and to have raiſed them to the higheſt dignities. After the fall of that great heroine, the Jews retired from her conquered dominions into ſeveral cities of Perſia, where they were likely to live more quietly, and where there ſtill flouriſhed ſeveral of their learned men, ſome of them famed for the moſt puerile actions; ſuch as that of the celebrated Chija, who ſlung himſelf into a ſmoaking oven or furnace to ſubdue his luſt, after he had tried in vain variety of other means. The noble academy of Nahardea having undergone the ſame fate with that city, that of Sora became the moſt populous and famed for its great men (1).

It was during the time of proſperity and glory above mentioned, that we find the Jewiſh doctors began to take variety of pompous titles; ſuch as thoſe of Abba *father*, Baal *lord*, Rom *high*, Rab *maſter*, Mor *teacher*, Roſh *chief* or *head*, and the like. Among them was a famed doctor named

[r] In Gordian. p. 165, & ſeq.

(1) Among them was the learned R. Zira, ſirnamed Karana (both which ſignify *little*), who had gone to ſtudy at that of Tiberias, but had been invited to Sora by Huna, the then chief of the captivity, who raiſed him to the profeſſorſhip, which he enjoyed till an. 300; when, having conceived a deſire of being interred in Judea, he choſe to go thither in his life-time, rather than have his body tranſported after his death (1).

(1) Gantz. ub. ſub. Ben. Virgæ, & al. ubi ſup.

Jeremiah, who ſtyled himſelf *the maſter of queſtions*; and, to mortify the Babyloniſh doctors, made his wife hold frequent diſputes againſt them [s]. They flouriſhed about the year 290; but the moſt famed among them was Manes, a perſon of great learning. He could by no means be reconciled to the religion, or even God, of the Jews; nor to what the ſacred hiſtorians record, of his ordering that nation to deſtroy and exterminate ſuch a great number of kingdoms and people. He preferred the doctrine of the Chriſtians, who commended nothing ſo much as univerſal love and benignity. He is ſaid to have held frequent conferences with the Jewiſh doctors of Perſia, in order to inſpire them with more worthy ideas of the Godhead. Our modern rabbies do not acknowlege any ſuch conferences between their anceſtors and him, whom they have noted in their calendar as the head of that new ſect, which ſtill bears his name, and which they abſurdly place towards the cloſe of Conſtantine's reign, though he lived about the end of the 3d century. The perſecution which was raiſed againſt the Chriſtians about the ſame time, under Diocleſian, did not much affect the Jewiſh nation either in the Eaſt or Weſt; at leaſt, neither Jewiſh or any other authors mention any thing of it: only the former pretend, that he deſigned to have made them feel the ſevereſt marks of his reſentment for ſome ſcandalous reflexions which the diſciples of Judah the ſaint had caſt on him; but that they found means to appeaſe his wrath.

Jews in the 4th century.

We have had occaſion already to mention ſome ſevere laws which Conſtantine enacted to ſuppreſs the inſolence of the Jews againſt the Chriſtians; and to forbid their making proſelytes, and abuſing thoſe who embraced Chriſtianity. But ſome hiſtorians have gone farther, and made that prince a very ſevere perſecutor of them; inſomuch that one of the Greek fathers tells us, that, being ſhocked at their aſſembling themſelves in order to rebuild the city of Jeruſalem, he condemned them to have their ears cut off, and to be diſperſed like vile ſlaves through all the parts of the empire [t]. Another writer adds, that he obliged them to be baptized, and to eat ſwine's fleſh on Eaſter-day [u]. All theſe aſſertions, however, are wholly rejected by the generality of the moderns, and not without good reaſons; which the reader may ſee in the margin (K). His deſign was

whether perſecuted by Conſtantine.

[s] Bartoloc. ubi ſup. tom. iii. [t] Chryſoſt. Orat. in Jud. iii.
[u] Eutych. An. tom. i. p. 466.

(K) The Jews themſelves all own, that it was Adrian, and not Conſtantine, who ordered their ears to be cut off. Beſides,

was neither to perſecute them, nor to force them to turn Chriſtians, but to prevent that liberty which was granted to them from being abuſed, to the detriment or diſgrace of Chriſtianity. He therefore enacted a law ſix months before his death, declaring all the ſlaves free who had by any means been circumciſed by their Jewiſh maſters. He farther ordered, that they ſhould be obliged to ſerve all public offices like all the other ſubjects of the empire; but yet exempted their patriarchs, prieſts, and others, that officiated at their ſynagogues and ſchools; that they might not be diverted from thoſe neceſſary employments [x]. *Laws againſt them.*

But the council of Elvira in Spain, which is commonly placed under this reign, made two decrees which were more ſevere againſt them; by the firſt of which, they were excluded from eating with Chriſtians, as they had commonly done till then; and, though the penalty fell only on the Chriſtians, who were excommunicated by it for eating with a Jew, yet it put the latter to very great inconveniences, and made them liable to inſults and contempt. By the other, all poſſeſſors of lands were forbidden, under the ſame penalty, to ſuffer the fruits of the earth to be bleſſed by Jews, becauſe their bleſſing rendered that of the Chriſtians abortive. This cuſtom of bleſſing the fruits of the earth at certain ſeaſons was common to Pagans and Jews as well as Chriſtians; but who would have imagined, that the latter ſhould have made uſe of either of the former, if this decree had not informed us of of it? However, both this and the other decree plainly *Decree of the Elviran council.*

[x] Cod. Theodoſ. lib. xvi. tom. viii. cap. 2.

Beſides, Jeruſalem was already rebuilt in Conſtantine's time; inſomuch, that the biſhop of it had aſſiſted at the Nicene councils; and Conſtantine had adorned that city with ſuch magnificent edifices, that Euſebius compliments him on it as the builder of the New Jeruſalem foretold by the prophets. How then could the Jews aſſemble in a riotous manner to rebuild that city, which was already done in ſo ſtately a manner? We may add farther, that, among all the edicts of that prince againſt the Jews, preſerved in the Theodoſian code, there is not a word about their being condemned to have their ears cut off, to eat ſwine's fleſh, &c. though ſome of them accuſe the Jews of ſtoning and burning thoſe of their nation, whom they found inclined to embrace Chriſtianity, and of having forced their Chriſtian and heathen ſlaves to be circumciſed, which was the reaſon of his reſentment againſt them.

ſhew

shew, that the Jews had lived very peaceably in Spain, and in good harmony with the Christians, till that time, whatever they may have done since.

Famous rabbies of the East.

They enjoyed a no less benign sunshine in the East; and their academies went on in a flourishing manner, if we except the persecution which was raised against one of their greatest doctors, the famed Ravena or Rabba Nachmanides, chief of the academy of Sora, and a person in such esteem, that he had no less than twelve thousand disciples[x] (O). This person, after having taught a considerable time at that city, was at length accused of some very high crime to the king of Persia, for which he thought fit to abscond, and either died in his retreat, as some affirm, or was banished by that monarch, according to others, and died in exile. What this crime was we are not told; but it was not attended with any ill consequence towards the nation, nor even to his family, since we find him succeeded in the same academy by his own nephew of the same name, whom he had adopted. This last had made such progress under him, that he was chosen chief of the academy of Pundebita, so early as anno 324, and had continued in it till anno 329, when he married, and had a son known by the name of Rab-bibi. The university of Sora had another famed professor, namely Joseph, surnamed the Blind, for so he was; yet he had so great a share of inward light, that he was styled saghi nahor, or *great light*. They gave him likewise that of Si-

Joseph the Blind, his works.

[x] Gantz Tzemach, et al. ubi supra, Lib. Cabal. p. 61, b.

(O) There were two famed rabbies of that name; the one distinguished by the title of Hakadmon, or *the elder*, who flourished about A. D. 321, and the Acharon, or *Younger*, who lived about anno 474. We are now speaking of the elder, who was a man of such profound learning, and so dextrous at removing the greatest difficulties, that they gave him the title of עוקר הרים, *Hoker Harim*, the remover of mountains. His chief work is the Bereshith Rabbah, which is a learned comment on Genesis, giving an account of the creation, and a description of the Holy Land, together with the literal and mystical sense of that sacred book (1). There is another treatise of the same name, which must not be confounded with it, and which is a comment on the Mishnah, written by R. Hoshianghia, a disciple of Judah Hakkadosh, but less esteemed than the former.

(1) Vide Bartoloc. ubi supra, Wolf. Bibl. Hæbr. sub Rab. Ben. Nachman. & Raboth. vid. & Lib. Cabal. p. 61, b.

nai,

nai, becauſe he was a perfect maſter of all the traditions given to Moſes on that holy mountain. He is commonly ſuppoſed to be the author of the Chaldee paraphraſes upon ſome of the Hagiographa, ſuch as the Pſalms, Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, Ruth, and Eſther, which are held in great eſteem among the Jews and Chriſtians.

The Jews raiſe a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians in Perſia.

The laſt particular worth mentioning relating to the Jews under the reign of Conſtantine, is the bloody perſecution they raiſed in Perſia, where their intereſt was very great at that court, againſt the eaſtern Chriſtians, to be revenged, as was pretended, for thoſe which they had ſuffered in the Roman empire. Chriſtianity had paſſed from Armenia into Perſia, and other parts of the Eaſt, where a great number of churches and biſhopricks had been erected without any moleſtation; but when the Jews found that Uſtazades, one of Sapor's chief eunuchs, was going to be converted to it, they loſt all patience, and by the help of the magi, perſuaded that prince to perſecute them with the utmoſt ſeverity. Simeon, the worthy biſhop of Teſiphon, whom they had accuſed of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with Conſtantine, was one of their firſt martyrs, and Uſtazades another. The perſecution was long and bloody; all the churches were demoliſhed, and the traces of Chriſtianity almoſt obliterated.

Circa A. D. 341.

Commit great outrages at Alexandria.

Conſtans, who ſucceeded Conſtantine, obſerving to what height of inſolence they were grown in divers parts of the empire, eſpecially in Egypt, where they committed the vileſt inſults againſt the Chriſtians (P), found himſelf obliged to uſe them with greater ſeverity than that which had been practiſed by his father: but what incenſed him moſt againſt them was the treachery of the Jews of Dioceſarea in Paleſtine (Q), who took the advantage of Magnentius's

(P) They not only plundered their churches, burnt their ſacred books, and other church utenſils, but defiled their fonts, or baptiſteries, in ſuch a filthy manner, as St. Athanaſius was aſhamed to mention; they carried their inſolence ſo far, as to force young virgins to abjure Chriſtianity, after having ſtripped and abuſed them; in all which indignities they were countenanced, if not privately ſet on work, by Gregory, the Arian biſhop, who was then in high favour at court; ſo that they went on in them with the utmoſt boldneſs and impunity.

(Q) This city was the ancient Sephoris, ſituate in Paleſtina Secunda. The Jews, who had retired thither, and at Tiberias, after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, ſuffered much from

nentius's revolt in Hungary, and of that prince's absence whilſt he was gone to quell that rebel, to raiſe an inſurrection in Judea, whilſt the Perſians were attacking the empire on their ſide, and laying ſiege to Niſibis. He was therefore obliged to ſend Gallus againſt them, whom he had created Cæſar; and who took Judea in his way to Perſia, defeated the rebellious Jews, and razed Diocæſarea.

A. D. 353. After this period, Conſtans, who, beſides his juſt reſentment, was a very zealous Chriſtian, not only revived all the old laws of Adrian and Conſtantine, but made ſome more ſevere ones againſt them; among which, one condemned any Jew to death that married a Chriſtian, circumciſed a ſlave, or kept any that were Chriſtians. They were moreover forbid to enter into Jeruſalem; and thoſe who were deſirous to ſee it at a diſtance, were obliged to buy that liberty at a vaſt price. He likewiſe loaded them with heavy taxes, and was projecting ſome freſh impoſitions to keep them ſtill more under, when he died [y]. It was under his reign that young Epiphanius was converted from Judaiſm to Chriſtianity, not without the machinery of ſome miracles, with which we ſhall not trouble our readers, ſince they were not powerful enough to keep him from running into the wild notions of the Gnoſtics, whom he met with in Egypt [z].

Laws renewed againſt them.

St Epiphanius converted.

Julian's great favours to the Jews.

We come now to the reign of Julian the Apoſtate, to whom the Jews made ſome of their firſt addreſſes, with a complaint, that they were unjuſtly debarred from entering into Jeruſalem, which had been the glorious reſidence of their anceſtors for ſo long a ſeries of ages. They not only met with a kind reception, and the moſt ſenſible marks of his favour; ſuch as the exemption from thoſe heavy taxes

[y] Sozomen, lib. ii. cap. 9. Hilar. in Pſ. lviii. p. 731—734. Pſ. cxxxi. & cxlvi. Sozom. lib iii. cap. 17. [z] joan. in Vit. Epiph. num. i. & ſeq. p 33, & ſeq

from the heathens, who had revolted againſt Adrian; but being at length freed from their inſults by that emperor, both places expreſſed their gratitude; the latter, by erecting a temple to him, which they called Adrianon; and the former, by changing its name of Sephoris into that of Diocæſarea Adriana, to diſtinguiſh it from three others of that name; one in Phrygia, the ſecond in Cappadocia, and the third in Iſauria. St. Jerom places that of Paleſtine within a mile and half of Gath; and, though it underwent ſo ſevere a fate as being the ſeat of the Jewiſh revolt, it was not long before it raiſed itſelf out of its ruins, and became again a habitation of the Jews.

with

with which his predeceſſors had loaded them, and the free exerciſe of their religion, but he likewiſe permitted them to rebuild their temple, and to revive their ancient worſhip, and even furniſhed them with money and materials for the work. He condeſcended ſo far as to write a letter to them, in which, the more to mortify the Chriſtians, he gave their patriarch the title of brother (R). All theſe ſignal favours could not fail of raiſing that nation to the higheſt pitch of inſolence againſt the Chriſtians. Accordingly they aſſembled in ſeveral cities of Judea and Syria, where they began to demoliſh the churches, and committed other outrages, eſpecially at Gaza, Aſcalon, Berythus, and Damaſkus, whilſt thoſe of Egypt did the ſame at Alexandria, and other places; and a third ſort ſet themſelves about rebuilding the temple at Jeruſalem. In carrying on this A. D. 363. work, we are told, men, women, and children, were zealous to put a helping-hand; and ſome of them ſo ſanguine in it, that they made themſelves tools of gold and ſilver to rear up this new edifice, till an effectual ſtop was put to it, by ſuch a ſeries of prodigies as quite deterred them from purſuing it, and made them ſenſible of the infallibility of Chriſt's predictions againſt that place (S).

Jovian,

(R) It were abſurd, conſidering the character of that emperor, to ſuppoſe, that he heaped all theſe favours on the Jews with any other view than to thwart and weaken the Chriſtians, by encouraging and increaſing the number of their enemies, that his favourite paganiſm might the more eaſily triumph over them. In other reſpects, the Jews muſt have been equally hateful to him with the Chriſtians, ſince both equally condemned and abhorred the ſuperſtitions of the heathen: but what might ſtill render the former more obnoxious to him, was the notion, which, St Jerome tells us, was then rife among them, that about four hundred and thirty years after their diſperſion, they were, in their turn, to become lords over the Romans, and ſell them to the Sabeans; after which, not only Jeruſalem, and all the cities of Judea, but even thoſe of Sodom and Gomorrah, were to be rebuilt; ſo that, when Julian gave them an invitation to rebuild the temple, they all looked upon it as the forerunner of the completion of that pretended prophecy, or rather interpretation of the words of the Pſalmiſt and other prophets, that "the Lord will revenge his people, and rebuild the cities of Judah."

(S) Dreadful earthquakes, and eruptions of fire from the ground, interrupted the workmen when digging for the foundation of the new temple. Thoſe who want to be more circumſtantially informed, and edified, may have recourſe to biſhop

A. D. 387. Jovian, who succeeded Julian, would not have failed to suppress the insolence of the Jews, had not death prevented him before he had reigned full eight months; so that they quickly began to breathe again under his two next successors, Valentinian and Valens, who not only gave them full liberty of conscience, but restored their patriarchs to the enjoyment of their privileges; only the latter deprived them of a very valuable indulgence, by annulling the edicts which exempted them from public offices. The tenor of this last decree being somewhat remarkable, we shall give it to our readers in the margin (T). It continued in force against them under the reign of Gratian, Theodosius, and Arcadius; though, in other respects, they lived peaceably under them: only we hear of one of their synagogues being burnt at Rome, which the rebel Maximus, who was desirous to have them in his interest, ordered them to be rebuilt. He was soon after defeated, and beheaded at Aquilea. St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who was highly offended at him, looked upon his unfortunate end as a just judgment for his favouring the Jews [a], and prevailed on Theodosius and Valentinian, who came soon after to that city, to revoke all the privileges which he had granted to that people.

Edict against them.

St. Ambrose's untimely zeal against them.

That father was indeed very inveterate against them, and strenuously opposed the rebuilding another synagogue, which the Christians had set on fire at Calinichus, and which that emperor had ordered to be rebuilt at their charge; but what Zonaras, a Greek monk, and some other writers of later date, say of his preaching before him, taking him to task, and reproaching him for suffering the Jews to enjoy the privilege of their synagogues in his capital, whose prayers were so many curses and execrations before God, it is all false and absurd. He did

[a] Ambr. Epist. xxix.

bishop Warburton's celebrated performance.

(T) "The edict by which the Jews flatter themselves of an exemption from public offices, &c. is by these presents revoked and disannulled; for the clergy are not permitted to consecrate themselves to the service of God, till they have previously paid that which they owe to their country; and whosoever designs to give himself wholly to God, ought to furnish a proper person to supply his place in all public offices (1)."

(1) Valens, ad Hypat.

not

not preach but write to him; and his letter is still preserved, importing, that they were so far from thinking themselves obliged to observe the Roman laws, that they thought it a crime to submit to them [b]. The contrary, however, appears by all that we have said hitherto of the edicts made for and against them, and much more by the new law, which that prince published in the last year of his life, against the untimely zeal of some Christians, who, under pretence of religion, plundered and demolished their synagogues, contrary to the laws, which allowed them liberty of conscience, and for punishing such offenders for the future [c]. He even granted them a particular jurisdiction on account of the frequent law-suits which they had either among themselves, or with Christians; by which they were not only free from the trouble and charge of seeking for justice from strange tribunals, but were likely to obtain it more easily from judges that were maintained by themselves: all which privileges would have hardly been granted to them, if as St. Ambrose pretends, they had looked upon it as a crime to submit to the laws of the empire.

A. D. 390. & seq.

St. Jerom's esteem for them.

However that be, St. Jerom was so far from imitating his zeal against them, that he associated himself with some of their most learned rabbies, and by dint of extraordinary application, learned the Hebrew tongue. He made use of their assistance in his versions of the Old Testament, and doth not scruple giving those doctors the greatest encomiums, whom he had procured from some of their most celebrated academies, such as Tiberias and Lydda: among them was the famed Rabbi Barrabanus, who, to avoid giving offence to his brethren, used to come to him in the night.

Theodosius suppresses their insolence.

We are now insensibly got into the fifth century, in which we shall find the Jews grown to such a height of insolence by the long series of peace and liberty allowed them, and particularly under Theodosius II. as to oblige that mild, generous, and equitable prince to suppress it by the punishment of the guilty, but without using any severity to those who behaved peaceably and submissively to the laws. The first just occasion of complaint which they gave, was in one of their festivals, in which they celebrated what they call the feast of Haman (U); and on which,

[b] Ibid. lib. v. cap. 9. [c] Cod. Theodos. tom. viii. lib. 16.

(U) This festival, which was celebrated in memory of the victory the Jewish nation got over Haman, was usually kept with

which, instead of hanging the effigies of that enemy on a high gibbet, as had been their constant custom, they presumed on this year to fasten him to a cross, which failed not to be interpreted by the Christians, and not without reason, as an indignity offered to Christ. This interpretation did not hinder them from taking both down, and burning them with the usual execrations; which process, however, was attended with no other consequence than an edict, forbidding, for the future, the erecting and burning such gibbets, under the penalty of forfeiting all their privileges. The Jews obeyed in most parts of the empire; nevertheless those of Macedon, Dacia, and some other parts still continued affronting the Christians with such insults; which were as often retaliated, by having their synagogues and houses burned, and some of their leaders even put to death by the magistrates. These proceedings produced a new edict from that good prince, expressly forbidding the Christians to prosecute them on account of their religion, and these to offer any contemptuous insults to the established church. This expedient suspended their insolence for two or three years; but, at length, those of Inmestar, a city in Chalcis, being heated with the wine and zeal usually predominant at that feast, took it into their heads to tie a young Christian to one of those gibbets, and to scourge him so severely that he expired under the lash, an outrage which so exasperated the Christians, that they took up arms against them. The Jews being very numerous there, a bloody fight ensued, in which many were killed on both sides. At length, the governor of the province having informed the emperor of it, was ordered to punish the guilty, by which means an effectual end was put to the tumult [d].

A. D. 408.

A new edict.

A. D. 412.

Insults to the Christians punished.

Christian reprisals against them.

All these precautions could not prevent the Jews from frequently renewing hostilities, nor the Christians from burning and plundering their synagogues, particularly at Antioch, where the Jews were very numerous and rich, the plunder being commonly given to the church. These

[d] Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. xviii. & xxi.

with great alacrity and good cheer; and even, during the reading of the book of Esther in their synagogues or houses, men, women, and children, made a most horrid noise with their feet, hands, and even with stones and mallets, against the walls and benches, as often as the name of Haman was repeated.

skirmishes

ſkirmiſhes became ſo common and ſcandalous, that complaints were made of them to the emperor, and backed by the præfectus prætorio; ſo that the clergy were condemned by a new edict, which obliged them to reſtore the plunder, and to aſſign the Jews a place where they might erect a new ſynagogue. He was, however, obliged not only to repeal it, at the inſtigation of Simon, ſurnamed Stylites (W), who had taken upon him to condemn it, and even to turn the præfect out of his office, for having obtained it in favour of the Jews. It was not long, however, before he was forced to publiſh a freſh explication of his former edicts, in order to ſuppreſs the exceſſes which the revocation of his late law had encouraged the hot-headed zealots to commit againſt the Jews, not only at Antioch, but in many provinces of the empire, and to forbid the burning of their ſynagogues, or perſecuting them on account of their religion. A. D 423 A. D. 425.

A ſtrange accident which happened in the iſle of Candia, where the Jews were very rich and numerous, occaſioned great numbers of them to embrace Chriſtianity (X). Another A. D. 432. *Jews converted in Candia.*

(W) So called from living on the top of a pillar. This fanatic was then in ſuch eſteem with all the clergy, that the emperor was obliged, to avoid his and their cenſure, to recall his orders about making reſtitution to the Jews. Mr. Valois even pretends that he wrote a civil letter to him, wherein he ſtyles him, "The moſt holy martyr in the air."

(X) An impoſtor, who had taken upon him the name and office of their great lawgiver and deliverer, had ſo far infatuated them, as to make them expect that he would open to them a miraculous way through the ſea into their own land. We are even told, that he himſelf was ſo perſuaded of his own divinity, that he had in one year run through every town and village of that iſland, and perſuaded the Jews to follow him, and to be ready for him on the day and place appointed (1).

Their deluſion proved ſo ſtrong and univerſal, that they neglected their lands, houſes, and all other concerns, and took only ſo much with them as they could conveniently carry; and on the day appointed, the pſeudo Moſes, having led them to the top of a rock, men, women, and children, threw themſelves headlong down into the ſea, without the leaſt heſitation or reluctance; till ſo great a number of them were drowned, as opened the eyes of the reſt, and made them ſenſible of the cheat. They then began to look out for their pretended leader, but found he had diſappeared, inſomuch

(1) Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. vii. cap. 38.

Another event brought a fresh number of proselytes into it, to the no small mortification of the rest, on whom the miraculous cure performed on an old paralytic, could not make the same salutary impression (Y). As we are writing the history of the Jews, and not that of the church, we shall pass over a number of those miraculous conversions with which this century abounded, and only observe, that the Christians having then accustomed themselves to make some considerable presents to those new converts, induced many cheats, not only to become Christians with that view alone, but even to run privately from one sect into another, and be baptized in them all, for the sake of gaining fresh tokens of their liberality.

A remarkable instance of this our author gives us of a Jew, who went through all the sects then at Constantinople, but was at length discovered in a miraculous manner by the Novatian bishop there, and owned, that he had been baptized by every one but that [f]. These cheats could not but render the Jews obnoxious to the Christians; but there was still another consideration that made them more so, namely, the several arch-heretics, such as the Novatians, Nestorians, &c. who, by borrowing some of the Jewish tenets, were styled Judaizers and Jews: but it is time to see how they behaved and fared in other countries.

Jews raise a tumult at Alexandria.

Those of Alexandria, who are computed to have amounted to about one hundred thousand at the time that they raised bloody persecution against the Christians, had often

[f] Cod. Theod. lib. xxi. cap. v. p. 342.

somuch that they began to think themselves misled by a devil instead of a man; upon which the far greater part renounced Judaism, and were baptised.

(Y) This was an old Constantinopolitan Jew, who had been afflicted with the dead palsy, and had in vain exhausted the physicians art, and, in a great measure, his own substance. He was at length prepossessed with the hopes that baptism would obtain him a cure; and, having received it of Atticus, the then patriarch of that metropolis, recovered the use of his limbs immediately upon his having received that sacrament. This miraculous cure made so great an impression upon the Jews and heathens, that great numbers became converts, though the far greater part of the former still continued in their unbelief (1).

(1) Socrat. Hist. Eccleiast. lib. iv. p. 341. cap. xvii. p. 354.

skirmished

ſkirmiſhed with them before; and thoſe frays ſeldom ended without bloodſhed. Cyril, the biſhop of it, and ſince ſainted, was thought as much too zealous againſt them, as Oreſtes, the then prefect, was partial to them; and, at length, carried it ſo far as to threaten them with eccleſiaſtical execution. This threat, however, they deſpiſed, knowing the governor to be on their ſide; and grew to ſuch an height of inſolence as to reſolve to fall upon the Chriſtians in the middle of the night. To this end, they hired ſome of their own people to run about the ſtreets of the city, crying out, that the great church was all in flames; which clamour immediately brought all the Chriſtians out unarmed, to go and ſave that noble building; whilſt the Jews, who had taken care to diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome peculiar mark, fell upon, and killed great numbers of them. Cyril, as ſoon as he was appriſed of this violence, ſtaid not to be righted by the civil power, but putting himſelf at the head of a ſufficient number of Chriſtians, entered their ſynagogues, and ſeized on them for the uſe of the church. He then abandoned their houſes to be plundered, and obliged them to quit the city almoſt naked. The prefect could not bear ſuch an infringement on his authority, and ſee the city ſtripped of ſo vaſt a number of its inhabitants, without making the ſevereſt complaints againſt the biſhop, who, on his part, ſent ſeveral bitter accuſations to court againſt him. Here the people, having declared for the prefect againſt the patriarch, would have obliged the latter to ſubmit to the former, but he abſolutely refuſed to comply.

A. D. 415.

Biſhop Cyril arms againſt them.

Inſtead of ſubmitting, he went to him with the Goſpel in his hand, and by menaces endeavoured to frighten him into a reconciliation; but finding him inflexible, he ordered a regiment of his monks, to the number of fifteen hundred, to come down from the mountains, and to aſſault him in his chariot with vollies of ſtones, which wounded him in the head, and covered him with blood; ſo that he muſt have been killed inevitably, his guards having been forced to abandon him, had not the people come to his aſſiſtance, and reſcued him out of their hands. The tumult being appeaſed, Oreſtes cauſed one of the ringleaders of thoſe monks, named Ammonius, to be executed, and ſent an account of the whole affair to court. The patriarch alſo ſent thither a vindication of his conduct; and not only juſtified the proceedings of his monks, but, in his next ſermon, declared Ammonius a martyr. This behaviour produced a new tumult ſoon after; in which,

Odd behaviour to the prefect.

Aſſaults and wounds him.

Hypatia murdered at a new tumult.

among many others that loſt their lives, was the deſervedly celebrated Hypatia, a young heathen lady, of great ſenſe, learning, and virtue, who was hurried by the biſhop's mob before one of their churches, and there cruelly butchered. The untimely zeal and preſumption of the Alexandrian patriarch, which is ſo viſible in all theſe tranſactions, hath been juſtly blamed by all impartial perſons; even Socrates himſelf obſerves [g], that the death of the amiable Hypatia reflected no ſmall diſhonour on him and his clergy. It is plain, that the Alexandrians were highly offended at his proceedings, ſince they all along ſided with the prefect againſt him: though it muſt be owned, that this governor betrayed ſuch a ſpirit of oppoſition againſt him, and ſuch a partiality for the Jews, as was as inconſiſtent with the character of a Chriſtian prefect, as his was with that of a Chriſtian biſhop.

A. D. 429.

Jewiſh patriarchs ſuppreſſed.

The Jewiſh nation received a more ſenſible blow in this century, in the total ſuppreſſion of their patriarchs. We have formerly ſhewn, that they lived upon certain duties, levied on thoſe of their nation, which uſed to be collected by their officers, or, as they affected to call them, apoſtles. Theſe became at length ſo exorbitant, that the people, weary of them, applied to the civil power, from which however they received no other redreſs than the mortification of ſeeing that tribute converted to the emperor's uſe, and their patriarch left deſtitute. Theodoſius and Valentinian were the two monarchs who appropriated that income to their own treaſury, by which means the patriarchal dignity was more effectually ſuppreſſed than if it been anulled by any edict; and, for want of a proper income to ſupport it, dwindled away. Photius pretends, that the primates who ſucceeded the patriarchs, were charged with this collection, and anſwerable for it, and obliged to ſee it conveyed into the emperor's coffers.

A. D. 412.

Weſtern Jews, under Honorius.

In the Weſt, the Jews enjoyed the full exerciſe of their religion under Honorius, who had enacted a law, much to his honour, importing, that the glory of a prince conſiſts in allowing all his ſubjects the full and peaceable enjoyment of all their privileges, even when their religion is not ſuch as he can approve [h]. He expreſsly forbad the pulling down, or appropriation of their ſynagogues, or even obliging them to violate their ſabbath, on account of the public ſervice, for which, he ſaid, the other ſix days were

[g] Socrates, ubi ſupra, lib. vii. cap. 13, & ſeq.

[h] Cod. Theodoſ. tom. xvi. lib. xx.

ſufficient.

ſufficient. On the other hand, to prevent their abuſing their liberty, he forbad them to build new ſynagogues, or make proſelytes, and ſtripped them of ſome poſts and offices which they had enjoyed before; particularly that of furniſhing the army with proviſions. He cauſed alſo a ſevere edict to be publiſhed againſt an upſtart ſect in Africa, called Cælicolæ, or *Worſhippers of Heaven*; containing a clauſe forbidding the Jews to make proſelytes; upon which account the Cælicolæ have been thought by many to have been a Jewiſh ſect, though without any foundation.

In this century happened likewiſe the much celebrated, A D. 428.
though no leſs queſtioned, miraculous converſion of the Minorcan Jews. That iſland had then two conſiderable towns, one the epiſcopal reſidence, and interdicted to the Jews, who were commonly puniſhed with ſome ſudden and miraculous death, if they ventured to ſet foot into it. The other, called Porto Mahone, was chiefly inhabited by Jews, who there enjoyed very conſiderable titles and poſts, though ſubject to Honorius; inſomuch that Theodoſius, the chief of their ſynagogue, and a doctor of the law, was the chief man in the whole iſland. Severus being appointed biſhop of it, was eaſily perſuaded by Oroſius, who had lately returned from Jeruſalem, loaded with miraculous relics, to undertake the converſion of the Jews. They began with private conferences, and proceeded to public diſputes; the laſt of which was held in their ſynagogue, where finding that ſome Jewiſh women had armed themſelves with ſtones to pelt them, they provided for their own defence. The conſequence was, that the ſynagogue was pulled down, and nothing ſaved out of it but the books and plate: but the biſhop plied them with ſuch numbers of miracles, that their greateſt men began to relent, and in about eight days, the greater part of them were converted, and the ſynagogue turned into a church. Many, however, who remained obdurate, went and hid themſelves in caverns, till hunger forced them out; and others leaving all they had behind them, went and ſought an aſylum in foreign countries; all which circumſtances ſhew that there was ſome violence uſed againſt them by the biſhop and his clergy. Baronius ſeems to own as much, and adds, that his example would have been followed in many other places, had not the crowned heads put a ſtop to this method of converſion.

Minorcan Jews converted.

Upon the irruption of the Vandals into the empire, one would have thought that the Jews would have met with the worſt of treatment from that fierce nation; but yet

Under the Vandals.

we do not read that they fared worse than the rest, or were deprived of any of their privileges under them. They only shared in the common misfortunes, which are the usual concomitants of such great revolutions; but, in other respects, were still allowed the free exercise both of religion and commerce, only they were obliged to pay a tribute for it, and were moreover denied the enjoyment of titular dignities, and high posts, either civil or military [1]; an exclusion to which they had always been subject under the Roman emperors. Theodoric in particular protected them against the zealots among the Christians, and would not suffer any violent means to be used for their conversion. He sharply reproved the senate for having suffered one of their synagogues to be burnt at Rome; and the clergy of Milan, for going to seize upon another. The same moderation he used at Genoa, where the citizens were going to deprive them of their privileges. They had recourse to that prince, who permitted them to rebuild their synagogues, and restored them to the free use of their religion and rights, upon condition they should not build them larger than they had been, or adorn them with embellishments [k]. Thus ended the fifth century.

A. D. 500.

Jews in Persia under R. Ase.

Let us now take a view of the Jews in Persia, during that interval, where we find their academies in a flourishing condition, under their famed chief R. Ase, the compiler of the Babylonish Talmud, lately mentioned. Sora was the place of his birth, and the most celebrated academy of all the East, of which he was chosen chief in the fourteenth year of his age, and continued in that dignity sixty years, that is, till the year 427, in which he died. It was during this period, that he published a collection of his decisions, which he divided into four parts, the first of which contained the rules and maxims of the Mishnah, with the doubts and solutions relating to them. The second turned chiefly upon various questions of their doctors, with the sentiments of the Thanaim and Gemarists. The third comprehended the decisions and maxims published since Judah the saint; and the last recapitulated the texts of scripture relating to law-suits, together with the comments of their learned. This was the first division of the Babylonish Talmud; but as Ase did not live to complete it, his disciples, who put the finishing hand

[1] Vide Altercat. Eccles. & Synagog. ap. August. in Append. ad tom. viii. [k] De hoc vid. Telor del Regn. D'Ital. sub Teodoric.

to

to it afterwards, altered his method, and made ſeveral additions, which have rendered the work rather more obſcure [k].

He was ſucceeded, according to ſome, by R. Marimor, or Amimor: but ſoon after, by his own ſon Huna, and he by his ſon Thobiomi, anno 455, who reigned, according to the pompous Jewiſh ſtyle, thirteen years, and in whoſe reign the Jewiſh nation enjoyed ſuch profound tranquility, that they gave him the title of the Doctor of Daily Proſperity. We have had occaſion to take notice of the ſmall extent of the power and revenue, notwithſtanding their uſing the words reign, and throne, as if they had been in full poſſeſſion of the regal authority. And ſo obſcure were they, during this fifth century, that though we find a ſucceſſion of the preſidents of Sora and Pundebita, or at leaſt their names, and here and there a remarkable action of ſome of them, yet we have hardly any thing ſaid of thoſe chiefs or princes, except of R. Aſe above mentioned; though one would have imagined their dignity muſt have received ſome additional ſplendor by the ſuppreſſion of the patriarchate in the Weſt. A D. 455. *R. Thobiomi.*

Aſe had left, beſides his ſon Huna above mentioned, two famed diſciples, Amimor and Mor, who were to have put the finiſhing hand to the Babyloniſh Talmud; but they were diverted from it by a violent perſecution raiſed againſt the Jewiſh nation, which, they tell us, laſted ſeventy-three years; during which the ſynagogues were ſhut up, the obſervation of the Sabbath ſuppreſſed, and their ſchools and chapels given to the magi. Huna, the then chief, and his two diſciples above named, were impriſoned, and ſoon after ſuffered death, with ſurpriſing conſtancy: but the Jewiſh youth, more addicted to the pleaſures of life, were ſoon determined to forſake their religion, an apoſtacy which was followed by a general defection in Iſrael towards the end of this century [l]. Notwithſtanding which, ſome of their learned reſumed the work of the Talmud ſoon after; or, if you will believe the Jewiſh writers, even before the perſecution ceaſed, and finiſhed it, about the cloſe of this century, or the beginning of the next, after which it was diſperſed throughout all the Eaſt, and it was univerſally agreed that it ſhould ſuffer neither addition nor diminution. A. D. 474. *A violent perſecution.*

[k] Vid. Gantz Tzemach David. ſub. A. M. 4112. Sepher Juchaſin. p. 124. A Benddior Cabala. p. 68. Bartolec. tom. 1. p. 486. Wolf. Bibl. Heb. p. 224. [l] R. Gantz Tzemach. p. 12*.

This

A. D. 476. This epocha was remarkable for nothing else, but the rise of the sect called Sebureans, or Sceptics, at the head of which was R. Josi. These doctors pretended to doubt of every thing, and seem to have started up to oppose the infallibility which the Talmudists attributed to their Talmud; but whether by openly questioning its authority, or the sense of its decisions, we cannot affirm. However, their pyrrhonism became so odious to the rest of the Jews, that it proved but of short duration. It began to appear only about the close of the fifth century, and was driven out of the world before the middle of the next, by the Gaonim, or Gaons, a new set of doctors, who took that pompous title upon them, which signifies *sublime* or *excellent*, and became the idols of the academies, and of the people, as we shall see under the next century, unto which it is now time to hasten.

The sect of Sebureans, succeeded by the Gaons.

Jews persecuted in Persia, under Cavades.

The 6th century began with a persecution of the Jews of the dispersion, as well as of the ten tribes in the East, under Cavades, a prince of a fierce and proud disposition, who wanted to force all his subjects, Christians as well as Jews and others, to embrace the Persian religion. This persecution proved so violent, that we read of no less than four of their princes of the captivity, who succeeded each other within the space of nine years; but whether they were deposed or put to death by that monarch, doth not appear. These were Huna, to whom they give but two years reign; Acha, who reigned three; Tettana, who reigned four; and Zeutra, who reigned twenty years. In his time arose the famed Meir, a learned rabbi, and great miracle-monger, who having declared war against the Persian king, with only four hundred men, was very successful against him, during seven years; after which his men having polluted themselves with strange flesh (O), he was

(O) The Jews do not tell us the occasion of this war; nor is it easy to guess whether it gave rise to the persecution we are now speaking of, or whether it was undertaken to suppress it. And as they are persons that prefer dealing in miracles and prodigies rather than in exact or regular history, they tell us that this Meir had obtained the same miraculous fiery pillar that had formerly guided the Israelites in the wilderness, gained frequent victories over the Persians, and raised vast contributions, till his men suffered themselves to be debauched by the Persian women to commit several sins against their law, after which they came to the untimely end we have mentioned above.

defeated,

defeated, taken, and put to death by the Perſians. Theſe went thence into the city, where Zeutra reſided, and plundered it: then they took that prince, and the preſident of the council, and hanged them on a bridge. His family were forced to betake themſelves to flight, and his ſon and heir, Zeutra II. retired into Judea, where he became prince of the ſenate or ſanhedrin. This, the Jewiſh hiſtorians tell us, was the ſource of that ſeries of misfortunes which attended them in Perſia; inſomuch, that their great maſter Hahonai, never dared ſhew his face, during the ſpace of thirty years, that is, during the whole time of Cavades's reign °. A. D. 522. *The chief of the captivity hanged.*

They fared ſtill worſe under his ſucceſſor Choſroes the Great; whoſe favour they had endeavoured to gain, by perſuading him to break off his negotiations about a peace with the emperor Juſtinian, which was then in great forwardneſs. They promiſed, that if he would go on with the war, they would furniſh him with fifty thouſand men, by whoſe help he might make himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem, one of the richeſt cities in the world. The king had ſo far given into that treacherous project, that he had broke off all the negotiations with the emperor, and made ſeveral preparations towards putting it in execution, when word was brought to him, that thoſe perſons who had been employed in it had been ſeized and put to death, after having made a full diſcovery of the deſign. He purſued this war, however, and made frequent inroads into Syria and Paleſtine: but that ſucceſs did not hinder him from making the Jews ſhare in the common calamities of the war with the reſt; nor from ſhutting up all their academies in the Eaſt, a circumſtance which quite extinguiſhed their love of learning, whilſt their preſent prince, being forced to go into Judea, and to exerciſe a function vaſtly beneath him, the caſtern Jews were quite deſtitute of chiefs. A. D. 589. *Jews perſecuted under Choſroes.*

They did, however, recover their liberty before the year was at an end, under Hormiſdas III. and enjoyed it during the twelve years of his reign; when that prince was murdered by his ſon Choſroes II. This laſt did not, however, quietly enjoy the fruits of his parricide; his ſon Varames declared againſt him, as he had before done againſt his father, and ſoon after defeated, drove him out of Perſia, and obliged him to ſeek for ſuccour from the emperor *Reſtored by Hormiſdas.*

° Seder Olam Zuta cum Not. Meieri, vide & Imbon. Bibliot. Rabin. tom. v. p. 46. Baſnag. ub. ſup. liv. viii. chap. 9.

Mauri-

A. D. 615. Mauricius, who lent him some forces and generals. These had many a bloody contest with Varames, who had got a strong party in the kingdom, including the Jews, whom the Greek historian styles [p], a faithless, unquiet, imperious, turbulent, and implacable nation, being then powerful enough in Persia to stir up the subjects against their princes, and virulent enough to strengthen the rebels against them. At length Chosroes having worsted Varames, made them pay dear for their perfidy. Those of Antioch were the first that felt the dire effects of his resentment, when that city (P) was taken by Mebodes the Roman general, who immediately put vast numbers of them to the sword, and many more to the most cruel deaths, reducing the rest to the most deplorable slavery.

Persecuted by Chosroes II.

Butchered at Antioch.

Reconciled to Chosroes.

Chosroes, however, was no sooner seated on the Persian throne, but he was reconciled to them, and received some signal services from them; especially in the war which he waged against Phocas, the murderer of Mauricius, wherein he made a most dreadful havock of them both in Syria and Palestine, and took the city of Jerusalem. They seem even to have acted in concert with him, seeing he was no sooner master of that metropolis, than he delivered up all the Christian prisoners into their hands, though he could not but know that they only bought them with a design of satiating their implacable hatred against them, as they accordingly did, insomuch, that no less than ninety thousand of them were unmercifully butchered [q].

Ninety thousand Christians butchered by them.

Attempt on the city of Tyre frustrated.

This fact is farther confirmed by what Elmakin, and other Arabian authors add of the attempt made by the Jews upon Tyre, at the time when Chosroes was besieging Constantinople, and all the forces of Syria and Judea were drawn out to succour that capital. They, taking the advantage of that juncture, had combined to murder all the Tyrians on Easter-day, and to seize upon that important place, and had actually advanced to the walls, but were stoutly repulsed by the inhabitants, who had timely notice of their design. Upon this disappointment, the Jews dispersing themselves about the country, at-

[p] Theophyl. Simocat. in Maur. lib. v. cap. 7. Vid. Basnag. ubi sup. sect. 7. [q] Theophan. ubi supra p. 252.

(P) Not the metropolis of Syria, but a new city of that name; and so exactly built after its model, by Chosroes I. that the inhabitants brought away from the old one could hardly believe but it was the same.

tacked

tacked the churches of the Chriſtians, and burnt a vaſt number of them; but were at length cut off by the Tyrians, who ſallied out, and made a terrible ſlaughter of them[r].

Jews under Mohammed in the 7th century.

We are now come to the ſeventh century, the beginning of which was ſignalized not only by the tranſactions above named, but much more by the appearance of Mohammed on the ſtage of the world. We have given the life and actions of that grand impoſtor in a preceding volume, and ſhall only examine here, what ſhare the Jews are ſaid to have had in it; who, Theophanes tells us, ſeeing him appear in ſo ſplendid a manner, began to look upon him as the Meſſiah; inſomuch, that many of them exchanged their religion for his, though they were ſoon after much offended at his eating camels fleſh, which is forbid by the Moſaic law. However, the fear of appearing inconſtant, or rather their hopes of receiving ſome conſiderable advantages from him, and of having it more in their power to injure the Chriſtians, made them overlook that nicety, and continue in his intereſt. What aſſiſtance they gave him in forming his new religion, we have already ſhewn in the hiſtory of that impoſtor. We ſhall only obſerve in this place, that it appears from his Koran, he had read their books, and was not unverſed in their religion and cuſtoms. As they were then very numerous and powerful in ſeveral parts of Arabia, and had there many ſtrong caſtles and fortreſſes, and maintained armies under their princes, when he began to lay the foundation of his new religion, it is more than probable that he took all proper means to engage them in his intereſt; whilſt they, always intent on their worldly advantage, were as eaſily induced by his careſſes and promiſes to aſſiſt him in all his views. But whatever cauſe they might afterwards give him to diſlike them, it is plain, from the tenor of his writings, that he hated and deſpiſed them; he calls them betrayers and murderers of the prophets, and a people juſtly curſed of God, for their violation of his ſabbaths and laws, and for their obſtinate unbelief both of the ancient prophets and of himſelf; for which he hath curſed them in many places of his Koran, and did at length declare open war againſt them.

Turn to, and aſſiſt him.

Hated by him.

Make war againſt them.

This war was at firſt begun by one of the principal Jews, named Cajab, who oppoſed all his meaſures, for

[r] Elmak. p. 271. Patricedes, p. 236. Hotting. Hiſt. Orient. lib. i. cap. 3.

which

which reason Mohammed had given orders to some of his men to lay wait for, and kill him; upon which he appeared at the head of his nation. Mohammed began with besieging them in the fortresses they held in Hegiasa; and having obliged them to surrender at discretion, banished them, and gave their wealth to his Moslems. Cajab afterwards attacked him near Kaibar, a place about four days journey from Medina, in the third year after the Hejra, and was totally routed, and with great difficulty saved his life by flight, whilst his troops were unmercifully butchered by the Moslems. This defeat did not hinder them from trying their fortune more than once against him; but they still met with the same ill success: so that they were forced at length to submit, and to become tributary to him, in order to enjoy what they had. This yoke, however, proved so galling to the Jewish nation, that one of their women resolved to rid them of it, by poisoning him with a joint of mutton; but the prophet discovered the poison, and escaped the snare. Many other hostilities, the Arabian authors mention, between the Jews and Moslems, not worth recording. The former, being convinced to their cost of the great success of that false prophet, as well as of the severity of his yoke, have applied to him the vision of Daniel's statue, whose feet were partly iron, and partly clay; whence they inferred that the Messiah was not to appear till after the foundation of that empire, since he is there prefigured by the stone cut out without hands, which was to destroy and put an end to it[b]. A circumstance which shews that there could be no such combination between the Jews and Mohammed, and his disciples, as they have been charged with. We shall next see how they were treated under his successors, during the rest of the seventh century.

[b] Hotting. Hist. Orient. lib. ii. cap. 2.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

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